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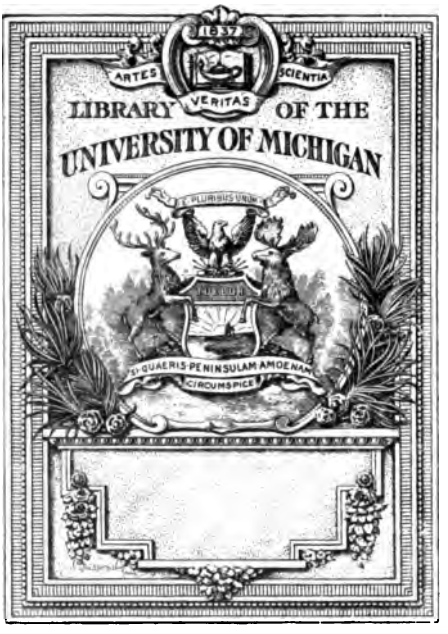
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A

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THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1858.

ART. I.—1. *The Principles of Divine Service. An Inquiry concerning the true Manner of understanding and using the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, and Administration of the Holy Communion.* By the Rev. PHILIP FREEMAN, M.A., formerly Fellow and Tutor of S. Peter's College, Cambridge; late Principal of the Theological College, Chichester. Part I. 1855. Introduction to Part II. 1857.

2. *A Primary Charge delivered to the Clergy of his Diocese.* By A. P. FORBES, D.C.L. Bishop of Brechin.

3. *The Communion of the Laity.* By W. E. SCUDAMORE, M.A. Rector of Ditchingham. Rivingtons: 1855.

THERE is probably no writer of the present day of whom the *Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit* is truer than it is of Mr. Freeman. The first part of his 'Principles of Divine Service'—as superior to the '*Origines Liturgicæ*' of Mr. Palmer as that was to the preceding works on a similar subject—could not but excite the greatest interest in the Church of England. The author there, for the first time, boldly worked out the principle, that it is to the Sarum, and not to the Roman, offices, that we are to look for the explanation and right understanding of our own; and, however transcendental might be some of his discoveries, however often he might see a deep mystery in a casual coincidence, or base a weighty theory on so minute a fact as to remind one of the old so-called scholastic question, How many angels would simultaneously stand on the point of a needle?—still, even in his very extravagancies, the author was instructive, and perhaps nowhere to be read with more profit than where maintaining a theory which to common apprehensions was perfectly untenable. As all English liturgical scholars know, Mr. Freeman's line is one of the most unbounded admiration of the present English Prayer-book. For all its peculiarities he comes boldly forward with some primitive authority; his affection sees a deep and hidden meaning

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where others have seemed to themselves to perceive the marks of negligence and hurry; and even of the Eucharistic Office he is not afraid to say,—'It has appeared on carefully comparing the 'positions maintained by her, with those of the ancient Church 'for a thousand years, that no departure from the true standard, 'either in the way of deficit or excess, can properly be charged 'upon her. . . . . She is perfectly at one with herself; 'no proper contradiction between her doctrines and her ritual 'practices, or between one of her Eucharistic dogmas and 'another, can be pointed out. With the exception of one or 'two bodies in the East, there is not a Church in the world that 'can say as much.'

This is a tolerably bold assertion, and as ingeniously supported as Mr. Freeman's deductions always are. We propose to follow him in his account of the Eucharistic controversy, pointing out where and why we cannot agree with him, but always treating him with the respect due to one who, by the confession of all, is among the first liturgical scholars of the day, and whose opinions, even when we may dissent from them, are always deserving of respect and attention.

Even in the first volume of his work, Mr. Freeman had enunciated two principles which would go far, in our judgment, to vitiate any true conception of the history of the blessed Sacrament. He affirms—

1. That the Holy Eucharist is, in its nature, an institution, not intended for daily celebration, but merely for festivals; that this was the primitive use; that the opposite practice had its origin not earlier than the third century; and that simultaneously with the daily oblation of the Sacrifice, the frequency of Communions began to decrease.

2. That, according to primitive use, none but communicants ought to be present during the celebration; that the opposite practice in the Eastern and Western Churches is a corruption, and that the revival of that practice among ourselves is a grievous error.

On both of these points we intend to offer some remarks. The first, indeed, is one which is at present of little practic importance. It is clear that we are as yet far enough fro that general weekly, which must of necessity precede a mo frequent, celebration; while those who have the unspeakab privilege of a daily Eucharist have a better argument in th selves for its celebration than the most learned dissertatio Mabillon, or Muratori, or Arnauld, could possibly afford. the non-presence of those who do not intend to commu is a question which is daily becoming of more vital mon the English Church; and it would be well, if possible

once for all it should be set at rest. It is important, however, that the arguments used in its defence should be such, and such only, as will bear the strictest test; for Mr. Freeman is far too good an advocate of what we must consider a bad cause, to permit the employment of inferior reasonings, in attacking his theories. As Condé said to Don John of Austria, before the battle of Dunkirk, with reference to Turenne,—*On ne fait pas impunément des fautes devant un si grand homme.* Before, however, adverting to these topics, we will first follow our author's example in giving a sketch of the various controversies connected with the Eucharist; and having briefly examined the two heads to which we have already alluded, we shall then say a few words on the author's very peculiar theory, 'a theory not only his own, but too much his own,' (as Hackett said of some statement of S. Augustine,) with respect to the adoration due to the blessed Sacrament; a subject which naturally introduces the admirable Charge of the Bishop of Brechin, which stands second in our list.

Mr. Freeman has very well observed, that, for the first thousand years after its institution, there was scarcely any real opposition in the different views held on this great mystery. There were, indeed, fierce disputes between the Eastern and Western Churches on the employment of azymes; but this was only an outside question, which in no way affected the essence of the Sacrament. The Iconoclast controversy was, to a certain degree, connected with the question, how far the terms 'figure' or 'type' might be applied to the Holy Eucharist, as representing our Lord's Body. S. John Damascene, the last of the Eastern Fathers, most earnestly protested against the employment of these words, notwithstanding the admitted fact, that they had been used by some writers of great eminence in the Church. The great pseudo-council of Constantinople, in 754, which was attended by 338 bishops, although very unsound in its teaching on the Incarnation, nevertheless took pains to guard itself against asserting the blessed Sacrament to be *merely* a type of our Lord's Body. 'The true image of Jesus Christ,' say they, 'is that which He made Himself, when in the same 'night in which He was betrayed, He took bread, gave thanks, 'blessed, brake, and gave to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, for 'the remission of sins, This is My Body. . . . . Therefore, 'as the natural Body of Jesus Christ is holy by reason of His 'Divinity, so that which is *His Body* by institution, that is to 'say, His holy Image, is sanctified in a certain manner, and 'made divine by grace. For this is what Jesus Christ willed 'to do; to the end that, as He made divine the flesh which He 'took, by a sanctification which is proper and natural to it by

'virtue of the union, thus the bread of the Eucharist, as being 'the true image of the natural flesh, becomes a divine body, 'being sanctified by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the 'mediation of the priest who makes the oblation, and renders 'holy that bread which was common.' This language, if not very satisfactory, is at all events not formally irreconcileable with the general teaching of the Church. The Eucharistic controversy of the ninth century foreshadowed the graver differences of the eleventh; but Paschasius Radburtus on the one side, and Ratramnus, with Hrabanus Maurus, on the other, rather held divergent than opposing views. In the ninth and tenth centuries, it would appear that question was for the first time mooted, which had hitherto been permitted to sleep. Then, for the first time, the doctrine of the annihilation of the substance of bread and wine by the act of consecration, was more fully worked out; then, too, the question was more seriously discussed, what became of the elements after their reception by the communicants; and then, also, as a means of reconciling difficulties, the theory of Impanation was first started.

After this, in the eleventh century, we have the celebrated controversy, in which Berengarius distinguished himself as the leader of those whom ordinary Church historians have always esteemed the forerunners of Calvinists and Zuinglians, but whom Mr. Freeman, with an ingenuity worthy of a better cause, represents as the maintainers of the old teaching of the Church, against the innovations of the Schoolmen. Our author, in commenting on the new Eucharistic doctrines which then had their rise as dogmas, draws the conclusion that they who propounded them were the innovators, and they who opposed them the maintainers of the old doctrine. And while we allow that among a certain party in the Church, which found its mouthpiece in Berengarius, there was a tendency to depreciate the blessed Sacrament to the mere level of a type or sign, there was also a tendency among those who held truer and deeper views, to push what they believed the logical consequences to an extreme; as when it was affirmed that Christ's presence on the altar was natural and local, instead of, as the Roman Church has with almost one accord taught, supernatural and super-local. Let us see, however, what was the history, and what the doctrine, of the man who raised a flame of controversy over the whole of Europe.

We must remember, then, that the doctrine of Paschasius Radburtus, in a sense true and Catholic in itself, 'the Body 'of Jesus Christ in the blessed Sacrament is the same which 'was born of the Virgin, which hung on the cross, and which 'rose again from the dead,' had been pushed by some of

his disciples to an extreme from which every natural feeling recoiled. They affirmed it to be the same, not only in its essence, but in the form and manner of its essence, as the natural Body of Jesus Christ, and thus made it not only received to the spiritual welfare of the faithful, but subject like other food to digestion, and assimilated with the human body. Against this system, the great men of that age, as Gilbert, and Hrabanus Maurus, protested. The writings of Scotus are said by Berengarius to have formed the basis of his system.

At the time when Berengarius first came into notice, he was archdeacon of Angers, and at the head of the school of Tours. This school was by him raised to the highest pitch of reputation; and the scholars of Berengarius became noted all over France. In an evil hour for their master, the celebrated Lanfranc arrived in France, and was placed at the head of the school of the Abbey of Bec. As he passed through Tours, Lanfranc held a kind of scholastic tournament with Berengarius, whom he vanquished at all points; the reputation of the school of Tours fell instantly, and that of Bec succeeded to its prestige. Berengarius, mad with vexation at being reduced to a secondary position, where he had so long occupied the first place, gave up his former studies of grammar and philosophy, for that—in which he had, till then, been a complete stranger—of theology. His was just the character out of which heretics are formed:—some learning, with the reputation of much more than he possessed, considerable eloquence, and an easy flow of words, which concealed a great shallowness of meaning, inordinate vanity, and deep mortification at the success of a rival. If we call to mind the principal heretics by whom the Church has been troubled, we shall find something of the same character in all; Arius, Nestorius, Pelagius, Huss, each of them present to us the same disposition. Perhaps the case of Berengarius responded more closely with that of Nestorius than with any other. It is carefully to be remembered that this writer, whom Mr. Freeman represents as maintaining the ancient and traditional faith of the Church, had confessedly not turned his attention to theology till considerably past the middle age—was from his previous studies more likely to take pleasure in striking out a new, than in defending an old, system—and, by the consent of all, propagated his views on the Eucharist with the express intention of injuring the reputation of his old rival and antagonist, Lanfranc. 'Brother Lanfranc,' he wrote, 'Engelramn of Chartres reports that you disapprove 'and treat as heretical the sentiment of Scotus, touching the 'Sacrament of the Altar, inasmuch as it opposes that of 'Paschasius, which you defend. Brother, if this be so, I tell

'you frankly that it is unworthy of you to reason thus, for you 'are not without intelligence. It is easy to see that neither 'you, nor your disciples, are as yet sufficiently versed in the 'knowledge of Scripture. Although I myself have no especial 'ability in that science, I could wish, if it were possible, to hear 'you discuss this point before such judges and auditors as you 'might choose. Meanwhile, attend to this; if you treat Scotus, 'whose doctrine I approve, as heretical, you must give the same 'appellation to Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, to say nothing 'of many others.'

This rather straightforward than polite letter failed for the moment in its purpose of bringing on a disputation. Lanfranc was on his way to, if not already at, Rome, summoned thither by Leo IX. to a proposed Council. Receiving no reply, Berengarius addressed a second epistle to his rival, in which he claimed the honour of having brought him over to his own opinion. At Rome, the question of the Eucharist was debated: Lanfranc himself incurred some suspicion from the second letter which Berengarius had addressed to him, but justified himself, and procured the condemnation of the doctrine of Scotus. In the meantime, the Archdeacon of Angers, proud of his supposed triumph, disputed his way through Normandy, and visited, among other important personages, Duke William, afterwards to become the conqueror of England. William's taste inclined him to anything but theological studies; he, however, convened an assembly at Brionne, for the discussion of the question. It was held in the church of S. Denys: Lanfranc had not yet returned from Rome, but two of his scholars supplied the place of their master so well, that Berangarius retired with great confusion. His chagrin was increased when, on his arrival at Chartres, he learned his condemnation at Rome, and his summons to a council convoked on the subject of the Eucharist, at Versailles, for the autumn of 1050. In the hope of somewhat retrieving his cause, Berengarius published a letter to Ascelin, one of his opponents at the Council of Brionne, which gives us a little insight into his character. Mr. Freeman will have it that Berengarius was merely supporting the old doctrine: that, to quote his words, 'he must have found the mass of men in that opinion already.' Now, we have already seen Berengarius professed not to have paid any attention to the subject of theology; as good as professed that his object in provoking the disputation was a personal feeling against Lanfranc, and the desire of vindicating the reputation of the school of Tours over that of Bec: and he now tells us in this letter, that the works of Scotus, whose defence he had undertaken with so much zeal, had only been in part read

by him; and, which is of much more importance, we see that he was desirous of lowering the whole doctrine of the blessed Eucharist, and that,—Mr. Freeman will do well to notice it,—not merely as to its theory, but as to its reception. In this letter he excuses himself, as it were, for not 'exclaiming more 'vehemently against that damnable and sacrilegious proposition 'of William: Every man ought to approach the table of the 'Lord at Easter.' And this was the man who, according to our author, was standing in the old paths, contending for, and persecuted for holding, the ancient faith! So lamentably cold had love become, and so relaxed was discipline, in the ninth century, that then first it was found necessary to compel the faithful to occasional Communion. Even then, the minimum was fixed at three times a year; but discipline went on relaxing, and in the eleventh century it was usually held sufficient to communicate at Easter. This Easter Communion was, as every one knows, made obligatory by the Lateran Council under Innocent III., and has since that time been the rule, and in too many instances the sole practice, of the Latin Church. But even against this Berangarius objected as too strict; while it is further to be observed that William's statement of doctrine was not as he gives it. 'Every man,' said the scholar of Lanfranc, 'ought to 'communicate at Easter, unless, on account of some sin, he 'considers himself unworthy to do so; and of this unworthiness 'his confessor and not himself is to be the judge.' Will any man believe that he was standing up for the ancient faith, who thus spoke of Easter Communion as a thing which might very possibly be unadvisable, and which was not to be insisted on?

But it ought also to be noticed that Berengarius was publicly accused of attacking infant baptism, and of following the Manichæans in condemning marriage. Deoduinus, Bishop of Liège, and Guimond, next to Lanfranc the most celebrated opponent of the innovator, publicly and repeatedly made this charge, and it was never denied. Mr. Freeman dwells on the point that Berengarius had been the pupil of Fulbert of Chartres; as if to insinuate that from that great and good man he had received the doctrine which he taught. How does a fellow-pupil of his, Adelmann, afterwards Bishop of Brescia, conjure his friend, 'by the memory of our dear Fulbert, not to trouble the peace 'of the Catholic Church, for which so many thousand martyrs 'and holy doctors have combatted, and which they have so 'defended that heretics have ever since remained confounded?'

Again, Mr. Freeman makes much of expressions like these in his work 'De Sacra Cœna,' for the first time published in 1834, at Berlin: 'Be perfectly certain that I affirm that the bread 'and wine of the altar after consecration are indeed the Body

'and Blood of Christ.' And again: 'That the bread and wine 'after consecration are changed into the true Body and Bloo l 'of Christ, is the sentence of the Evangelists, Apostles, and 'authentic Scriptures.' But let him explain his own words. 'I say,' thus he writes to Adelmann, 'that, according to 'Scripture, the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of 'Jesus Christ; consequently, I cannot deny that, after the 'consecration, the bread and wine are, FOR FAITH AND FOR 'UNDERSTANDING, the true Body and Blood of Christ.' It is clear that no Calvinist would object to sign Berengarius's profession of faith, with Berengarius's explanation. Why then does he so often and so ostentatiously employ the words, the true Body and the true Blood of Christ? He shall inform us himself. 'You have heard,' he says, in the same letter that we have just quoted, 'that I do not hold that in the Eucharist the true 'Body and true Blood of Christ exist. Be certain that I have 'always rejected the opinion of the *Manichæans*.' Berengarius, that is, was falsely accused of teaching that our Lord's Body itself was not a real and true, but merely a fantastical, Body. Against this accusation he successfully defends himself; and, in so constantly using his favourite expression, he means, that the blessed Eucharist was a sign or figure, not of an imaginary, but of a real, Body; and in so far as it was a sign of it, might, 'to faith and intelligence,' be called a real Body. The opinion of the Manichæans had nothing in the world to do with the Eucharistic question which we are considering. Berengarius's argument, if fairly expressed, would be this: 'If I say that in 'any sense the bread and wine become the real Body and Blood 'of our Lord, meaning thereby that they become the sign of the 'real Body and Blood of our Lord, I cannot be a Manichæan; 'for with those heretics the Holy Eucharist can only be the 'symbol of a fantastic and unreal Body.'

The rest of the varied life of Berengarius, his repeated submissions to the Church, and retractations, the nine Councils held on the question he had excited, in eight of which he was condemned,—these things are less to our purpose than was the origin and rise of his teaching, because they are of less use in determining whether that teaching were an innovation or a resistance to innovation. The works of Lanfranc and of Guimond remain to testify to the faith of his opponents. For himself, it is well known that he, after five distinct and explicit professions of his faith in the real and substantial change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of our Lord, retracted every one, and was only permitted to end his days in peace through the personal friendship of Gregory VII. His affectionate scholar, Hildebert, afterwards Archbishop of Tours,

affirms that he died in the Catholic faith; but that which is by others said to have been his dying declaration will probably be remembered by many of our readers in its versified form by Coleridge:—

> 'No more 'twixt conscience struggling and the Pope,
> Shall I at length before my God appear:
> By Him to be acquitted, as I hope;
> By Him to be condemned, as I fear.'

However much we may join in the hope, we cannot think that this vain, irritable, vacillating man, can bring much support to any cause; and surely never was character which bore less resemblance to that of a confessor for primitive faith and unbroken tradition.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the two subjects we have mentioned,—a daily Eucharist and the presence of non-communicants at the Sacrifice,—let us give a glance at the very earliest sources of liturgical information on which we may rely. We deeply regret that Mr. Freeman's second volume —which, it appears from references to it, will embrace a consideration of this question—has not yet appeared. It is exactly the subject to suit our author's talents; and we are quite certain that its publication will add a volume of no small importance to our scanty English store of liturgical treatises. In the meantime, and for the better elucidation of what is to follow, we will offer a few remarks on the general subject of Liturgies.

Our author, in both the published parts of his work, has dwelt most clearly and forcibly on the inestimable importance of the ancient Liturgies themselves for the elucidation of Eucharistic doctrine. Most cordially we agree with him where he says:—'In determining Eucharistic questions, Liturgies are 'greater than Fathers. The Fathers, in truth, ever deferred 'to, or do but expound, the Liturgies.' In looking, then, at these Offices themselves, it becomes of the utmost importance to determine which are they which we may be absolutely certain to be primitive. And, first, let us see what liturgical traces we discover in the New Testament; an inquiry to which we hope to find Mr. Freeman's attention directed in the second volume of his great work, but on which it is absolutely necessary to say a few words in this place.

It is clear from the general tenor of S. Paul's Epistles, that he was in the habit of laying down a particular form of discipline and ritual for his newly converted Christians. Compare such passages as these:—1 Cor. iv. 17: 'For this cause have 'I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful 'in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my

'ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in all 'Churches.' 1 Cor. vii. 17: 'And so ordain I in all Churches.' 1 Cor. xi. 2: 'Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember 'me in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them 'unto you.' 2 Thess. ii. 15: 'Therefore, brethren, stand fast, 'and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether 'by word, or our epistle.' 2 Thess. iii. 6: 'Now we com-'mand you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh 'disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us.' And so also we may perhaps take such texts as:—'But speaking 'the truth in love, may grow up unto him *in all things*,' &c. And again, Phil. iii. 16: 'Whereto we have already attained, 'let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing.' And iv. 9: 'Those things, which ye have both learned, and 'received, and heard, and seen in me, do.' 1 Tim. ii. 12: '*I* suffer not a woman to teach, but to be in silence.' And so again the rule about widows, in 1 Tim. v. 9—11; and yet more strikingly, 2 Tim. i. 13: 'Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me,'—that is, an unwritten, liturgical tradition. Neither is it an unlikely, though certainly not a positive hypothesis, that 'the cloak which was left at Troas with Carpus, and the books, but especially the parchments,' were a liturgical vestment, and books connected with the service of the altar. If we now turn to details, we shall find a more striking proof of our assertion.

Taking therefore, the general norm of all early Liturgies, and dividing it into two grand portions, the mass of the Catechumens and the mass of the faithful, our accounts will stand somehow thus:—

The reading of the Scriptures of the Old Testament (afterwards generally called the *Prophecy*).

The Epistle. Col. iv. 16: 'And when this epistle is read 'among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the 'Laodiceans; and that ye also read the epistle from Laodicea.'

1 Thess. v. 27: 'I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.'

The Gospel.

Hymns. Eph. v. 19: 'Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.'

Col. iii. 16: 'Admonishing one another in psalms and hymns.'

S. James v. 13: 'Is any merry? let him sing psalms,' (which, be it remembered, comes in immediate juxtaposition with the rites *of the Church*. 'Is any sick among you?' &c. And 'Confess your faults one to another,' &c.)

2 Tim. ii. 11: 'It is a faithful saying:

'*For if we be dead with Him,*
We shall also live with Him:
If we suffer,
We shall also reign with Him:
If we deny Him,
He also will deny us.'

Eph. v. 14: 'Wherefore he saith,

'*Awake, thou that sleepest,*
And arise from the dead,
And Christ shall give thee light.'

We believe that a very remarkable circumstance connected with this hymn has never been noticed. Every one must notice the anacreontic rhythm of the original:—

ἐγεῖραι ὁ καθεύδων,
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρων,
[καὶ] ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

It would appear also on the very face of the thing, that this hymn was, in some way or other, connected with Baptism. 'Christ shall give thee *light*,'—the well-known illumination of the early Church. Now in the most ancient Roman Use we find a baptismal hymn of the remotest antiquity written in the same metre:—

'Audite voces hymni:
Et vos qui estis digni
In hâc beatâ nocte
Descendite ad fontes,' &c.

Knowing, as we do, how the early Western Church borrowed its melodies and rhythm from the East, can we doubt that the apostolic quotation is indeed from a hymn the melody of which was common to both East and West, and which was used at the Easter or Whitsuntide Baptism?

The Creed.

Though this does not appear to have been of so early or universal use in the Liturgy, we have a remarkably clear quotation from one in 1 Cor. xv. 3—5: '*I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received.*'

'Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and was buried, and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.'

The Sermon.

Acts xx. 7: 'When the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them.'

The Offertory.

1 Cor. ix. 13, 14: 'Do ye not know that they which wait at

'the altar are partakers with the altar? even so hath the Lord 'ordained,' &c.

1 Cor. xvi. 2. 'Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him.'

The Kiss of Peace.

Rom. xvi. 16: 'Salute one another with an holy kiss.' So 1 Cor. xvi. 20; and, 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26—'Greet the brethren with an holy kiss:' 1 Pet. v. 14, 'Greet ye one another with a kiss of charity.'

The words of Institution.

'For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered 'unto you, That the Lord Jesus, the same night in which He 'was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He 'brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my Body, which is broken 'for you: this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner 'also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying, This cup is 'the new testament in My Blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink 'it, in remembrance of Me.'

The great Intercession for quick and dead.

Every one knows that this Intercession occupies, in different liturgies, four different positions. Between the Invocation of the Holy Ghost and the Lord's Prayer, which is the Eastern Use generally; before the Commemoration of Institution, which is S. Mark's Use; partly before, partly after that Commemoration, which is the Roman Use; and after the Invocation, which is the Nestorian. Now then, bearing in mind that it is a Western custom by which the Intercession is made to precede consecration, and this Intercession is for the living only, we find the most remarkable force in S. Paul's reference to it,—'I exhort, therefore, that FIRST OF ALL'—that is, before the Consecration itself commences—'supplications, prayers, intercessions, 'and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings and for all 'that are in authority,' where this last clause shows that the words 'all men' are here to be taken in the sense of all living men. S. Paul is, therefore, not only alluding to the liturgical intercession, but his expression gives us very good grounds for concluding that even as early as A.D. 65 there were already different liturgical families, and that the Petrine then, as now, commemorated the living before the act of consecration.

The Lord's Prayer.

[S. Gregory, Epistles 7, 64. 'Orationem Dominicam idcirco 'post *precem* dicimus, quia mos fuit Apostolorum ut ad ipsam 'solummodo Orationem Oblationem nostram consecrarent.']

We may divide the whole body of Liturgies into five distinct families:—the Roman, or that of S. Peter; that of Hierosolymitan, or that of S. James; the Ephesine, or that of S. John;

the Eastern, or that of S. Thaddeus; and the Clementine. Of these the Roman, though influencing all the Western forms, has, strictly speaking, no offshoots. The Ephesine, transplanted by early missionaries into France, gave rise, on the one hand, to the Gallican (and, therefore, the Early British), on the other hand to the Mozarabic, originating also, though less decidedly, the Ambrosian and Aquilæan, or, as it was called, Patriarchine rite. The Hierosolymitan can boast the largest offspring;—in one direction, the Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom; in another, the Sicilian Office; in a third, the Syriac Liturgy of S. James and its forty Syro-Jacobite derivatives. The Eastern family embraces its three Nestorian rites. That of S. Mark, its own three offices, and the twelve of the Ethiopic Church. And there is then, finally, the Clementine, whether or not it were ever actually used in any Church.

Now the question of all questions for the liturgical scholar is this: What is the date which may be assigned to the framework of the earliest of these liturgies? The main grounds on which we have to go are:—the Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril, which show that in the early part of the fourth century the Liturgy of S. James was in all essentials the same as we have it now; that the Apostolic Constitutions prove the so-called Liturgy of S. Clement to have existed at the beginning of the third, its type being precisely the same with those of other apostolic liturgies, except in the one remarkable omission of the Lord's Prayer; that one of the Gallican Liturgies, Number 5 in the edition of Messrs. Neale & Forbes, is attributed on very strong grounds to A.D. 176; that several of the intercessory prayers in the Liturgy of S. James seem to be clearly of an earlier date than the final destruction of Jerusalem after the revolt of Barcochebas in 115. If we also take into consideration that the intercessory prayer in S. Mark's Liturgy, where supplication is made for the Roman Emperor, bears the strongest impress of at least equal antiquity, and so assume these two to have been in use, as to their main parts, as early as the year 100, we have the strongest grounds for pushing their antiquity to a still higher point. S. James himself, according to the most probable chronology, suffered martyrdom in the year 60; S. Mark in the year 62. Now in these two Liturgies, confessedly of the most primitive antiquity, we find a difference of some importance. The General Intercession for quick and dead occupies, in the Liturgy of S. James, and in all its derivatives, a position between the invocation of the Holy Ghost and the Lord's Prayer. But in S. Mark's and its family alone it is prefixed to the words of Institution. And in the Roman Liturgy, deriving its fabric from the master of S. Mark, this same intercession is broken into two parts,

so that the living are commemorated before, the dead after, the words of Institution. Again, in the Nestorian Liturgies, and in them only, the intercession is placed between the words of Invocation and the Institution. Now, surely, no post-apostolic liturgists would have ventured to make so startling a change from whatever, supposing the original arrangement to have been the same, that original arrangement might have been. In these three Liturgies, then, we see the actual work of three of the Apostles; and although we know that none of them committed their Liturgies to writing, we may well believe that in all their main portions these rites are verbally the same with those which they used. There can be little doubt that at the very beginning, when, as S. Luke says, 'They, continuing daily with one accord in the Temple, did break their bread from house to house,' S. James, for example, used his own extempore form of liturgy, inweaving into it those of the Temple prayers which most suited this Sacrament, and to which his auditors were daily accustomed, (for, except so far as the blessed Eucharist was concerned, their daily service was still in the Temple,) but giving the more peculiar parts of the Office in a form always very much the same, and which in time, from frequent repetition, must have become absolutely the same. Of this form S. James's disciples had indeed no written copies, but they knew it by heart, and whatever little varieties might have been employed by the 'Brother of the Lord' while he lived, his usual words, as they were remembered by those who had ministered with him, must have been crystallised, so to speak, when the Apostle was taken away from them. We never can doubt that the very form of the invocation of the Holy Ghost is that which S. James himself employed. There is a life and freshness in the reference to the descent of the Holy Ghost, as to a thing in which the author had been personally interested, which we shall seek in vain in liturgies of even so early a date as that of S. Basil. Compare the two:—S. James,—'Who descended in the form 'of a dove on our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and 'rested upon Him. Who descended upon Thy holy Apostles 'in the likeness of fiery tongues, in the upper room of the 'holy and glorious Sion, on the day of Pentecost. Send down 'the same Most Holy Ghost, upon us, and upon these proposed 'gifts,' &c. S. Basil;—'Lord, who didst send down Thy Holy 'Ghost at the third hour on the Apostles, take Him not from 'us, but renew Him in us who pray to Thee.' Again, the wonderful similarity in arrangement between the Alexandrine and the Roman Liturgy can only be explained by the connexion between S. Peter and S. Mark, a fact which of itself carries us back to the most primitive of all times. Into these

points, and such as these, we hope that Mr. Freeman will direct his attention in the forthcoming volume of his work, and more especially we recommend to his notice the question, To what extent all the early Liturgies, but more especially that of Jerusalem, were influenced by the Temple Service? Another topic, too, which, so far as we know, has never yet been discussed, namely, What are the liturgies which the Arians used? and whether any traces or fragments of them still survive? It is clearly impossible that they could have used any Liturgy which we at present have, without considerable alteration, and they who changed the doxology were certainly not likely to hesitate at any other change.

It is time, however, to turn more especially to our author himself; and let us, in the first place, consider the arguments which Mr. Freeman adduces in support of his assertion, that a daily Eucharist is contrary to the spirit of the primitive Church. We will allow him to make his own statement in his own words:—

'I venture to affirm, first, that the Holy Eucharist is, in its proper nature, a festival thing; by which I mean, a high, occasional, and solemn one, not every-day or common; and, secondly, that in the very earliest, and surely the wisest and holiest age, celebration, though never less than weekly, was seldom more frequent than that; never, that we know of for certain (though at high seasons it possibly may have been so) daily; and that in these considerations, not in any *à priori* arguments as to the excellence of the rite, is to be laid the basis of a right estimate as to the frequency of celebration which is either to be expected or desired.'

Mr. Freeman allows that as early as A.D. 250 daily celebration was, if not the use, at least a general practice, in the Church of Carthage. This is, surely, a reasonably early date; but, if our author is to be believed, it was, early as the epoch might be, a corruption which was afterwards to bring forth sad fruit. To the beginning of the fifth century he refers the universal prevalence of a daily Eucharist.

Now we think that he dismisses far too lightly the vexed question about apostolic practice. He says that the celebrated verse (Acts ii. 46), 'They, continuing daily with one accord in 'the Temple, and breaking bread from house to house,' is not a decisive proof, because it may possibly only be intended to affirm that the attendance of the Apostles in the Temple was daily, while, in addition to that, the Holy Eucharist was also, at certain times, celebrated. It is certainly just possible that the words themselves might admit that meaning; but, surely, if taken in their plain literal sense, the visit of S. Paul to Troas affords most decided proof of daily celebration. In the first place we read: 'Upon the first day of the week, when the

'disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto 'them, ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his 'speech until midnight.' If these words mean anything, they surely mean this—that on that Sunday there was a celebration; very probably, as the early custom was, in the afternoon or evening; that, this celebration over, the Apostle preached, and that he continued his discourse till midnight. S. Luke proceeds to relate the death of Eutychus and the miracle wrought by S. Paul, and then continues: 'When he therefore was come up 'again, and had broken bread and eaten, and talked a long 'while, even till break of day, he departed.' Surely this must mean, that there was a second celebration early on the Monday morning, in addition to that which had been on the Sunday afternoon or evening. We do not mean to say, that, if this were the whole evidence of apostolic practice, it would be absolutely decisive. But we have these three facts: 1. That in their *primâ facie* sense, and as they would be taken by an ignorant person, the passages in the Acts assume a daily celebration. 2. That, to use Mr. Freeman's own words, 'it is commonly 'said, and the saying passes from mouth to mouth without 'inquiry, that the first Christians communicated every day.' 3. That as early as 250 a large portion of them did confessedly enjoy a daily Eucharist. Now, the question is surely unanswerable; granting a weekly Eucharist to have been the apostolic institution, how came it to pass that so tremendous a change was made in the whole economy of the Church without calling forth one word of remonstrance, of warning, or—from those who agreed in the change—of approbation? An argument of Mr. Freeman's may be turned with irresistible force against himself:—

'Whence the rule that none should participate in the eucharistical elements oftener than once in the same day? Why not twice or thrice a-day, or even hourly? There is nothing in the world that can account for this prohibition on the part of the Church but her strongly entertained mind that participation more than once a-day would evacuate the great rite of some important and indispensable feature. And what can that be? Its sacramental efficacy? Surely not. The reason manifestly is this: that in daily participation the eucharistic act is carried to the utmost limit it is capable of, consistently with its character as the high festival of Christianity.'

But surely the argument lies the other way. If no consideration of convenience or devotion could, even in the middle ages, induce a celebration more frequent than once a-day, because that was felt to be the standing rule and order of the Church, how is it possible that in primitive times, with their far higher appreciation of, and greater deference to, apostolic precedent, a daily could have been substituted for a weekly Eucharist? Were

mediæval ritualists so much more tenacious of ancient practice than S. Cyprian and the other saints and doctors of that illustrious epoch? A change such as Mr. Freeman indicates, from Sunday to daily celebration, could scarcely have been of less moment than the question about the other great sacrament—the validity or non-validity of Baptism by heretics. Why should the Cyprianic age be full of the one discussion, and have left not a syllable with respect to the other?

Let it be considered that everything in mediæval times would have encouraged a more frequent than daily celebration. The very disjunction of the Sacrifice from the Communion rendered it most easy; while the number of masses offered either for the dead or the living would have made it, to mediæval eyes, most desirable. What, then, prohibited the 'change? Surely, the deep feeling that from the beginning a daily Eucharist was the rule. And have we not this law of daily celebration given at a period even yet more primitive than the time of the Apostles? Does it not stand inscribed at the very beginning of the Gospels as an everlasting inheritance to the Christian Church? The *lex orandi*, it is always allowed, forms the *lex credendi;* and while that petition shall stand in the Lord's Prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' understood as it has been from the very beginning in its principal and highest sense of the blessed Eucharist, it surely goes far towards settling the question in itself. It is wonderful that Mr. Freeman, whose mind is of the class to which such arguments speak most powerfully, should not have alluded to the Lord's Prayer as connected with his subject.

If from the testimony of Scripture we turn to that of Liturgies, while we can hardly expect any decided proof one way or the other, we must confess that we cannot see any evidence on Mr. Freeman's side in the single passage he quotes. It is from the first prayer in the Liturgy of S. Mark, a prayer to which we agree with him, and with Mr. Neale, in attributing the most remote antiquity. 'We thank Thee,' is the passage, 'that 'Thou hast shielded us, helped us, preserved us, and led us 'through the past time of our life, until this hour; and hast 'vouchsafed that we should again stand before Thee in Thy holy 'place, asking remission of our sins, and propitiation for all Thy 'people. And we beseech Thee, and call upon Thee, O good 'God and Lover of men, grant to us to accomplish this holy day, 'and all the time of our life, without sin, with all joy, health, 'safety, and all sanctification, and thy fear.' From the expression 'this holy day,' Mr. Freeman argues that a Sunday or festival must be intended. But, in the first place, the phrase by no means implies so much. A sense of the holiness of every day is strongly impressed in more passages than one of these

very Liturgies; and certainly, besides the general sanctity of every Christian day, that day is more especially holy, whatever it be, on which the blessed Eucharist is celebrated. Or, granting that the expression does refer to a festival, the whole prayer may have been originally—as so many others in various Liturgies—appointed for Sunday only, and the absence of rubric may have caused it to appear as an integral part of the service at all times. Or, from having been recited on the Sunday, it may have come into ordinary week-day use from a general sense of appropriateness, just as in the Western Church the hymn *Jam lucis orto sidere*,—originally, beyond doubt, intended for a fast,—is said daily at Prime, notwithstanding its express allusion to abstinence.

And to pass from Liturgies to the earliest writers. What do the references given by Bingham and Mr. Freeman prove beyond this, that a daily Eucharist was not universal in the second and third centuries? At all events, let these passages prove what they may, they are as much against Mr. Freeman's theory of a weekly Eucharist, as against daily celebration. For Tertullian recognises celebration on Saturday as well as Sunday, and S. Basil, additionally, on Wednesday and Friday. Contending, therefore, for communion once a-week, our author has no right to quote canons or authors which enjoin it twice or four times. But, in point of fact, these references prove only (which no one can doubt) that the Saturday and Sunday celebrations were far more numerously attended than those of other days. Mr. Freeman refers to a restriction laid on the faithful by Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria, with respect to Saturday and Sunday, 'based upon the ground that upon these the Spiritual Sacrifice is offered to the Lord.' Hence he concludes, as Bingham had done before him, that it was offered only on those days. But, in point of fact, another canon of the same Timothy proves Bingham to have entirely misapprehended his author. The Patriarch being asked whether one of the faithful, if subject to possession, may receive the Holy Communion, replies, "If he can do so without betraying the mystery, or otherwise blaspheming, let him communicate, BUT NOT EVERY DAY, for the Sunday will be sufficient." We expect, therefore, that in the forthcoming portion of his work Mr. Freeman will retract the following sentence, vol. i. p. 191:—'Throughout the Church of Alexandria, so late as the end of the fourth century, the Eucharist was only celebrated on Saturdays and Sundays;" nothing being more manifest from the author alleged in support of this sentence, than that it was celebrated daily.

Let it be remembered, then:—

1. That the plain natural sense of the apostolic account in the Acts *implies* a daily Eucharist.

2. That it has been so understood from the beginning.

3. That as early as A.D. 250 we find a daily Eucharist, if not universally, at least widely, the practice.

4. That we find no trace whatever of any remonstrance against, or comments of any kind on, so momentous a change as that from a weekly to a daily Eucharist.

5. That the passages quoted in support of the opposite hypothesis are susceptible of another interpretation, or may only be the exceptions which prove the rule.

6. That our Lord's own teaching, 'This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me,' and His own law of prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' speak most emphatically in favour of a daily Eucharist.

To us it seems utterly impossible to withstand the force of these arguments, backed as they are by the whole weight of universal tradition.

We now come to the other question—the presence of non-communicants during the celebration. And we cannot but think that Mr. Freeman's theory of a weekly Eucharist was partly invented as an outwork to support his yet more favourite hypothesis, that non-communicants should not be present during the Sacrifice; for the two, as he himself allows, have an intimate connexion. It is utterly impossible, even in primitive times, that every Christian could have received daily. If, therefore, daily communion were the use, either the attendance of the faithful at the Divine Service must have been irregular and less frequent, or non-communicants must have remained through the whole.

Here, however, we shall do well to turn to another writer on the same subject, Mr. Scudamore, whose work on the 'Communion of the Laity' Mr. Freeman considers decisive on the subject, and to whom we will most willingly concede the praise of having mustered a host of plausible authorities on his side of the question, and having made the very best of his cause.

In the first place, we remark that the voice of the present English Church is as clear and definite in favour of the presence of non-communicants as any judgment well can be. We know, as a point of fact, that, till the last revision of the Prayer-book, these words occurred in the second exhortation:—

'And whereas ye offend God so sore, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more; which thing ye shall do if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be not partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness to God? Truly it is a great unkindness to say Nay, when ye be called; but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink this Holy

Communion with other. I pray you what can this be else but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all, Take ye and eat. Take and drink ye all of this. Do this in remembrance of Me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye hear these words? What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than you should so do, *depart you hence*, and give place to those that be godly disposed.'

It is also matter of fact, that, in the last revision, this passage was entirely omitted. And, to make the alteration more striking, the exhortation itself remained the same with this one single exception. What can be more clear? Before the last alteration the Prayer-book discouraged the presence of non-communicants; at the last revision that discouragement was formally withdrawn. But, says Mr. Scudamore, we know, from other sources, that those who were chiefly concerned in that revision held to the principle that non-communicants ought to depart; and, therefore, 'the warning to depart was withdrawn at the last 'revision because no longer necessary, and therefore not appro-'priate.' Now, in this single argument there are three distinct misstatements. 1. In receiving a book, we are not to receive it according to the supposed intention of the author or authors, but according to the plain and literal meaning of the words. Cranmer and his fellows said to the non-communicant, 'You shall not stay in church;' Cosin and his companions said to him, 'You may.' If any Roman Catholic were to urge the supposed belief of Cranmer or Latimer as a proof against the orthodoxy of our Communion Office, Mr. Scudamore would be the first to say, and that most justly, 'What we have to do with is the written letter, and not the supposed intention.' While, therefore, the present Prayer-book stands as it does, compared with its pre-decessor, so long we are bound to hold that non-communicants are designedly not excluded—to say the very least—from remaining through the service. 2. But it is not the fact that the last revisers did entertain these sentiments. Mr. Scudamore finds fault with the late Archdeacon Wilberforce for misrepre-senting those of Cosin: the reader shall judge with how much justice. Cosin had said: 'Better were it to endure the absence 'of the people than for the minister to neglect the usual and 'daily sacrifice of the Church, by which all people, whether 'they be there or no, reap so much benefit; and this was the 'opinion of my lord and master, Dr Overall.' Can any words be stronger as to Cosin's own belief? And on what ground, can the reader suppose, does Mr. Scudamore reject their posi-tive testimony? Because the same Bishop Cosin, in the 'Par-ticulars to be considered, explained, and corrected,' in the Book of Common Prayer, pointed out that the exhortations 'were

'more fit to be read some days before the Communion than at 'the very same time when the people are come to receive it,' because 'they that tarry are not negligent, and they that be negligent are gone, and hear it not.' They that tarry! Yes; but who told our author that this means they who tarry to receive? With Bishop Cosin's known and proved sentiments on the benefit which non-communicants receive from being present at the sacrifice, it must mean—it can mean nothing else than—they that tarry, whether to receive or only to assist: we are all agreed that they who do neither '*are* negligent.' But was this a sufficient ground on which to accuse Archdeacon Wilberforce of misrepresentation? Again: Laud, as the founder of the school of Cosin, is quoted by our author as a witness on his own side. And yet this same Laud, in his order for the Coronation Service, expressly lays down that no one is to receive except some eight or ten of the great officials concerned in the rite. Wren, too, equally claimed by our author, merely ordered on one particular occasion that non-communicants—whose presence during the celebration he distinctly recognises—should not be permitted to remain in the choir. 3. And then, what a reason is this, that the dismissal in the exhortation was dropped because the practice had gone out of fashion! We know that twenty-three years before the revision the practice remained in its full strength. Now, notice that when the Scotch Office Book was introduced in 1637, there had been no such practice since the Reformation, and yet the dismissal has its place in that rite. Were twenty years sufficient to eradicate in England that which sixty—and that sixty of so far more turbulent change—had been unable to uproot in Scotland? Or rather, is not the whole argument brought forward for the sake of saying something where there is nothing to be said? But, 4. Granting that it was the practice for non-communicants to retire, while the exhortation in question was retained, they had a time given them at which to do so, namely, directly after the conclusion of that exhortation. It is clear, then, that had the revisers contemplated their retiring as matter of necessity, they would have inserted a rubric to the effect that 'they who do not intend to communicate are now to leave the church.' They did no such thing, and why? Because, while they did not intend to force them to remain, they would not facilitate their retiring by making any provision for it.

We will now follow Mr. Scudamore in another of his arguments; where, however, it is not so easy to reply to him and to Mr. Freeman together. For the latter, as we have seen, strenuously denies that a daily Eucharist was the primitive custom. The former affirms, that if not universal, it was at

least general; the latter asserts that from the very beginning there was a daily sacrifice of prayer and praise, totally unconnected with the Liturgy. Mr. Scudamore 'can see no trace 'during the first three centuries of any service provided by 'authority, and conducted by the Bishop or Presbyter in the 'usual place of common worship, at which the Holy Eucharist 'was not celebrated.' Nevertheless, some remarks may serve as a common answer to both.

And granting that, at the very beginning, every one who could attend Divine worship at all was present at the Holy Eucharist, and every one present received, what consequence can be drawn from those great and wonderful ages as regards our own? While the Church had not yet embraced the world, while 'the Israelites pitched before them like two little flocks of kids, but the Syrians filled the country,' while the life of every Christian was held by so doubtful a tenure as the will of the magistrate in calling him to sacrifice, what amount of holiness and devotion might not reasonably be expected? We know that in Apostolic days all that believed had all things in common; it would be as reasonable to expect that this regulation also should have continued, as that others, equally the result of constant persecution, constant expectation of death, and a belief in the almost immediate return of the Lord, should also be permanent. For those who were desirous of acting up to the primitive life, the early Church soon made provision in her monasteries; for the rest she was compelled, through no fault of her own, but through a changed order of things and an extended sphere of usefulness, to relax her discipline. Even S. Paul in one passage clearly points out that the case must be so: 'I wrote unto you in an epistle,' &c.; but he is compelled to confess that, if his injunctions were taken in the strictest and largest sense, 'then must ye needs go out of the world.' You have to legislate for a changed system, and it is absurd to stickle for one piece of primitive discipline, (supposing it indeed to be primitive,) while you give up all the rest.

Nothing is easier than to quote passages from the Fathers which dwell in the strongest possible manner on the necessity of receiving the blessed Sacrament as often as it was celebrated. But those who are principally referred to, such as S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and their contemporaries,[1] lived at the precise period when the intermixture of the world with

[1] We must protest against Mr. Scudamore's use of the barbarous word cotemporary. He should have remembered Bentley's reply to the unfortunate Boyleans, 'So that the Examiner's *cotemporary* is a word of his own *coposition*, for which the learned world will *cogratulate him*.'

the Church, and the consequent lowering of the standard of Christian life, was becoming more and more painfully visible. Yet even here, notice how these Fathers assumed that there would be many occasions in which non-communicants would rightly be present. 'If this bread is daily offered to you,' says S. Ambrose, 'why do you receive it yearly, as is the wont of the Greeks in the East?' He distinctly assumes that the faithful neither would nor could receive the Bread of Life daily; he does not blame them for not communicating always when they remained, but for remaining without communicating every day in the year but one. Again, S. Augustine expressly lays down that they who do not communicate daily are no more to be blamed than they who do. 'For neither Zaccheus,' says he, 'nor that centurion, disputed with each other, nor preferred 'himself the one to the other, when the one received the Lord 'into his house with joy, and the other said, Lord, I am not 'worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof. Both 'honouring the Saviour in different and contrary ways, both 'wretched in sins, obtained mercy. For the one, through 'honouring the Sacrament, dares not receive it daily; and the 'other, through honouring it, dares not omit a single day in 'receiving it. Contempt is the only thing which that Food 'mislikes, as the manna misliked the loathing of the Israelites.' 'Whether,' as it has been well remarked, 'the custom of 'walking out after the sermon, or of remaining without receiving, 'most indicates contempt of the Sacrament, there can be hardly 'any doubt.'

Then there is another class of persons whose non-presence Mr. Scudamore would enforce, whereas S. Chrysostom exults and glories in their being present—we mean children. Is it not a mere mockery to refer to primitive usage in support of the retirement of non-communicants,—granting that usage to be in favour of the practice,—when a return to this practice would involve the dismissal of those whose enforced absence all antiquity would have regarded with horror? Is there any fact more certain than this, that the Communion of infants was, if it cannot be absolutely proved an Apostolic, at least an Isapostolic practice; that a child so communicated did not receive again, till it had arrived at years in which it could understand somewhat of the nature of the Sacrament,—say seven, eight, or nine, as the case might be,—and that from thenceforth it was equally a communicant with any other member of the congregation? Is it not a fact that this practice has remained unchanged in the East till the present day, though the age of recommencing communion may be somewhat later? Is it not equally a fact that the disuse of infant communion in the West, scarcely preceded by 200 years

the denial of the chalice to the laity, and was originally a Pelagian development? These things cannot be denied, and being as they are, they utterly invalidate an appeal like Mr. Scudamore's to primitive antiquity. Grant—which we do not for a moment grant—that non-communicants were compelled to retire; still a large proportion of the congregation who would now, by the operation of that rule, be thrust out, were not only invited and encouraged in primitive times to stay, but were the subjects of peculiar welcome. Let us assume that the average age of first communion in England is fifteen; let us also assume that in primitive times, the average age of the commencement of regular communion, was eight. For seven long years, then, those who think with Mr. Scudamore, would drive from their celebrations those of whom S. Chrysostom writes: 'For as we know our 'own faults, we cry in behalf of those who have sinned 'grievously, and who are liable to sin; that innocent infants, the 'imitators of whose simplicity look for the kingdom of heaven, 'pray for us.' Take a parish of a thousand souls. Between the ages of eight and fifteen, there would out of these be about a hundred. And these hundred would, Sunday after Sunday, be expelled from the table and the banquet of Him, Who said, 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not;' and whose example in this respect the early Church delighted so faithfully to follow.

On the whole, then, we think that the more the subject is examined, the more it will appear:—

1. That even in the most primitive times, it was very usual for non-communicants to remain during the whole of the celebration.

2. That naturally, when first love began to cool, and first fervour to abate, the great doctors of the Church spoke in the strongest terms against the habit of remaining without communicating; meaning thereby, not to condemn remaining as against departing, but merely to censure remaining without communion as against remaining for communion.

3. That other passages condemn the being present during the celebration and then departing, not simply nor absolutely, but with the notion of contempt of the blessed Sacrament, or riotous or unruly behaviour; neither of which questions enters into our present subject.

4. That every argument which may be used in favour of episcopacy having existed from the very beginning, may be used also in favour of the system of the non-retirement of non-communicants, having been likewise from the beginning. If it had not been so, at what age of the Church could it have come in without the solemn protest of some Father, or some Council?

Let our opponents produce the Father, or the Council, and seeing will be believing.

There is yet one other point on which Mr. Scudamore dwells, and which he shall state in his own words. It is to the effect that the Sacrifice is identical with the Communion; that it cannot be offered except by Communion:—

'IV. This identity of the Sacrament with the commemoration, of the Communion with the Sacrifice, is constantly recognised in the language of the early Christian writers. With them, to have a part in the Sacrifice was to receive, and to "offer" was the same thing as to communicate. We have already seen this in Tertullian, when he advises those who scrupled to communicate during a fast to reserve the Sacrament until the fast was over; by which means, he says, they would both "participate in the sacrifice," and fulfil their other duty. S. Basil directs that certain penitents shall only stand with the faithful for a time "without partaking of the oblation," but when the time has expired, shall "partake of the Sacraments."

* * * *

'The early Christians believed unanimously that remission of sin was one of the graces imparted to the penitent faithful through the holy Eucharist. Now, if the distinction which Mr. Wilberforce adopts between the sacrifice and sacrament be truly ancient and legitimate, we should expect to find this gift especially connected with the sacrificial part of the ordinance. Propitiation, or the impetration of favour, confessed to be undeserved, which includes, of course, forgiveness, has been the main object of sacrifice in all ages, and among all nations of the world; and it was emphatically and especially the end and effect of that sacrifice, which is commemorated in the Eucharist. But is it under this aspect that we find the Eucharist affirmed by ancient writers to convey the pardon of our sins?—Far from it. Sometimes, indeed, they ascribe the gift in general terms to the Divine ordinance as a whole, but far more frequently to the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ which it imparts: and never, unless I am strangely deceived, to any supposed sacrifice distinct from that communion.

* * *

'The inference which I would draw from the universality of belief has been already intimated, viz. that the early Christians knew nothing of that distinction, for which Mr. Wilberforce and his followers contend, between the Sacrifice and the Sacrament. If they had thus divided the institution of Christ into a communion and a sacrifice available even to those who do not communicate, the very nature of a sacrifice would have compelled them to ascribe the gift of pardon, which it conveys, to the propitiatory power of the oblation, rather than, as they did, to an actual reception of the Sacrament.'

On which we may remark how little the passages quoted from the Fathers have to do with Mr. Scudamore's point. To 'participate in the sacrifice;' 'to be partakers of the oblation,' does not mean, to have a share in the benefit of the sacrifice, but merely to receive that which is the material of the sacrifice. We wonder that an experienced writer could bring forward quotations which only prove what we are all agreed on. Again, if the Communion cannot be separated from the Sacrifice, how could the reservation of the Holy Mysteries have been, as

we know it was, a primitive practice? As it has been well observed, 'those who allow partaking of the reserved gifts 'without presence at the sacrifice, cannot consistently refuse 'presence at the sacrifice without partaking.' And here, too, the Scotch Office—though some of its compilers agreed in Mr. Scudamore's views, (witness Bishop Torry's notice to the same effect,)—is directly against his argument. For *before* the Communion that passage occurs, 'Although we be unworthy, 'through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, 'yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and ser-'vice.' Whereas, according to our author, there is as yet no sacrifice to be accepted. But it would be wasting words to dwell longer on this subject.

We will now follow Mr. Freeman into another part of his book, the question of the adoration due to Christ in the blessed Sacrament. And here we must allow him to state his own hypothesis:—

'But what *did* Christ say? And certainly He said not of either element, "This is God;" no, nor yet, "This is Myself," "This is the Son of God," or "The Son of Man." No, He said, "This is My Body which is being given for you," "This is My Blood which is being shed for you." He said *no less* than this;—but He said *no more*. Nor did His Apostles in any way amplify or supplement that primary declaration. S. Paul, for example, does not say, "The bread which we break" is Christ, nor even that it is "the communication or partaking of Christ," but "of the Body of Christ;" nor that "the cup which we bless" is Christ, or even "the partaking of" Christ, but "of the Blood of Christ." He might, indeed, with all truth have used the second of these forms of speech, with reference to the participation of Christ himself, consequent upon the participation of those elements, which are His Body and Blood. But it is worthy of remark, and may well have been a divinely provided safeguard against error, that he does not say so; but here and elsewhere reproduces, as the strict and true account of what is *directly* partaken of in Eucharistic reception, the same as Christ Himself had given; namely, that it is His Body and Blood that are received.

* * * *

'Christ did not, then, in terms, and in so many words, nor did His Apostles after Him identify the consecrated elements with Himself. He announced, indeed, a very awful and mysterious truth concerning them; but this was not the truth that He, in words, announced. Whether this lay hid and was included in what He did declare, is of course a further and most legitimate question. But the fact as to the overt statement of Scripture is as has been here represented.

* * * *

'What, then, is the fact in the case of any ordinary human being? Now, it is true, that as long as a man is alive, he may be said, in some sort, to consist of his body and blood: his body and blood (the latter containing his life) do in a manner make up the man. But when these two are sundered from each other, and from the soul, by a violent death, do we any longer say that the body and blood, without the soul, make up the man, or that they are the man? We do not. And let us not doubt, albeit we speak of great mysteries, that in this point, as in all others belonging to our nature, sin only excepted, Christ was even as we are. His Death being as

real as any man's. His broken Body and His Blood poured out in Death, were no more the Man Christ Jesus, than the body and blood of any other man are that man. True it is that from neither His Body nor His Soul was His Divinity ever separated, but was so present with both that neither could the One be left in hell nor the Other see corruption. But this took not away, nor modified, any of the phenomena in which Death consists; else would there have been no death at all. It did not abrogate the unchangeable law of death, that the body and soul should be truly separated, so as no longer, for the time being, to make up one man. The Divinity, by its contact, preserved in their separated estate both Body and Soul; but did not, for the time then being, cause Them to coalesce into One Man. That effect of the Divinity was reserved for the Resurrection. To doubt this is to deny the unity of the Manhood of Christ, and the proper reality of His Death.

* * * *

'Far from being anxious, therefore, to represent that the living and entire Christ is present by reason of the consecration, we ought very earnestly to contend that He is not; lest, while we seek prematurely to secure the Living Presence of our Redeeming Lord, we lose hold of the very means and instruments of our redemption.

'The idea of Christ's resurrection or risen life does, it is true, enter into the rite; but not at this stage of it, or purely perspectively; whence in some ancient communion offices it is said, "we show forth His Death and confess His Resurrection." And belief in that Resurrection was further symbolized by commixture of a portion of the Elements. But both the rite itself and our attention are properly concentrated, for the time being, on the fact of Christ's Death, as set forth by His Body and Blood.'

And the natural consequence of this theory is expressed in the following passage, the doctrine of which we had rather not characterise:—

'But the same account is to be given of this—our Lord's dwelling in the flesh—as of the former cases of Divine Indwelling. The purpose of it in those cases was, we saw, in the creatures, for their maintenance in being; in particular places, for designation of place, for honour, and sanctification; —for these ends, not to provide a centre, or centres, of worship. And even so the Indwelling of God in Christ in the days of His Flesh, although it might well supremely command, and did accept, worship, yet was strictly, at that time, in order to a work and design then to be accomplished,—the Economy of Human Redemption. Until that was finished, He was pleased, so far as was possible for Him, to empty Himself of His glory; not indeed alienating from Himself—which could not be—the attributes of Divinity, but waving by a gracious self-denial in His then estate, and as on earth (after the analogy of meaner indwellings of deity,) the worship belonging to Him everywhere and in all conditions. Not even after His Resurrection, in His glorified and spiritualized Body, does He depart from this law. This worship is indeed offered and accepted more frequently, but still never enjoined. For the glory-throne, whither He was speeding, He reserves both the sacramental touch, and the full and satisfying adoration of His glorious Body. "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father: but say unto My brethren, I ascend to My Father and to your Father, to My God and your God."'

Such is the theory which Mr. Freeman endeavours to support. We shall merely remark that, to us, it appears to involve a difficulty far surpassing that of transubstantiation. It may be

possible to conceive the conversion of one substance into another, provided that other has a real existence. But how is it possible to conceive the conversion of one substance into another, which not only does not exist, but which has not existed since the night of that first Easter Eve,—which, in its nature, although preserved by God's almighty power from corruption, was yet corruptible: a conversion which no sect or individual ever imagined from the day of Pentecost till the publication of 'Principles of Divine Service?' A question was discussed in the Middle Ages, whether our Lord's Blood remaining on the Cross was to be worshipped with the worship due only to the Trinity; a question of which Fleury drily remarks, that had Peter and John discussed it on their way to the sepulchre, it might to them have been practicable and profitable. But to tell those who seek in the blessed Sacrament for a Living, that they only receive a Dead, Christ,—this is indeed a novelty, which we hope may continue so. To the other remarks of Mr. Freeman on the subject of the adoration due to Christ in the Sacrament, we would contrast the following noble passage from the Bishop of Brechin's late charge:—

'The word Adoration may be taken in very different senses. Two of these need to be specially distinguished. There is a certain adoration (προσκύνησις), which may imply a very inferior kind of respect, and which will vary very much with the habits and idiosyncrasy of a nation. Southern and Eastern nations will use forms which are quite unreal to the colder Northerns. Of this nature is the homage paid even among ourselves to Royalty, and of this nature is the reverence due to the Altar as inculcated by the Caroline Divines, and still practised in some of the English Cathedrals, or the genuflexions mentioned by S. Chrysostom as having been made in his time to the elements or gifts before they were consecrated.

'The other kind of adoration is that prostration of the soul and spirit before the awful Majesty of God, which may or may not be accompanied by any external manifestation, but which is the incommunicable λατρεία due to the Very and Eternal God. Of this, of course, there can be no degree *in genere*. The only degree associated with it must be the capacity of the adoring creature.

'Between these two kinds of adoration the gulf is immense. The first is as nothing in comparison with the second. The first may be used to express the second; but they are substantially different in kind, and must not be confounded.

'Now to apply this to the present case. If the blessed Sacrament be really what we believe it to be; if the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed *taken* and received by the faithful, that Body and that Blood, in some supernatural mode, must be *there* really, to be so taken. And if the Body and the Blood be there really, (inasmuch as the Humanity of our Lord hypothetically united to the Divinity is itself an object of worship), it follows that supreme adoration is due to the Body and Blood of Christ, mysteriously present in the gifts which yet retain their own substance.

'The worship is due not to the gifts, but to Christ in the gifts, and this seems to be what Bishop Andrewes means when he says:—"Christ, the inward part of the Sacrament, in the Sacrament, and out of the Sacrament,

wheresoever He is, is to be worshipped;" and our own great theologian, Bishop William Forbes, of Edinburgh, quoting the Bishop of Spalato, says, "Christ in the Eucharist is to be adored with Divine worship, as His living and glorified Body is present therein." How any belief in the Divine gift in the Holy Eucharist can exist without this prostration of soul and spirit, I am at a loss to conceive. It seems to be a logical necessity. Either Christ is present, or He is not. If He is, He ought to be adored; if He is not, *Cadit quæstio.*

'And yet, making due allowance for the colder temperament of the North, it cannot be doubted that even a certain degree of the external προσκύνησις is due in the Divine Mysteries. Why should so much stress have been laid upon the reception in the posture of kneeling, which was so objected to by the Puritans, if it did not mean this? If it was a mere decent ceremony it was cruel to make it in effect a test of communion or non-communion; it was hard measure to cut off from the Body of Christ every one who scrupled to do so. Surely then it really meant more than this, taken as we must take it, with the strong implicit belief in the Sacrament of the Altar that still remained in the mind of the Church. Then look at the Rubric at the end of the Communion Service, how cautiously it avoids committing itself against the Adoration of Christ in the Gifts; for, condemning the Lutheran error of Ubiquity, which imputed to our Lord's Humanity the properties of His Divine nature, and enunciating S. Thomas Aquinas's doctrine of the supra-local nature of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, it goes on to affirm that "no adoration is intended, or ought to be done"—to what? to Christ verily and indeed taken and received? No: but first to the Sacramental Bread and Wine; and secondly, to any corporal (that is, material,) Presence of Christ's Flesh and Blood. I say corporal means material, for it was substituted for the words "real and essential" at the last revision; the Divines of that day holding that there was a real and essential Presence, though not a corporal one; and that the Presence was not the Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, as was held by some crude believers in the Middle Age, but of His heavenly and glorified Body, which as Bishop Andrewes says, is that of Him who sitteth on high with the Father, and is here, unseen, present with us; for as S. Paul bears witness, "There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." There are two other circumstances, which, in considering this question, ought to be weighed. They may not have been intended to bear upon the question, but providentially they may have been ruled by God towards that end. It may not be safe to press them too far, but they may go so far as to show that our Church never intended to condemn the Adoration of Christ in the Sacrament, while she pronounced against the worship of the Sacrament itself. In the Post-Reformation Prayer-Book, why should the "Gloria in excelsis" have been removed from the beginning of the Service, which is its natural place, to the position it occupies,—after the public thanksgiving prayer, but before the consumption of the residue of the consecrated gifts,—if the Church had wished to condemn this practice? If it did so, it was putting a very great stumbling-block in the way of believers. Knowing what was the deep faith of the people in the gift of the Sacrament at the time of this arrangement, it was cruel to put a prayer into a place which must at once tempt them to an act which it is assumed the Church thought wrong; for who, firmly believing that our blessed Lord, while sitting at the Father's right hand, is set forth there as the Mystical Propitiation, could fail to apply to Him, as there Present, those heart-stirring and wondrous words, "O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ: O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, That takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!"

'It is also very observable that in one significant act the English Church

goes beyond the practice of mediæval times; in that the Priest himself is accustomed to receive kneeling; whereas in old time, and now on the Continent, he stands while receiving. Before the Reformation, over the whole Christian world, the celebrant communicated standing. He did so because Christ is the one Priest and Consecrator. What he did was in the Person of Christ. But at the Reformation the custom came in that he should do so kneeling. Now, why this innovation on the universal practice of Christendom if some special reverence were not intended? Why should our Church, so cautious about unnecessary alterations, go out of her way to introduce a new practice never heard of before, if she did not wish to express her special reverence for this holy and life-giving mystery?'

We now proceed to consider the difficulty which Mr. Freeman raises with respect to the prayer of intense adoration: that its very position, at a distance from the consecration, proves it not to be addressed to our Lord in the Sacrament, but on the Right Hand of the Father.

Let us see what this prayer really is.

And first of its position. This is generally between the Lord's Prayer and the Sancta Sanctis. There are, however, exceptions. Thus the Ethiopic Canon entirely omits the prayer: so does the Nestorian rite of All Apostles. Among the Syro-Jacobite Liturgies, that of Philoxenus of Mabug: and it can scarcely be said to exist in that of Michael of Antioch, nor of Dionysius Barsalib, nor of John, surnamed Acœmetus. It is generally prefaced by an explanation from the Deacon, of which that in the Syro-Jacobite Liturgy of S. James may be considered as the norm. 'Bow down your heads before the merciful God, 'before the propitiatory altar, and before the Body and Blood 'of our Saviour, in which life is laid up for those that receive 'them, and accept the blessing of the Lord.'

But, in point of fact, to understand the aim and object of this prayer, we must take into consideration not merely and not chiefly the written words, but the unwritten ritual. If it be asked, why the prayer of adoration should be postponed so long after the consecration, the answer is easy, if we only remember the arrangement of an Oriental Church. We must recollect that during the words of institution, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the prayers which follow, the Bema has been absolutely shut up from the eyes of the worshippers: and now, when it is thrown open for the reception of the Holy Mysteries, the prayer finds a most appropriate place, which would before, as far as ritual was concerned, have been utterly meaningless. It is, in short, a prayer which has nothing in the world to do with the change wrought in the elements, but merely with the worthy reception of them by the partakers. Take that which is, perhaps, the most ancient of all, S. James: 'To 'Thee, O Lord, we Thy servants have bowed our necks before

'Thy holy Altar, waiting for Thy rich mercies: send down upon 'us, O Lord, Thy grace and blessing, and sanctify our bodies, 'souls, and spirits, that we may become worthy partakers and 'communicants of Thy holy mysteries, to the forgiveness of 'sins and eternal life.' Or, in the venerable Armenian rite: 'Thou, O Holy Ghost, Who art the author and source of life, 'and the giver of good things, have mercy upon these Thy 'people, who, prostrate, worship Thy Godhead; keep them free 'from sin, and imprint in their souls that same image they bear 'in their body, that they may possess and inherit the good 'things to come.' Or take any of the numerous Syro-Jacobite Liturgies: we shall see most distinctly that the prayer refers to the effect of the holy gifts upon the worshippers, not to the nature of the change wrought in themselves. Thus speaks S. Ignatius: 'With every nature and creature, both celestial 'and terrestrial, which adores Thee, O Lord, we also offer to 'Thee true adoration, with the bowing down of our necks; and 'beseech of Thy great charity that Thou wouldest illuminate 'our souls with Thy truth. Cleanse us with thy hyssop: sanc-'tify us with Thy sanctity: convert us to Thy fear: be pleased 'to send down upon us Thy blessings; and while Thou 'enrichest us in such a manner, and with such good things, 'suffer not that we should approach unworthily to this quick-'ening communion of the Body and Blood of Thine only-begotten 'Son.' Or again, in the Liturgy of Dioscorus: 'Before Thee, 'O Lord, Thy servants bow down their necks, because they 'expect the celestial gift. But do Thou, O good God, Who art 'full of mercy and alone gracious, hear their prayers forthwith, 'and crown them with the crown of incorruptible glory: en-'lighten their minds and souls with the light of Thy knowledge, 'and grant them that they may acknowledge the majesty which 'lies hid in Thy holy of holies. Let not salvation and the 'purification of their souls be withheld from them at this hour 'when they need it.' Such is the tenor of all these prayers: supplications, not so much of faith, as of humility. And against Mr. Freeman's inference from the procrastination of this act of adoration, may be set the universal practice of all Eastern Liturgies, the anticipative adoration of the unconsecrated elements, at the Great Entrance: a practice which Oriental ritualists have found it hard to defend from the charge of idolatry. If then the Eastern worshippers do not adore the Body and Blood of our Lord immediately after its consecration, at all events they have done so, by their strange rite of anticipation, immediately before, *when the adoration is professedly directed to the elements, and not to our Lord seated in His Majesty in heaven.*

But in order to bring the Eastern Liturgies into union with

his own theory, Mr. Freeman is obliged to invent an explanation of another of their most universal and striking rites, which probably never entered into the mind of any other writer, and which for a certain perverse ingenuity appears to us unrivalled. It is this: that the solemn proclamation,—Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, —*Sancta Sanctis*, which every Liturgical scholar has hitherto taken in the sense of 'Holy things for holy persons,' does not really mean this, but is to be interpreted, 'The holy things are lifted up to the holy places.' It will be worth our while to enter a little more minutely into the proclamation itself, and to show from the very structure of the Liturgies themselves that the usual interpretation is the right one. In the first place, the mistake, if it be one, is of primitive origin. S. Cyril in his catechetical lectures thus writes: 'After this the priest saith, 'Holy things to holy persons. Holy are the things lying on the 'Altar, and expecting the coming down of the Holy Ghost: 'holy also are you, having been thought worthy to receive the 'Holy Ghost: the holy things, therefore, are correlative to 'the holy persons.' And in the same way, Greek ritualists have ever explained these words. Simeon of Thessalonica, the celebrated commentator who flourished in the eleventh century, after describing the rite itself, proceeds: 'The priest invites all 'holy persons to the holy and living food of that holy table. 'And the reply, One Holy Father, &c., sets forth to us, in the 'first place, that holiness of God by which He is essentially 'holy, and proclaims Him as the author of sanctity to those 'that are sanctified, and is also an expression of humility; as if 'it were said, Which of us is pure and holy? One only is holy, 'Jesus Christ, Who will of His mercy sanctify us.' So again, in the standard exposition of Nicolas Bulgari: 'The holy things 'are only given to holy and just Christians. As S. Chrysostom says: 'If any one be not holy let him not approach.' He saith *not* merely free from sin, but holy. Now simple liberation from sin cannot make a man holy, but the presence of the Holy Ghost, and wealth of good works. And the people answer, 'We are not holy, we are sinners, and unworthy of such a 'name. One is holy, and the Lord; Jesus the God-man."

And let us see what interpretation the context of the Liturgies themselves necessarily fastens on these words. Most of the Mozarabic Liturgies, which alone of Western offices have this explanation, explains it for itself. 'Holy things for holy per-'sons, and the conjunction of the Body of our Lord Jesus 'Christ, be pardon to us who receive and drink, and rest to the 'departed faithful.' In this rite it is *possible* that the *Sancta* may refer to our Lord's Body, the *Sanctis* to His Blood; the explanation being made at the moment when the first particle

is put into the chalice. The Spanish commentators, however, take it in the usual Eastern sense. And, anyhow, there is not the least vestige of Mr. Freeman's interpretation. The great Eastern Liturgies, S. James, S. Mark, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, the Clementine, give the words simply without any addition or development. The Nestorian Liturgies, which claim the very next place to the highest, in point of antiquity, have this formula: 'Holy things for holy persons as is fit in perfection.' This, in the Malabar Liturgy, is still further expanded into 'The holy thing to holy persons is fit, O my Lord, in perfection'—a phrase, the exact meaning of which it is not easy to explain. The Coptic Liturgies are perfectly simple in this proclamation. In the Syro-Jacobite, the very genius of which leads them to amplification, we find several developments. S. James has, 'the holy thing is given to holy persons in perfection, purity, 'and holiness:' and this seems to be followed in most of the Liturgies of that family. That of Dioscorus reverses the usual order by prefixing, 'There is one Holy Father, &c.' to the *Sancta Sanctis*. One or two, as that of Philoxenus of Mabug, seem to omit the exclamation altogether. But neither in these, nor in any other existing rite, is there the least countenance to Mr. Freeman's explanation. And we would put it to him, appealing seriously from the ingenious inventor of a new hypothesis, to the earnest inquirer after historical truth, whether it is possible that from the time of S. Cyril downward, the whole Church can have been utterly mistaken in the meaning of one of its most solemn rites, and that it was left to an English writer in the year 1857, to correct the mistake of at least fourteen centuries?

The immense importance which has been attached ever since the controversy between Claude and Arnauld to the testimony of the Eastern Church on the subject of the blessed Eucharist, must make every ecclesiastical scholar sensitively alive to any event which is likely to, or which by possibility may, elicit from her a new definition of faith. For, although her later symbols and articles can only be valuable so far as they bear witness to her unwritten tradition, yet still it is not true to assert, as Mr. Freeman does, that the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem are a dead letter. Such an occasion seems now arising within her Communion, from an event which may lead to consequences of which it is impossible to foresee the importance. It is well known that, for the last two hundred years, the Russian Church has had to contend with a powerful and influential body,—the Raskolniks. When, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the great patriarch Nikon ascended the throne of Moscow, he found that, partly owing to

her isolation, partly to the ravages of the Tartars, and partly to the decadence of the Œcumenical See under Mahometan domination,—to which must be added the horrible cruelties and devastation exercised by the Poles in White Russia,—the Slavonic Church Books had become so exceedingly corrupt, that in some places they inculcated heresy, in many more expressed nothing but pure nonsense. With all the energy of his nature, this great and ill-requited patriarch set himself to the correction of these Office Books; and, with no small exertion, overcame the *vis inertiæ* of the dignitaries of his Church, and put forth a series of Church-books corrected from the best Greek authorities. Instantly arose the cry that he was innovating on the faith of the Church: that, in place of services handed down from immemorial times, Nikon was intruding on the Church his own novelties. A large body of priests and laity broke off into schism: and for some time their separate communion was able to support itself. But as their priests began to die off, the question arose how the Sacraments were to be procured for the separated body. Not one of the Russian Bishops had joined the secession; and though repeated applications were made to the needy prelates, who, both in Turkey and in Asia Minor, were constantly expelled from their Sees, at the will of their Mahometan tyrants, to the great honour of the Churches of the East, not one could be found to confer Episcopal consecration on any Raskolnik priest. That body in consequence split up into two parties,—the Popoffchins, and the Bezpopoffchins,—that is, the Presbyterians and the non-Presbyterians, answering respectively, by a rude kind of resemblance, to the Lutherans and Calvinists of the great Western Schism. The Popoffchins supplied themselves with priests in a way more ingenious than edifying; they kept a look out for every priest of dissolute life or suspected doctrine in the National Church; as soon as his deprivation became probable, made him a handsome offer to take charge of one of their congregations; and in that way they have succeeded in supplying themselves with valid Sacraments down to the present time. The Bezpopoffchins, on the contrary, stigmatising such conduct as unworthy, and yet at an equal loss to procure the Sacraments, devised a still more extraordinary method. They procured, or affirmed that they procured, a consecrated 'Lamb,' dipped in the Chalice, and by perpetually kneading up this host with fresh dough, distribute at least a resemblance of the blessed Eucharist to their congregations. Thus the two schisms continued, and to a certain extent flourished: they had, and have, their monasteries and convents, the principal employment of the inmates being the perpetual transcription of the antiquated and corrupted

Office books; but always taunted by the Russian Church with their separation from all Episcopal supervision, and their consequent failure to establish their claim to be regarded in any sense as true Churches. The reply of the Raskolniks was ever the same: that God in His own time would restore Episcopacy among them. And so affairs stood till the summer of the present year.

It was in the year 1689 that Arsenius Tchernovitch, then Metropolitan of Servia, joined the Emperor Leopold in his attempt to expel the Ottoman power from Europe; on the failure of that attempt, he passed over into Hungary with thirty-seven thousand families, and there, after receiving great privileges from the imperial favour, became Metropolitan of Carlovitz. That See has gradually extended its influence till now it numbers ten suffragans, and nearly three millions of the faithful. Within these few years, the Bishop, not content with his title of Metropolitan, has assumed that of Patriarch: and in fact, 'the orthodox Church' in Austria has become something of an *imperium in imperio* with respect to the rest of the Eastern Church. To this dignitary the schismatics applied for a Bishop; and, to the utter violation of all canons, their request has been granted. The schismatical prelate thus consecrated is said to have infused wonderful vigour into the Raskolniks; and in those parts of Russia where they abound, their proselytisms are very frequent. It is impossible but that, ere long, this subject, as well as that to which in a late number we alluded, the grave differences between the Churches of Constantinople and Russia, on the subject of Baptism, must come for decision before the united Eastern Church. Then, probably, some new definition of doctrine will be to future times what the Canons of the Council of Bethlehem are to ours.

One remark has been perpetually suggested to us by the constant reference to ancient Liturgies, which is the peculiar characteristic and excellency of Mr. Freeman's work. It is this: the extreme difficulty which a common ecclesiastical scholar would find in procuring a complete copy of these Liturgies. Let us see how he would set to work. We will suppose him to possess a Roman Missal, and Mr. Maskell's parallelised edition of the four English uses. For the leading Greek ones he may either procure the *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Orientalis* of Dr. Daniel; or Mr. Neale's *Tetralogia Liturgica*: the high price and rarity of Goar's Euchologion puts it almost out of the question: and Bishop Rattray's book is even still more difficult to be obtained. The Armenian rite must be procured at Venice: the Georgian and Slavonic at S. Petersburg. In the other branch of this family, one or two of the Syro-Jacobite

Liturgies may be found in the original in Assemann's very large and expensive, but ill-printed and unsatisfactory work. But for by far the greater number, five or six and thirty, the student must be satisfied with Renaudot's Latin version. Thanks to the recent edition of Leslie, this book is procurable, but still at a considerable price. There are about six Syro-Jacobite Liturgies which have never been printed at all. If we turn to the Alexandrian family, the Liturgies of S. Mark may be found either in Doctor Daniel's or Mr. Neale's works, as well as in Renaudot. Of the three Copto-Jacobite Liturgies, S. Basil is translated in Mr. Neale's General Introduction: it, as well as the two others, namely, S. Gregory and S. Cyril, are given, but in their Greek version only, by Renaudot: for their Coptic original we must go to Assemann. The three Nestorian Liturgies are, but in a translation merely, by Renaudot; that of S. Adæus is translated by Dr. Daniel; that of Nestorius by Mr. Neale; and that of the Holy Apostles by Mr. Etheridge, in his book called The Syrian Churches; he also gives the Syro-Jacobite Liturgy of S. James. If we turn to the West, we find the Mozarabic and Ambrosian Liturgies in the first volume of Dr. Daniel's work: he also gives the husk or shell of the Gallican: but for the latter, it is necessary to have recourse to Mabillon's work, or the Abbé Migne's reprint of it: and, in addition to that, to Mone's transcript of the Reichenan Palimpsest: these, however, are now being incorporated together in 'The Gallican Liturgies,' now publishing by Messrs. Forbes and Neale.

But what an apparatus does all this involve! How many volumes, how much expense, and how much repetition of matter in different works, partly the same and partly varying! What we want are two different publications; the one perfectly within the power of any publisher: the other a gigantic task, which would indeed be a national work wherever it might be undertaken.

We want, in the first place, the five or six most ancient and venerable Liturgies put within the reach of every priest who wishes to possess them. Say, for example, those of S. James, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, S. Mark, and the Clementine. If published in the same type, size, and paper, in which Mr. Parker is now publishing his series of Classics, they might probably be sold at one shilling a piece. And it is certainly a shame to the Church of England, that while editions of the Greek and Latin Classics issue from our presses fresh every year, there has scarcely even been one edition of any of these most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity. The other work would be best described by the name of Panliturgion: to contain every Liturgy in use,

whether in the East or West, before the fall of Constantinople: each in its original language, and accompanied by a Latin translation, and such a body of notes as might be found requisite. For each that should be attempted, which Goar effected—at least, as far as the knowledge of that century permitted—for the Liturgies of S. Chrysostom and S. Basil. This would involve the labours, not only of competent Liturgical scholars throughout the whole world, but of competent editors, whether native or not, for the Slavonic, Georgian, Armenian, Syriac, and Coptic Liturgies; to say nothing of those rites which are celebrated in Turkish and Wallachian. Here is a field, indeed, for Liturgical studies, which we shall probably never see entered upon; but the very glance at which—the thought that such a thing is possible—is a pleasure. For, consider that such a work would not involve merely the latest appearance of these offices; not merely 'the divine Liturgy of S. Chrysostom,' as said in 'the Great Church and in the Holy Mountain;' not merely the Ordinary of the Roman Mass as daily heard in every Continental Church; not merely the Mozarabic rite as now recited in that quaint Chapel at Toledo; but an inquiry, such as that which Rattray attempted with no great success, in what form the office that bears his name left the hands of S. Chrysostom, and the Mozarabic those of S. Leander or S. Isidore; while the Gelasian and Gregorian developments of the original Roman Liturgy, and all subsequent additions, should be carefully traced. This would indeed be a *monumentum ære perennius:* and the very idea may, perhaps, savour to some of the celebrated resolution of the Chapter of Seville before the erection of their Cathedral: 'Let us build 'such a Church that they who come after us may take us to 'have been mad.'

We have wandered far from Mr. Freeman, and we can only return to him again to express our admiration—much as we have been compelled to disagree with him—of the interest and learning of his present volume, and the eager anticipation with which we look for its successor.

[*The Editor of the 'Christian Remembrancer' feels it to be only fair to the writer of the preceding article, to remark that a portion of the historical argument, as originally drawn out, has been retrenched, on the Editor's responsibility*]

ART. II.—*Biographies of Distinguished Scientific Men.* By FRANÇOIS ARAGO, Member of the Institute. Translated by ADMIRAL W. H. SMYTH, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., the Rev. BADEN POWELL, M.A., F.R.S., &c., and ROBERT GRANT, Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts. 1857.

No one, probably, will find fault with the editor and translators of this work for the choice which they have made of three lives of Englishmen out of the nine biographies contained in this volume. It contains a selection from the celebrated *éloges* of M. Arago. Whether the rest will ever appear in an English translation, will probably depend materially upon the reception with which these shall meet. We must own, we do not expect to see many more volumes of this series of the works of this distinguished author. We had occasion in the pages of this Review, some months ago, to notice the volume on 'Popular Astronomy,' and we are sorry to observe that we have the same fault to find with the present volume. It is much to be regretted that the three eminent men whose names appear on the titlepage, should be so little acquainted with the French language, or at least should have taken so little trouble in representing the ideas of the original in an English translation. The work is not, indeed, equally badly done throughout; but even the best translator of the three has been very unsuccessful in making a book readable for English people. The difficulty of executing a good translation is admitted by all who have ever made the experiment. In philosophical subjects it is sometimes next to impossible to convey to the readers of a translation, anything more than a more or less close approximation to the meaning of the original. Yet the tone of thought in France and England is not so distinct as to prevent the possibility of popular works written in the one language being produced in the other, so that ordinary readers could never detect which was the original and which the translation.

In the present instance, the chief fault of which the translators have been guilty, is that of rendering common French phrases, such as are in every-day use, too literally; and this in cases where the two languages have precisely equivalent expressions for the same idea. However, if the reader can get over his first prejudice on the subject of style, much of the matter contained in these biographies is very interesting, and is not to be found elsewhere.

We question the advantage of prefixing Arago's autobiography to the volume; and there was the less reason for doing so, inasmuch as it has appeared before in the series published under the title of the 'Traveller's Library.' Again, the reader who expects to meet with an account of the interior life of any of the men of science, whose *éloges* were composed by M. Arago, will certainly be disappointed. If he would see the difference between a life and an encomium, we recommend him to compare the accounts given in this volume, of Dr. Young with the interesting biography by Dr. Peacock, which we noticed at some length in a previous number of this Review. It is true that M. Arago has by no means confined his attention to the scientific part of his subject. He has, on the contrary, interspersed a variety of amusing anecdotes, which he must have been at some pains to collect; and thus we are supplied with some incidents of family life which serve to enliven the scientific details of the volume; but of the real character of most of the subjects of these memoirs we are left quite in the dark. It is evident, throughout, that the sympathy of the biographer is wholly with the intellectual part of his subject. The moral does not appear to affect him in the slightest degree. The chief interest of the volume, therefore, lies in what the translators in their preface truly say that the reader will find, viz. 'a luminous, eminently simple, and popular account of the 'discoveries of each of these distinguished individuals, of a kind 'constituting, in fact, a brief history of the particular branch of 'science to which he was devoted.' Thus the first three lives comprised in this volume, contain a tolerably copious account of the science of astronomy from the state in which Newton left it, down nearly to the present day. Bailly, Herschel, and Laplace were all born in the middle of the last century; and strange as it may seem, though the 'Principia' had been published more than fifty years before the birth of the eldest of these three astronomers, little progress had been made in Physical Astronomy, and still less addition made to the experimental and practical part of the subject till the discovery of Uranus in 1781, by Herschel, and the memoir of Laplace on the invariability of the mean motions and distances of the planets which was communicated in 1773. It must not be forgotten that a great deal was being done, on the continent and in England, both in the way of computation and observation; but there is no very striking discovery during this interval, excepting that of the nutation of the earth's axis, and the aberration of the fixed stars by Bradley.

The grand discovery of Newton was the simple truth which almost every one can understand, that the force of gravity

varies inversely as the square of the distance. Yet simple as the announcement of this truth seems, and complicated as are the phenomena of which, even in Newton's time, it afforded an adequate solution, the doctrines of the 'Principia' were a long time in making their way in the world. He was the founder of a new science, that of Physical Astronomy; but it was long before the science took deep root, and put forth vigorous shoots. That system has been upon its trial ever since, and we shall endeavour, in following M. Arago's accounts of the labours of Herschel and Laplace, to point out some of the wonders of modern observation, of which it is the only adequate exponent.

The career of Sir William Herschel is particularly interesting, as an instance of persevering industry and energetic devotion to a subject overcoming all obstacles, showing, as it does, that the greatest eminence can be attained, perhaps we ought to say, generally is obtained, in spite of the greatest disadvantages of position and education. He was the son of an eminent musician at Hanover, born on the 15th of November, 1738. At the age of twenty-one he came over to England in the capacity of a teacher of music. He met with little success for some years, till at length he was appointed, by Lord Durham, master of the band in an English regiment quartered on the borders of Scotland. After this he gained an employment as an organist at Halifax, in 1765. There he devoted the time which he could spare from professional engagements with pupils, to educating himself. Here he learned Latin and Italian, and something of Greek; and at the same time studied the theory of music in a work by R. Smith, which he found required a knowledge of algebra and geometry, which he did not possess. This was no difficulty in his way, for he immediately set to work at mathematics, and soon acquired more than enough for his purpose. In the course of the following year he removed to Bath, upon his appointment as organist to the Octagon Chapel there. We should have been glad to know more of the accidental circumstances which first turned his attention to the subject of optics, and of the manner in which he first became acquainted with the instrument, with the use of which his name has become indissolubly connected. His biographer mentions that he first looked at the stars with an instrument of two feet focal length; and that, not satisfied with the power of this telescope, he endeavoured to procure one of larger dimensions. Fortunately for him, as well as for science in general, the price demanded for such an instrument as he required was beyond his means; and thus thrown back on his own resources, he devotes himself to its construction; and, after eight years, he was in possession of a telescope of four feet focal length, entirely

constructed by himself. It is necessary here to inform the reader that this instrument, though a reflector, was not exactly of the same kind, though constructed on nearly the same principles with the large instrument afterwards so well known at the Slough observatory. There are several different classes of reflecting telescopes, all proceeding on the same principle of catching the light from a distant object, and reflecting it from the polished surface of a concave mirror, and thus forming an image of the object somewhere within the tube in front of the mirror, that is, between the object to be seen and the surface of the mirror. The difficulty which has to be got over is, how to view this image with an eye-glass, without placing the head so as to intercept the light, as it first proceeds from the object down the tube of the telescope. The four methods adopted for avoiding this difficulty derive their names from Cassegrain, Gregory, Newton, and Herschel. In Newton's construction there is a plane mirror, inclined at an angle of 45° to the axis of the telescope, which reflects the image to the eye of an observer stationed so as to look sideways into an opening in the tube. The objection to this arrangement consists, as it does also in the telescopes of Cassegrain and Gregory, which we must not here describe at length, in the loss of light consequent upon two reflexions. This was the kind of instrument to the construction of which Herschel devoted nearly eight years. It is, perhaps, difficult now to estimate the perseverance which was necessary in testing the different kinds of metallic alloys to be used for the mirrors, and in choosing the best mode of polishing their surfaces. The difficulties no doubt were great; and, probably, had they not been encountered, we should never have heard of the enormous telescope afterwards erected at Slough.

In the construction which is named after Herschel, the observer looks down the tube at the image formed in the focus of the large concave reflector; and to avoid the difficulty of intercepting the light, by the interposition of the head of the observer, the mirror is placed somewhat obliquely to the axis of the tube, so that the image is formed not on the axis, but very near the outer edge of the tube. The obliquity of the reflexion distorts the image of the object, but enables the observer to dispense with a second reflexion, though there is still some loss of light occasioned by a portion of the observer's head being between the object and the reflectors. This kind of telescope, the idea of which occurred to Herschel in 1776, he calls a front-view telescope. In that year he failed in the attempt to construct a ten-foot telescope; and, eight years later, was again unsuccessful in the construction of a twenty-foot telescope of the same description. The idea was Herschel's own. But M. Arago, who is indefatigable in

raking up pieces of information from all sources, and is by no means unwilling to draw unfavourable contrasts between our men of science and his own countrymen, found that the same construction had been previously adopted by Lemaire, and a description of it inserted in the sixth volume of the collection entitled 'Machines and Inventions approved by the Academy of Sciences.' Lemaire's instrument must, however, have been practically useless, as it was very small, and the obliquity was so great that the image was formed beyond the outer edge of the tube. M. Arago truly observes, that the *front view* construction is only admissible in very large telescopes. The great telescope at Slough was commenced in 1785, and completed in 1789, and its first discovery was made on the day on which it was first used, August 28, 1789, when the sixth satellite of Saturn was observed. Its focal length was forty feet, and the diameter of its speculum four feet. It must not be supposed that this was the instrument with which Herschel made all, or even the greater part of his discoveries. To say nothing of the difficulty of managing so large an instrument, which requires the observer to have three assistants constantly at work, it must be remembered that such a telescope, if it magnifies real objects, enlarges in equal proportion the apparent irregularities arising from atmospheric refraction. And Herschel himself computed that such an instrument, with a magnifying power of a thousand, could not be used more than an average of a hundred hours throughout the year. Enormous as this telescope was, very exaggerated ideas of its size have been entertained: and M. Arago, in one of those amusing sallies for which his book is famous, observes that 'Such dimensions are enormous com-'pared with those of telescopes made till then. They will 'appear but small, however, to persons who have heard the re-'port of a pretended ball given in the Slough telescope. The 'propagators of this popular rumour had confounded the as-'tronomer Herschel with the brewer Meux; and a cylinder in 'which a man of the smallest stature could scarcely stand up-'right, with certain wooden vats as large as a house, in which 'beer is made and kept in London.'

If M. Arago had had any view of illustrating what indomitable perseverance can do, and how necessary this quality is to success in any position in life, he would not have omitted to mention that Herschel constructed above four hundred Newtonian reflectors.

Herschel had the good fortune to commence his astronomical career with the discovery of the planet Uranus. In looking at some stars in Gemini, he observed one whose apparent diameter sensibly increased when examined under a high magnifying

power. He was soon convinced that it was not a fixed star by its change of place, and at first imagined it was a comet, and it was some time before the true nature of the planet was discovered. It is curious to observe that the discovery is spoken of in the volume of 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1781 as of a comet; and in a letter published in the 'Transactions' of 1783, the discoverer speaks of it as having been pronounced by other astronomers to be a planet, and suggests the name of Georgium Sidus. This name, as well as that of the Herschel, by which it was sometimes called, has now become a matter of history, the learned as well as the vulgar having universally adopted the name of Uranus.

From this day, March 13th, 1781, Herschel's reputation as an astronomer begins to date. He was soon afterwards placed at Slough, and a pension of three hundred a year assigned to him. M. Arago says, 'We may confidently assert relative to 'the little house and garden of Slough that it is the spot of all 'the world where the greatest number of discoveries have been 'made. The name of that village will never perish; science will 'transmit it religiously to our latest posterity.'

This was the first discovery of our great observer. It can scarcely be said to have done much in establishing the theory of Newton, which long before this time was in undisturbed possession of the field; but it showed that the attraction of the sun was sensibly felt at a distance nearly double that at which it had hitherto been known to act. The discovery tended, singularly enough, to confirm the strange empirical law of Bode, who observed that the planets were each at distances from Mercury nearly equal to double the distance of the next interior planet. This law, which seemed further to be confirmed by the discovery of the four asteroids a few years later, may be considered to be exploded since the discovery of Neptune; and we suppose it will disappear from our elementary books of astronomy, in all of which it at present holds a conspicuous place. M. Arago concludes his 'anecdotic life,' as he calls it, of Herschel, with the following well-turned compliment to his illustrious son. He says, 'William Herschel died without pain 'on the 23d of August, 1822, aged eighty-three. Good fortune 'and glory never altered in him the fund of infantine candour, 'inexhaustible benevolence, and sweetness of character with 'which nature had endowed him. He preserved to the last both 'his brightness of mind and vigour of intellect. For some years 'Herschel enjoyed with delight the distinguished success of his 'only son Sir John Herschel. At his last hour, he sunk to rest 'with the pleasing conviction that his beloved son, heir of a great 'name, would not allow it to fall into oblivion, but adorn it with

'fresh lustre, and that great discoveries would honour his career 'also. No prediction of this illustrious astronomer has been 'more completely verified.' The volumes of the 'Philosophical Transactions' for nearly forty years, commencing with the year 1780, bear witness to the labours and successful industry of Sir William Herschel. In the course of twenty years he discovered as many as eight secondaries. But, perhaps, the most useful of all his investigations are those on the subject of multiple stars, and the proper motion in space of the solar system. The latter had been hinted at by Fontenelle in 1738. This conjecture was rendered certain by Herschel, who proved moreover that the sun's motion was towards a point in the constellation Hercules. His calculations, both on this point and on the motions of the double stars, have met with a remarkable verification from subsequent observations.

And first, of the proper motion of the sun in space. We have agreed to call the stars by the name of fixed stars, a name which is significant enough, and which need not be changed, though it should be proved that they all have small proper motions of their own. These changes are so minute, that they require the lapse of centuries for their determination, and the difficulty is further increased by our not being able to fix the limits of error in observations performed with the rough instruments which alone the ancients possessed. Halley was the first who noticed that an interval of 1850 years had produced a motion southward in the stars Sirius, Arcturus, and Aldebaran, of more than half a degree in latitude; and it has been tolerably ascertained of above three hundred stars, that they have a proper motion of not less than half a second a year, whilst to two have been assigned the more appreciable amount of nearly eight seconds respectively annually, whilst six others have motions varying between two and seven seconds. Now, a motion of the fixed stars, though only probable, involves the probability of a motion of translation of the sun in space: such motion would be indicated by an apparent average motion of all the stars towards the part of the heavens which the sun is leaving; and the conclusion that Sir William Herschel arrived at before the end of the last century, has been most remarkably confirmed by the observations of subsequent astronomers, both in the northern and southern hemispheres. There is one point in these investigations that leads to a surprising result. It was to be expected that the brightest stars, as being probably nearest to us, would have exhibited the greatest amount of motion. This is far from being the true state of the case. The two stars referred to above, as having the largest annual displacement, being of not more than the sixth magnitude; whilst the motion of most of

the stars of the first magnitude, where it has been detected, is in most instances very small. The reader will easily perceive how nicely accurate must be these observations, when it is observed that a motion of a few seconds in the course of a year is thought a very considerable displacement; it ought, moreover, to be borne in mind that the movements of the stars themselves in space have to be distinguished from those apparent motions which are due to the sun's motion in the opposite direction. Herschel was not the first to whom the idea of this proper motion of the sun occurred. There is a remarkable passage by Bradley, written as early as 1748, in which—though, after all, it is a mere unsupported conjecture—he speaks of the possibility: 'If,' he says, 'we imagine that our solar system shifts its position 'in space, it will be possible that, in the lapse of ages, this will 'occasion an apparent variation in the angular distance of the 'fixed stars. In that case, the positions of the stars which are 'nearer to us being more affected than those which are more 'remote, their relative positions may appear to undergo more 'extensive changes, although all the stars may in reality con-'tinue immovable. On the other hand, if our system is at rest, 'and if some stars are really in motion, there will arise from 'this cause also variations in the apparent positions of the stars 'so much greater as the movements will be more rapid, more 'suitably directed in order to be well seen, and as the distance 'of the stars from the earth will be found to be less. The 'changes in the relative positions of the stars being thus 'dependent on so great a variety of causes, the observations of 'many ages will probably be necessary before we shall succeed 'in discovering their laws.'

Herschel may also be considered as the earliest observer who noticed the double stars. Certainly he was the first who bestowed attention enough on the subject to classify them: and before his death he was acquainted with more than five hundred, somewhat less than a sixth part of the number known at the present day. He adopted what must be considered an awkward mode of classification, according to their distances from each other. Thus the first class contains those whose distance was less than 4 seconds, and the other classes contain respectively those between 4 and 8 seconds, between 8 and 16, and between 16 and 32 seconds. The clumsiness of this arrangement, which has however not yet been discarded, is owing to the fact that these distances are now ascertained to be variable, owing to the revolutions of these stars round each other. Thus the star τ Serpentarii, which is classed as a double star by Herschel, can no longer be seen as such with the best instruments, owing to the relative change of position of the two components; whilst on the contrary,

ζ Orionis, which Herschel decided to be single, is now recognised as a double star. And now it may fairly be asked what light do these observations throw upon the subject of universal gravitation? There is, perhaps, nothing more wonderful in the whole history of observation than the accuracy with which the changes of position of these stars have been determined. It is such as to enable astronomers to decide that they obey Kepler's laws; and that consequently Newton's law of gravitation extends to other regions and systems besides that of which this earth forms so small a part. Let us warn the reader against the supposition that this law is hereby proved to be *universal* in the strictest sense of the word, and against the foolish assertion made by some astronomers, that it is an *inherent* property of matter. There can be little doubt that these observations will soon lead to a determination of the masses of some of the fixed stars, if ever the distance of such double star from us shall be satisfactorily ascertained; but this part of astronomy is scarcely as yet sufficiently free from probable errors of observation to enable mathematicians to pronounce any opinion which can be regarded as approaching to certainty. The method of calculation is easy to understand. Observation supplies the angular dimensions of the orbit of the less star round the greater, which we will suppose fixed, merely for the purpose of illustration. The real state of the case is, that any two mutually attracting bodies revolve round their common centre of gravity. However, if we suppose one fixed, and observation supplies us with the angular velocity of the smaller body round it, we should know the actual velocity of the body if we knew the radius, or to speak more accurately, the major axis of its orbit; and hence should be able to compute the value of the force by which it is retained in its orbit. But before we can draw any conclusion as to linear dimensions from observed angular dimensions, it is necessary for us to know the distance from which those angles are observed: and this distance, which is gathered from the parallax of the fixed stars, is only doubtfully ascertained in a small number of cases. Suppose, for instance, as M. Arago has put the case in his 'Popular Astronomy,' that 61 Cygni is a double star (a fact, however, which itself has been called in question), and suppose we admit the truth of the observations which establish a length of five hundred years for the periodic time, that is, the time of a complete revolution, it is obvious that the linear dimensions of this enormous orbit will depend entirely on the distance at which 61 Cygni is from the place of observation. Now the parallax of 61 Cygni has been tolerably well ascertained to be somewhat greater than one-third of a second, which will give 56 millions of millions of miles for its distance,

a distance which may be rendered more intelligible by saying that it would take more than nine years for light to traverse, supposing it to travel from us to the sun in about eight minutes. These are the results of modern discovery, but to Herschel is due the honour of first calling attention to the subject. The 'Philosophical Transactions,' for the years 1803 and 1804, give an account of the changes that had happened during the preceding twenty-five years in the relative situations of double stars, with an investigation of the cause to which they are owing.

Amongst his other discoveries, however, must not be omitted the satellites of Uranus, a seventh satellite of Saturn, and the oblate figure of the planet Mars.

We have noticed above, that the half century which followed the publication of the 'Principia' was not productive of much addition to our theoretical or practical knowledge of Astronomy. Speaking of this period, M. Arago observes—

'The heart aches when, upon studying the history of the Sciences, we perceive so magnificent an intellectual movement effected without the co-operation of France. Practical Astronomy increased our inferiority. The means of investigation were at first inconsiderately entrusted to foreigners, to the prejudice of Frenchmen abounding in intelligence and zeal. Subsequently, intellects of a superior order struggled with courage, but in vain, against the unskilfulness of our artists. During this period, Bradley, more fortunate on the other side of the Channel, immortalised himself by the discovery of aberration and nutation.

'The contribution of France to these admirable revolutions in Astronomical Science, consisted, in 1740, of the experimental determination of the spheroidal figure of the earth, and of the discovery of the variation of gravity upon the surface of our planet. These were two great results; our country, however, had a right to demand more: when France is not in the first rank, she has lost her place.'—P. 200.

During the following half century, France amply atoned for her backwardness in Astronomical Science of the preceding period. The names of Clairaut, D'Alembert, Lagrange, and Laplace, are amongst the most illustrious names of science in any age or nation. The solution of the celebrated problem of three bodies was communicated to the Academy of Sciences, independently, at the same time, by Clairaut and D'Alembert. Newton had given a complete solution of the problem of two bodies attracting each other, with forces varying directly as the mass, and inversely as the square of the distance; and thus had proved, *à priori*, the truth of Kepler's wonderful empirical discoveries, that the planets describe ellipses round the sun in their common focus; that equal areas are described round the sun in equal times, and that the squares of the periodic times vary as the cubes of the mean distances from the sun. These laws cease to be anything more than an approximation to the truth, when the disturbance effected by a third body is taken into

consideration. This discovery M. Arago ascribes to Clairaut. Its practical value, in the improvements which it led to in the lunar tables, need not be more than just alluded to. The next important investigation is due to D'Alembert. The precession of the equinoxes had been known as a fact from the time of Hipparchus. When the old theory of Astronomy was upset by Copernicus, a simple explanation of this as a fact was offered in the suggestion of a conical motion of the earth's axis; and Newton had conjectured, as M. Arago says, or, as the Translator more correctly states it, had demonstrated the physical cause of the phenomenon to be the action of the Sun and Moon on the redundant matter accumulated round the equator; in other words, he showed that the precession of the equinoxes was due to the spheroidal figure of the earth. It was reserved for D'Alembert to give a complete explanation of this minute motion, in virtue of which, the earth's axis describes a conical surface, the base of which is 50° in diameter in the space of 26,000 years.

The next phenomenon which the principle of universal gravitation was made to account for, was the retardation of Halley's comet by the action of Jupiter and Saturn. This investigation is also due to Clairaut, who assigned 518 days for the disturbance effected by Jupiter, and 100 for that of Saturn. And the comet appeared in the following year after the calculation had been made, after an interval of nearly 77 years. To Lagrange is due the explanation of the physical cause of the libration of the Moon. And this was the state of the case, when the subject fell into the hands of Laplace.

Perhaps the most striking result of analytical investigation is the demonstration of the stability of the Solar System.

It seems wonderful to the uninitiated that Mathematical Science should be able to compute the dimensions, the weight, the shape, and the position in space of the orbit of a single heavenly body—yet all these are known to the utmost nicety, and are continually being checked against observation. What a stupendous task does it appear to take into consideration at once all the bodies that are included in what is called the Solar System, and *prove* that the arrangements are so constituted as to insure its stability for an indefinite period! Let us not be mistaken as laying too much stress on the nature of the proof. There is already an intelligible hint that the abstract calculations do not entirely meet the case for which they seem to provide. The periodical recurrence of Encke's comet, always a little too soon, *seems* to show the existence of a medium, the effects of which, though at present imperceptible in the planetary motions, will undoubtedly, if the supposition be true, be considerable in the course of time. And here is at once a check

which ought to modify the language in which some astronomers allow themselves to speak of the certainty of the Solar System being 'constituted so as to endure for ever.' But the beauty of the abstract investigation is in no way impaired by its having nothing in the material world exactly to correspond to it. The arrangements of the planetary system are such as to ensure its continuance for countless ages, even though it should be true that, after millions of millions of years, the system shall have ceased to exist in the same form in which it now does. To our mind, there is a much more awful glimpse of the majesty of its Creator, in the knowledge we possess that this system of ours points to its own annihilation, than in the idea that it might, apparently, and for all we know to the contrary, last for ever. The latter view might suit the Pantheist or Materialist; but let it be remembered that the finite duration of the universe *may be* demonstrated; its eternity *must*, at the utmost, be a mere guess.

In speaking, then, of the stability of the planetary system, let it be understood that we are supposing what is not certain, the non-existence of any such medium as shall retard the motions of the heavenly bodies—and also, the non-interference of any external and unknown cause with the present laws and arrangements of the universe. With regard to the improbability of any such result, M. Arago observes, that Newton even went so far as to suppose that the planetary system did not contain within itself the elements of indefinite stability; he was of opinion, that a powerful hand must intervene, from time to time, to repair the derangements occasioned by the mutual action of the various bodies. Euler, although further advanced than Newton in a knowledge of the planetary perturbations, refused also to admit that the Solar System was constituted so as to endure for ever. It was as early as 1773, that Laplace had obtained the result that the mean motions and mean distances of the planets are invariable. Some years later, he established the invariability of the other elements of the System. Here were results produced by a refined analysis, which it was impossible for observation either to have suggested or verified. From the time of the earliest recorded observations, the excentricity of the orbit of the earth has been continually diminishing; at some future period, this diminution will cease and the excentricity will begin to increase. A necessary consequence of this diminution in the excentricity of the earth's orbit is an increase in the Moon's mean motion; which, therefore, has also been going on from the earliest ages. Both these changes were demonstrated by Laplace to be confined within certain narrow limits, and to be periodical. A similar result was obtained with

reference to the action of Jupiter and Saturn upon each other; nearly a thousand years being the period of the development of the inequalities caused by their mutual perturbations.

The next triumph of analysis is the computation of the Sun's distance, from its effect in disturbing the motion of the Moon; the value of these perturbations is ascertained by observation, and the resulting value of the Sun's distance from the earth, corresponds very nearly with that which was determined from observation of the transits of Venus in 1761 and 1769. Just such another confirmation of what had been investigated by laborious observations carried on in different countries, with regard to the figure of the earth, was obtained by analysis of two perturbations in the Moon's orbit which depend on the spheroidal figure of the earth.

With regard to these last two investigations, M. Arago says—

'What are the elements which it has been found necessary to confront with each other in order to arrive at results expressed even to the precision of the smallest decimals?

'On the one hand, mathematical formulæ deduced from the principle of universal attraction; on the other hand, certain irregularities observed in the returns of the moon to the meridian.

'An observing geometer who, from his infancy, had never quitted his chamber of study, and who had never viewed the heavens except through a narrow aperture directed north and south, in the vertical plane of which the principal astronomical instruments are made to move,—to whom nothing had ever been revealed respecting the bodies revolving above his head, except that they attract each other according to the Newtonian law of gravitation,—would, however, be enabled to ascertain that his narrow abode was situated upon the surface of a spheroidal body, the equatorial axis of which surpassed the polar axis by a *three hundred and sixth part;* he would have also found, in his isolated immovable position, his true distance from the sun.'—P. 218.

It is impossible to convey any clear idea, to readers who are not acquainted with mathematical analysis, of the methods by which these results were brought out. The point which we wish to illustrate is the wonderful way in which the Newtonian law of gravitation is pressed into the service of *Plane Astronomy*, sometimes verifying, sometimes connecting observations which were made long before it was ever known. We must, however, guard such of our readers as are unacquainted with this subject, against the notion that the two arguments of theory and observation are entirely distinct. Logicians know that this is impossible. In the present case, the comparison is instituted between the results of direct observation, assisted of course by all the methods of mathematical computation, independently of the adoption of any physical cause, or any law of force whatever,—and the deductions of mathematical reasoning from the assumption that every particle of matter in the universe is attracted by every other particle, by a force which varies inversely as the

square of the distance; this mode of reasoning of course also making use of such facts as have been, in whatever way, ascertained. If people will persist in regarding arguments as either *à priori* or *à posteriori*, the latter method is the one which must be entitled *à priori* and the other *à posteriori;* but Astronomy is the science which, as it is the most perfect, so it most perfectly illustrates the reciprocal action of these methods of inquiry. Even historically speaking, they are dovetailed into one another, in such way that it would be almost impossible to assign to each its proper limits, and in the case of an individual learner, this is even more obviously true. No one can say, at whatever point he may find himself in astronomical knowledge, how he has made what he has learned, his own; or, if his conviction depends upon what he has proved for himself, how far that conviction depends upon simple observation, or theoretical deduction.

The truth is, that the resulting mass of evidence from astronomical truths is so overwhelming, that the learner throws himself into it before he begins to learn, and never thinks of questioning any of the amazing facts on which popular books of astronomy delight to dwell. We are even afraid that people who are not remarkable for the subjection of reason to faith, in matters of high importance, are often remarkably credulous as to wonderful statements, quite on the outskirts of astronomical truth, which are recklessly made and as recklessly believed. It seems as if the human mind must have some outlet for its belief in the marvellous, and if it will not believe what it ought, is condemned credulously to assent to absurdities, or, at best, to propositions of very doubtful probability. The greediness with which such people devour geological theories, as they succeed each other, each appearing to annihilate that which preceded it, will be fresh in the recollection of many of our readers. Pascal said that people believed in Vespasian's miracle, in order that they might disbelieve those of Jesus Christ; and we think people adopt geological theories for the express purpose of showing their liberality in questioning the truth of the Mosaic cosmogony. An accurate knowledge of the elements of plane and physical astronomy is perhaps the best intellectual safeguard against such observations; and, indeed, we may take this opportunity of saying, that this science, even in its merest elements, is entitled to much more consideration than has been given it in recent educational schemes.

The contrast of the two methods of analysis and observation, used respectively by Laplace and Herschel, is well illustrated by M. Arago, in speaking of the subject of Saturn's rings. The improbability that such a body could remain in a state of equilibrium, if at rest, suggested to Laplace the rotatory motion, the

amount of which he subsequently calculated, and 'the velocity 'then found was exactly equal to that which Herschel subse-'quently deduced from a course of extremely delicate observa-'tions.' What adds to the interest of these discoveries is the fact that they are contemporaneous as well as independent. Laplace's memoir, in which he assigns the cause of the planes of the rings not being inclined to one another, was published in February 1789. The action of the sun would naturally have caused such an inclination if there were not a neutralising force in the ellipticity of Saturn, produced by a rapid motion of rotation; and the existence of this rotatory movement was announced by Herschel in November of the same year. It is the more remarkable, because analysis was here a-head of observation. It was pronounced that Saturn ought to revolve round an axis, before it was discovered that it really did so. This justifies M. Arago's remark that 'on certain occasions the eyes of the 'mind can supply the want of the most powerful telescopes, and 'lead to astronomical discoveries of the highest importance.'

Before we conclude this notice of Laplace, we must say one word as to his conjectures, which seem to partake somewhat of the nature of romance. M. Arago has not alluded to the profane remark of this great mathematician, that he could have placed the moon in a better position than that which has been assigned to it. The remark is quite worth preserving, if only in the light of an illustration of the bias which purely intellectual processes of mind receive from the moral state of the individual. Infidel philosophers are loud in their condemnation of the argument from final causes; yet, when it serves their purpose, they can make use of it most unscrupulously. Laplace observes that some partisans of final causes have imagined that the moon was given to the earth to afford light during the night; this he denies to have been the object, because we are frequently without the light of either sun or moon. Now, the only safe assertion on the subject is that it is *a* final cause; what other final causes may exist, either of this phenomena or of any other, we are in no condition to judge. An argument from final causes is perfectly good, when the physical cause and the effect are satisfactorily ascertained and connected together. It only becomes absurd when used to establish a preference for one unknown result over another. Theoretically speaking, the position of the moon at a distance beyond the earth four times as great as her present distance would have caused her to revolve round the sun, and to have appeared always full. What inconveniences (supposing the arrangement possible) might have resulted, we cannot tell—we only know that she would have appeared sixteen times smaller—we do not know whether the

stability of the system could have been preserved. This is not the only instance in which Laplace has been guilty of absurdity when he quitted this his proper sphere, which was the application of the higher analysis to the explanation of known or probable phenomena. His system of cosmogony is worth noticing also in this point of view. It is true, it is only proposed by him as a conjecture, and he does not pretend to assign to it anything of the force of demonstration. Yet it is professedly used with the view of substituting some physical primitive cause in place of 'the intelligent and powerful Being' whom Newton supposes the arrangements of the Solar System to make known to us. We need scarcely say how utterly beside the point such an argument would be, and how, in order to maintain it, the sceptic must explain what matter is, and account for its coming into existence. And having said thus much, we need only add that the cosmogony of Laplace *may* possibly be true; and if so, the admiration of the processes by which God works will be transferred from the separate arrangements of the Solar System to the one cause which was adequate to produce them all. The comparison of the periodic times of Jupiter and Saturn produces one of the most beautiful instances of design, in insuring the stability of the system. Surely, it does not detract from the evidence of design if it can be shown that this arrangement is not a separate and distinct fact, but only a necessary consequence of some previous arrangement which includes this and other phenomena in itself. Bearing in mind the fertility of the argument which it is alleged to support—the cosmogony of Laplace may be accepted or rejected according to the pleasure of the reader. We will only add, that it is very general, and will have to be supplied with an immense amount of proof substituted for hypothesis before it can be considered to have much probability.

Laplace's theory then is, that what is now called the Solar System, consisted originally of the sun revolving round an axis, from west to east, surrounded by an immense nebula of very high temperature, extending far beyond the orbit of Uranus, or, as it would have been expressed in the present day, far beyond the orbit of Neptune: that as this solar nebula cooled, it became gradually condensed, and, consequently, revolved with a continually increasing velocity. Thus, at the distance where the central attraction was no longer great enough to counterbalance the increase in centrifugal force, the molecules of the nebulous matter in the plane of the equator would fly off from the rest, and form a detached equatorial zone or revolving ring, such as on a smaller scale is still seen in the case of the planet Saturn. And perhaps the hypothesis derives its greatest degree

of probability from this single fact of the existence of Saturn's ring. If we conceive that these separations were made at distinct intervals of time, at different distances from the sun, we arrive at the condition of things represented by a central sun, with a series of rings revolving round it at different distances and with different velocities. Supposing this state of things to have existed, unless we could imagine these rings of vapour to possess perfect regularity of structure, they would necessarily break up into separate aggregations of particles—and these being endued with a motion of rotation coinciding in direction with the revolution of the whole system, would, in consequence of their being still fluid masses, assume a spheroidal form—and it is only to suppose one of these spheroids of a ring to be much greater than the rest, in order to account for its attraction and absorption of all the rest. Now, each of these planets so formed would manifestly represent over again, on a smaller scale, the original phenomena of the whole system, that is, a central nucleus with a nebulous atmosphere which, by a repetition of the process above mentioned, has produced in the case of Saturn the rings which are now seen by an ordinary telescope, and in the case of the other planets, the satellites revolving in the same direction with the planet itself.

'The system of which I have just given an imperfect sketch has for its object to show how a nebula, endued with a general movement of rotation, must eventually transform itself into a very luminous central nucleus (a sun), and into a series of distinct spheroidal planets, situate at considerable distances from each other, revolving all around the central sun in the direction of the original movement of the nebula; how these planets ought also to have movements of rotation operating in similar directions; how, finally, the satellites, where any of such are formed, cannot fail to revolve upon their axes, and around their respective primaries, in the direction of rotation of the planets and of their movement of revolution around the sun.

'We have just found, conformably to the principles of mechanics, the forces with which the particles of the nebula were originally endued, in the movements of rotation and revolution of the compact and distinct masses which these particles have brought into existence by their condensation. But we have thereby achieved only a single step. The primitive movement of rotation of the nebula is not connected with the simple attraction of the particles. This movement seems to imply the action of a primordial impulsive force.'—P. 233.

Now, hypotheses admit of all degrees of probability—from the very lowest up to the nearest approximation to certainty. And if anything more than a very low degree of probability is claimed for this hypothesis, we should have to object to it the great number of distinct facts, such as some planets having satellites, others having none; one only having a ring, whilst the others are without this appendage, &c. &c., of which it can give no

account, whilst we suppose the retrograde motion of the satellites of Uranus, and the inclination of their paths—perhaps also the existence of comets—must be considered as somewhat militating against the hypothesis. If, however, the hypothesis is adduced as substituting an efficient cause in place of the eternal and intelligent Mind which conceived the wondrous fabric, we can only wonder at the short-sightedness of its inventor; a short-sightedness which M. Arago—who was not likely to have any prejudice against such views as those of Laplace's—quite saw through. The question only recurs in another form; and we have to ask, How came the nebulous matter of the Sun into existence?—whence came its light and heat, and rotatory motion? And this will have to be followed up by the crowning question, Whence came the mind of man, endowed with faculties for understanding and discussing these truths?

The account of Laplace given by M. Arago, is singular in its omission of the particulars of his private life. It does not, in fact, form one of the *éloges*, but is part of a document presented to the Chamber of Deputies, on the report of a committee nominated in 1842, to determine on the expediency of re-publishing Laplace's works at the public expense. Accordingly, there is scarcely anything of anecdote in this account of the discoveries of Laplace, excepting the narrative of the interviews between Napoleon and himself. They are as follows:—

'On the 27th Vendemiaire, in the year x., General Bonaparte, after having received a volume of the *Mécanique Céleste*, wrote to Laplace in the following terms: "The first *six months* which I shall have at my disposal will be employed in reading your beautiful work." It would appear that the words "the first *six months*" deprive the phrase of the character of a common-place expression of thanks, and convey a just appreciation of the importance and difficulty of the subject-matter.

'On the 5th Frimaire, in the year xi., the reading of some chapters of the volume which Laplace had dedicated to him, was to the General "a new occasion for regretting that the force of circumstances had directed him into a career which removed him from the pursuit of science." "At all events," added he, "I have a strong desire that future generations, upon reading the *Mécanique Céleste*, shall not forget the esteem and friendship which I have entertained towards its author."

'On the 17th Prairial, in the year xiii., the General, now become Emperor, wrote from Milan: "The *Mécanique Céleste* appears to me destined to shed new lustre on the age in which we live." Finally, on the 12th of August, 1812, Napoleon, who had just received the *Traité du Calcul des Probabilités*, wrote from Witepsk the letter which we transcribe textually: "There was a time when I would have read with interest your *Traité du Calcul des Probabilités*. For the present I must confine myself to expressing to you the satisfaction which I experience every time that I see you give to the world new works which serve to improve and extend the most important of the sciences, and contribute to the glory of the nation. The advancement and the improvement of mathematical science are connected with the prosperity of the State."

'I have now arrived at the conclusion of the task which I had imposed

upon myself. I shall be pardoned for having given so detailed an exposition of the principal discoveries for which philosophy, astronomy and navigation are indebted to our geometers.

'It has appeared to me that in thus tracing the glorious past, I have shown our contemporaries the full extent of their duty towards the country. In fact, it is for nations especially to bear in remembrance the ancient adage, *Noblesse oblige!*'—P. 236.

In a scientific point of view, perhaps, this memoir of the writings and discoveries of Laplace is the most important in the volume; and, as we have said before, there is no life which, as a biography, we can estimate highly. There is one circumstance which we think will strike most readers, viz. the considerable part which scientific men in France have played in public affairs, compared with the quiet and retired life generally led by English men of science. The contrast will appear at once to any one who will only take the trouble to read over the table of contents. Here we find the history of Astronomy side by side with the election of its author to the Mayoralty of Paris, and this soon followed by his trial and execution; in another instance, we meet with the mathematical theory of heat mixed up with the expedition to Egypt, and the return of Napoleon from Elba; next comes the author of 'Reflections on the Metaphysics of the Infinitesimal Calculus' sitting in judgment on Louis the Sixteenth;—whilst the names of the three English philosophers who figure in this volume are entirely unconnected with political affairs, or indeed public matters of any description. So striking is the difference, that M. Arago commences his biography of Watt with an apology for its having nothing to do with battles and assassinations and political catastrophes. In some other respects, it is one of the most interesting lives in the volume.

Watt was born in 1736, and educated at Greenock, and his early years gave promise of that genius which afterwards developed in so extraordinary a way. M. Arago's view in relating the details of his boyhood is in order 'to show in what 'a humble position those projects were perfected that were 'destined to raise the British nation to an unheard-of degree 'of power.' He was of delicate constitution, and, perhaps partly owing to this, his amusments were of a less noisy character than those of his companions; and, at six years of age, he was found occupying his leisure hours with geometrical figures and demonstrations. His love of investigation showed itself in the pulling of his toys to pieces and re-constructing them, sometimes even in making new ones. He seems to have been endowed by nature with a retentive memory, a gift which seems indispensable to success in any intellectual pursuit. His memory, moreover, was of the kind which does not overburden itself, easily discarding what was not likely to prove serviceable, and fastening upon the

important parts of everything presented to his notice. Considering the particular subject in which Watt was especially eminent, viz. mechanics, it is strange that he should have been physically of an indolent character. It needs scarcely be said that this defect was much more than counterbalanced by qualities of mind— as he was distinguished perhaps as much for mental activity as for his contemplative and meditative character. There was probably some truth in the observation of his grandmother, Mrs. Muirhead, when she reproached him in words which have evidently lost a great deal of their point by having been translated and re-translated :—

'James, I never saw such an idle young man as you are. Do take a book and employ yourself usefully ! Upwards of half-an-hour has elapsed without your saying a single word. Do you know what you have been doing all this time ? You have taken off, and replaced, and taken off again the teapot-lid, and you have alternately held in the steam that came out, first, a saucer, and then a spoon. You have busied yourself in examining and collecting together the little drops formed by the condensation of the steam on the surface of the china and of the silver. Is it not disgraceful to waste your time in this manner ?'—P. 521.

The anecdote is sufficiently amusing from the fact which it relates, both of the occupation of the young engineer, and the rebuke which it met with ; but most English readers will smile at the thought of the precise language, and measured terms of rebuke, put into the mouth of an old Scotch lady of the lower ranks of life in the middle of the last century.

At his own desire, Watt was apprenticed, at the age of eighteen, to a mathematical instrument-maker in London ; but, for some unexplained reason, left his master's within a year, and returned to Glasgow, where he had some difficulty in establishing himself, owing to his being looked upon as a stranger, who belonged to London, and not to Glasgow. The shop which he was allowed eventually to open was on ground belonging to the University of Glasgow, and from its contiguity to the buildings of the University, became the frequent resort of students and professors. Here he was noticed by Adam Smith, by Black, and by Simson ; and here Robison, then only a student, had the good fortune to become acquainted with him. To Robison we are indebted for a valuable testimony, both to the affection felt for his excellence of disposition, and the respect paid to his intellectual powers. From him we learn that Watt mastered two languages in his desire to obtain information from treatises on Mechanics, of which no translation had appeared in English ; and the same writer remarks, that 'the ingenuous 'simplicity of the young engineer immediately procured for him 'the good-will of all who accosted him :' adding, that he did not know of any other instance of such sincere and general attach-

ment felt for a man of such uncontested superiority, and which could have been conciliated only by the utmost amiability and candour in recognising merit in other men.

We need not follow M. Arago through his description of the steam-engine, or the history of the successive discoveries which led to the construction of such instruments, such as are now in use. The question of priority of invention cannot be decided as it is in Newton's great discovery, nor is it necessary that it should be. It is, after all, a mere question of words, though we think Watt's biographer certainly depreciates his claim in favour of those of Dennis Papin. The origin of the use of steam for mechanical purposes is, undoubtedly, much earlier than the birth of either of these philosophers; but it is equally certain that we owe to Watt the idea of that engine, which, to use M. Arago's words, was 'destined to raise the British nation to an unheard-of degree of power.' His capital invention—his happy idea of the possibility of condensing steam in a vessel separate from the cylinder in which the mechanical action goes on—was in 1765. Two years intervened between the original conception and the attempt to put it in execution; and for several years after that his time was occupied with engineering works of comparatively slight importance, and of only local interest. He had applied for a patent, which was granted him in 1769, the renewal of which for twenty-five years was not obtained from Parliament without considerable difficulty. He was at this time in partnership with Mr. Boulton of Soho, near Birmingham. They received a duty equal to the value of one-third of the coal saved by the use of their engines. But this involved him and his partner in expensive litigations. The Cornish mines were not very profitable speculations, and the proprietors availed themselves of every claim that could be put in by plagiarists to these or similar inventions, to obtain a release from their obligations.

The two other great improvements in the working of the steam-engine, namely, the *governor*, which is now called the *centrifugal regulator*, and the *steam-detent*, are also due to Watt. We must refer our readers, for a detailed account of these parts of the steam-engine, to ordinary books on the subject. For an estimate of the value of these inventions, we extract the following passage from M. Arago, which gives a very good idea of the liveliness of style which characterises these *éloges*:—

'Watt's regulator—and an intelligent use of the revolving principle—that is the secret, the true secret of the astonishing perfection of the industrial products of our epoch; this is what now gives to the steam-engine a rate entirely free from jerks. That is the reason why it can, with equal success, embroider muslins and forge anchors—weave the most delicate webs, and communicate a rapid movement to the heavy stones of a flour-mill. This

also explains how Watt had said, fearless of being reproached for exaggeration, that, to prevent the comings and goings of servants, he would be served—he would have gruel brought to him in case of illness, by tablets connected with his steam-engine. I am aware it is supposed by the generality of people that this suavity of motion is obtained only by a loss of power; but it is an error, a gross error; the saying, "much noise and little work" is true, not only in the moral world, but is also an axiom in mechanics. A few words more, and we shall reach the end of our technical details.

'Within these few years great advantage has been found in not allowing a free access of steam from the boiler into the cylinder, during the whole time of each oscillation of the engine. This communication is interrupted, for example, when the piston has reached one-third of its course. The two remaining thirds of the cylinder's length are then traversed by virtue of the acquired velocity, and especially by the *detention* of the steam. Watt had already indicated such an arrangement. Some very good judges esteem the economical importance of the *steam-detent* as equal to that of the condenser. It seems certain, that since its adoption the Cornwall engines give unhoped-for results; that, with one bushel of coals, they equal the labour of twenty men during ten hours. Let us keep in mind, that in the coal districts a bushel of coals only costs ninepence; and it will be demonstrated that over the greater part of England, Watt reduced the price of a man's day's work—a day of ten hours' labour—to less than a sou (one half-penny) of our money.

'Numerical valuations make us appreciate so well the importance of his inventions, that I cannot resist the desire to present two more improvements. I borrow them from one of the most celebrated correspondents of the Academy, from Mr. John Herschel. The ascent of Mont Blanc, starting from the valley of Chamouni, is justly considered as the hardest work that a man can accomplish in two days. Thus the maximum mechanical work of which we are capable in twice twenty-four hours is measured by transporting the weight of our body to the elevation of Mont Blanc. This work, or its equivalent, would be accomplished by a steam-engine in the course of burning one kilogram of coal. Watt has, therefore, ascertained that the daily power of a man does not exceed what is contained in half a kilogram of coal. (1 lb. Avs.)

'Herodotus records that the construction of the great pyramid of Egypt employed one hundred thousand men during twenty years. The pyramid consists of calcareous stone; its volume and its weight can be easily calculated; its weight has been found to be about 5,900,000 kilograms (nearly 5000 tons).

'To elevate this weight to thirty-eight metres, which is the pyramid's centre of gravity, it would require to burn 8,244 hectolitres of coal (cubic metres). Our neighbours have some foundries where they consume this quantity every week.'—Pp. 553—555.

When Watt was residing at Soho, there was a small coterie of learned men in the neighbourhood, which counted amongst its members Priestley, Darwin, Withering, and Edgeworth. They formed a society, called the Lunar Society, because the days of meeting were fixed for the evenings of a full moon, in order to enable the members to find their way home better. At one of these meetings, Darwin suggested the idea of a pen with two points, which should write and copy at the same instant. Watt observed that he could solve the problem in a better way, and the next day put together a small model of the

copying-press, for which he obtained a patent in 1780, and which is still used in all merchants' counting-houses.

At the age of twenty-eight, Watt had married his cousin, Miss Miller. M. Arago imagines that 'the indolence, the melancholy, and the misanthropy that a nervous illness, and the 'injustice of man, threatened to render fatal,' would have prevented Watt from making many of his inventions public, if he had not been roused and cheered by the amiable disposition of his wife. She died at the birth of a third son; and Watt, after a few years, married again a lady who survived him. During the last twenty years of his life he retired from business; and the seclusion in which he lived is, perhaps, partly accounted for by grief at the loss of one of his sons; though, perhaps, it may be considered congenial to the temper of a man who said of himself that he knew only two pleasures, idleness and sleep.

Watt's knowledge was, by no means, confined to engineering; and though we cannot assent to his biographer's high-flown expressions, implying that he was a universal genius, yet the dispute, as to his claim to the discovery of the composition of water, proves him to have been well-skilled in chemistry; and there can be little doubt that he was at home in a considerable number of subjects; and one of his accomplishments appears to have been the power of telling stories and romances impromptu. Though so sickly in his childhood, his health strengthened with his years, and he retained, to the last, his power of mind undiminished. When more than seventy years of age, he made an experiment upon himself with the view of testing his powers, and devoted himself to Anglo-Saxon, and in a short time became tolerably well acquainted with that language. He died in 1819, at the age of eighty-three.

The biography of Watt is a very long one, and is full of discussions, which have no reference either to his private life and character, or to the history of mechanical science during his time. There is a long dissertation, in proof that machines are not, in the long run, detrimental to the welfare of the working-classes, and an account of the author's views, as to the propriety of raising to the peerage men who, like Watt, have ennobled their country by great inventions or discoveries. We do not know whether the author or the translator has been guilty of the greater absurdity—the former for anticipating a time 'when the foolish custom of dividing men into folds will no 'longer blot the institutions of a great nation'—or the latter for noticing that, though Newton was not a peer, he was a knight, and that at his interment six peers supported his pall. We must confess we should have received M. Arago's criticism on our institutions with the simple observation—'*Ne sutor ultra crepidam!*'

ART. III.—*Analecta Nicæna: Fragments relating to the Council of Nice. The Syriac Text from an ancient MS. in the British Museum.* With a Translation, Notes, &c. By B. HARRIS COWPER. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1857.

THIS work is remarkable for the worthlessness of much that it contains; for the author's over-estimate of the value of some of the pieces in it; and his apparent ignorance of the importance —the considerable importance, as evidence of some points of history—of one which he produces.

Mr. B. Harris Cowper is the gentleman who, under his initials B. H. C., obtained an unenviable notoriety in Mr. Cureton's 'Spicilegium Syriacum,' and will have his name handed down to future times, on almost every page of that work, as the perpetrator of an extraordinary blunder, either in the transcribing or translating of Syriac. We confess that at the time that work appeared, we thought B. H. C. hardly used: we considered Syriac learning so neglected a field, that it would have been becoming in so advanced and ripe a scholar as Mr. Cureton, to have encouraged and treated tenderly the humble attempts of a beginner: to have borne with his failures and been gentle about his mistakes, bad as they were.

But now, we fairly give him up, seeing that he wants the very first element of a scholar—knowledge of his own ignorance. Consciousness that he has much to learn, and humble endeavours to acquire that learning, are qualities in which B. H. C. seems quite deficient. He boldly publishes statements on subjects on which he has the merest smattering of information, as if he knew all about them. And all this we must regret the more, in proportion to the actual obligations that we are under to him for transcribing and publishing what contains a little of what is, in some degree, a contribution of real value to Ecclesiastical History.

'ANALECTA NICÆNA: *Fragments relating to the Council of Nice. The Syriac Text from an ancient MS. in the British Museum.*' How tempting a title is this to those (few, it may be, at this day) who take an interest in the facts of Ecclesiastical History! Important as the Council of Nicæa is, how much is there that we would gladly know respecting it! Its Acts: have they perished—the details of each Session, the discussions, the concessions, the points maintained and established, and the

points that were maintained and not established? Were they, as some have supposed, entered in the Imperial Register; and are these Registers, or any portion of them, still recoverable? Could we meet with a narrative of the Council from an Arian hand? or trace the influence of Constantine's will, and see how the firmness of the Christian Episcopate refused to listen to his schemes of peace; of peace to be purchased by the sacrifice of truth?

We might expect much from 'Fragments relating to the Council of Nice;' and might suppose that we should find something new. On opening the little pamphlet-like book, we find, with three exceptions, that it contains only Syriac translations, ancient it is true, and therefore valuable, of what was extant and known already in Greek and Latin.

A formal letter of Constantine, summoning the Bishops to the Council of Nice, of not more than a dozen lines when put into English; one short list of bishops present at a Council, and a page of Addenda, containing in English a Monophysite creed, falsely, as Mr. Cowper admits, attributed to S. Athanasius, and a Nicene Creed, of which three last the Syriac originals are not given, is all that is *new*.

Besides these, there is nothing which we had not before in a more genuine and perhaps better form. Such are (2) The decree of Constantine against the Arians; (3) The Nicene and (4) Constantinopolitan Creeds; (5) The subscribers to the Nicene Council then (6) The titles of the Canons of Nice, and some other things so precious that we print them for the information of our readers.

'6. *Title of the Canons of Nice, from fol.* 16.

'Ecclesiastical Canons of the great and holy Synod of 318 Bishops, which was assembled at Nicea, a city of Bithynia, and constituted those things which are written below.

(Here follow the Twenty Canons.)

'7. *Colophon, from* 150, *a.*

'There are contained in this book 193 canons which were drawn up in eight different Synods, and were translated from Greek into Syriac, carefully and clearly, in the city of Mabug, in the year 812 of Alexander.[1]

'8-9. *Fragments from* No. 14526, fol 38.

'8. Again, a history of these Synods. Now the Synod of Nicea was assembled in the days of Constantine the Great; and its chiefs were Alexander, Archbishop of Alexandria; and, in the place of the *papa* of Rome, Vinto and Vicentius, presbyters of Rome.....

[1] *i.e.* in A.D. 501. This is doubtless the date of the Manuscript, which was 270 years old when it fell into the hands of 'the sinner Abraham,' by whom it was disfigured. He erased part of the writing to enter the date at which he got the book.

'9. Again: Now the Synod of Nicea was assembled because of the affairs of wicked Arius, who alienated the Son from the nature of the Father; and in that he was begotten of the Father, they called him "made," and "a creature," and (said) that he was not of the same nature as the Father.'—P. 28.

Then (10) the sixth and (11) ninth Canons; then

'12. *Colophon*, 149 *b*.

'The end. Given in the month Thammuz, in the Consulship of Herculanus.'—*Ibid.* p. 28.

There are twenty pages filled with Syriac, eight more with translation—five being names of Bishops, and ten with Mr. Cowper's notes; then two with a supplement of names of bishops present at Councils, and the page of Addenda.

The points which we shall bring before our readers are three; on documents which Mr. Cowper publishes as new or superior to anything we had before:—1. 'The letter of Constantine summoning the Council of Nice,' which is quite new. 2. The list of subscribers to the Council, which, if not new, is, Mr. Cowper says, 'the most curious and complete yet brought to light.' It is a very early translation of the list already well known. 3. What he does not know the value of,—viz. the list of Bishops present at the Council of Laodicea.

I. The letter of Constantine is as follows:—

'*An Epistle of Constantine the King summoning the Bishops from Ancyra to Nice.*

'That there is nothing more honourable in my sight than religion, is, I believe, manifest to every man. Now because the Synod of Bishops at Ancyra, of Galatia, consented *formerly* that it should be so, it hath seemed to us now on many accounts, that it would be well for it to be assembled at Nice, a city of Bithynia, because the *Bishops of Italy*, and of the rest of the countries of Europe *are coming*, and because of the excellent temperature of the air, and because I shall be at hand as a spectator and participator of what is done. Wherefore, I signify to you, my beloved brethren, that ye all of you promptly assemble at the city I spoke of, that is at Nice. Let every one of you, therefore, diligently inquire into that which is profitable, in order that, as I before said, without any delay we may speedily come to be a present spectator of those things which are done by the same. God keep you, my beloved brethren.'—P. 21.

The chief importance of this letter in Mr. Cowper's judgment is, that it settles the question against the necessity of a General Council being summoned by the Pope. For while there did not exist in history any evidence that the Pope had had a share in summoning the Nicene Council, Roman controversialists maintained that if we only had the original letter summoning the Council, we should find that the Emperor had, at least, acted with the 'advice and concurrence' of the Pope. Now, Mr. Cowper says, the matter is settled; we have the

original letter, and the Bishop of Rome is not mentioned in it. Mr. Cowper very sagaciously observes, that they whom he would thus annihilate, might 'deny the genuineness of the letter;' but without attempting to prove it genuine, he wisely throws the burden of proof on his opponents; and requires them to disprove it: 'They,' he says, 'will have to account 'for its existence, and to explain away its internal marks 'of genuineness.' Eusebius says the Emperor wrote a letter: and here is a letter which says it is that which the Emperor wrote. What more can be desired? But the adversary, admitting its genuineness, might very well say (*a*), that it does not pretend to be the formal document summoning the Council. It is clearly only a letter to the Bishops of a particular part of the Church, inviting them to attend. This appears clear from the letter itself. It professes in its own title to be a letter summoning the Bishops from Ancyra to Nice; and speaks of the Bishops of Italy and Europe as a distinct body from those to whom it was addressed. He might also say with truth (*b*), that it *certainly proves some previous communication with the Bishops of Italy, and almost certainly the Pope's 'concurrence.'*

Mr. Cowper jests on the Emperor's reasons for choosing Nicæa, 'because it suited his own convenience; because it was 'a pleasant place, as everybody knew; and because he wished 'to have at the Council the Bishops of Italy, and the rest of 'Europe.' But 'the excellent temperature of the air,'—the '*cœli temperies*,'—refers probably to the healthiness of the place, not its pleasantness; no unimportant point, surely.

However, the letter raises another question.

What is meant by the words of the title, 'Summoning the Bishops from Ancyra to Nice;' and of the letter, 'Now because 'the Synod of Bishops at Ancyra, of Galatia, decided *formerly* 'that it should be so, &c.'?

Mr. Cowper has nearly a page of notes upon these words, which exhibit a mind involved in inextricable confusion. Two facts are notorious: I. There was a great and well-known Synod at Ancyra; II. S. Athanasius speaks of the Nicene Council as having agreed that 'the decisions of a previous Synod might be re-examined by a later one.' 'I think,' says Mr. Cowper, 'the words in Constantine's letter, taken in 'connexion with the words last quoted from Athanasius, suffi-'ciently explain that this was an ancient custom; and that if 'we had a full account of the Ancyrene Synod, we should find 'that its members conformed to that custom by appealing to a 'future Council, which, therefore, the Emperor summons.' Well, this would be intelligible enough if the Synod of Ancyra had been held after the Arian troubles began, and had discussed

the subject of Arianism. And Mr. Cowper evidently thought this was so; he says, in note 1:—'Perhaps the Fathers at Ancyra, not 'regarding their conclusions as final, *adjourned* with the inten-'tion of meeting there again; but Constantine overruled their 'decision for the reasons stated in his letter, and required the 'contemplated Council to be held at Nice in Bithynia. This 'view of the case invests the Ancyrene Synod with peculiar 'interest and importance; and I have, *therefore*, placed in the 'Supplement a list of those who were present, extracted from 'the same MS. The Epistle will, perhaps, not be very satis-'factory to those who maintain the exclusive right of the Pope 'to call a General Council,' &c. Mr. Cowper had much better have left the Pope and the General Council alone. He will have quite enough to do to keep his own ground.

The theory that there was *a* Synod at Ancyra on the Arian question, and that that Synod desired a larger Council to be summoned is, in itself, anything but impossible; and on the supposition of the genuineness of this letter, and of its title, would be almost certain, except for the one word '*formerly*.' 'The 'Synod of Bishops at Ancyra, of Galatia, consented *formerly*, 'that it should be so.' But this imaginary Synod was not THE Synod of Ancyra, even supposing this theory true.

Mr. Cowper seems to consider received Ecclesiastical History unworthy of study: else he might have found that the date of the Synod of Ancyra, most probably, is A. D. 314—*eleven* years before the Council of Nice was summoned (too long for an adjournment); and five or six years before Arius broached his heresy. He would have found that the date rested on two lines of evidence. First, on internal evidence; the canons having been evidently made when the Church was fresh from persecution, and referring to the course to be adopted in regard to those who had lapsed. Secondly, from the names of the Bishops who subscribed the canons.

Now this latter kind of evidence ought to have had great weight with Mr. Cowper, because he had this list of names in his Syriac MS. And by considering it, he would have been shown,—what in fact, with the slightest care and observation, any one might see for himself—that several of the Bishops of various sees who were at Ancyra, are different from the Bishops of the same sees who were at Nice. Now he had taken so much pains as to mark with asterisks the names of the Ancyrene Bishops, which 'are also in the Nicene list;' but never seems to have inquired into, or thought of the difficulty of those bishops whose names are *not* in the Nicene list: but whose *sees* are named there, with other occupants. And these are very important sees, and occupied by very important prelates, whose

names stand out in the history of those times. Such are Antioch in Syria, the Parent Church of Gentile Christendom, ecclesiastically the Rome of the East. Vitalius was its Patriarch when the Council of Ancyra was held; Eustathius, a distinguished character in the history of the Nicene period, when the Council was held at Nice. Tarsus of Cilicia—(names these which carry us back to Apostolic times, to the hallowed memories of Saints and Martyrs; now, alas! trodden down by the followers of the great false prophet)—this see, Tarsus of Cilicia, was occupied by Lupus at the former, by Theodorus at the latter Council. Nicomedia, the imperial city, was represented by its bishop, Eusiteles, (*i. e.* Eustolius,) at Ancyra; by Arius' great advocate, Eusebius, at Nice. So were Iconium and Perga of Pamphylia, by Peter and Epidaurus, at Ancyra; by Eulalius and Callicles, at Nice. Mr. Cowper might have recognised some of these names in the lists of the bishops which follow on the same page of his book—those who were at Neocæsarea, and at Gangra; and so might have traced the order in which these Councils succeeded each other, by noticing the changes which successive years made in removing from the scene of their earthly labours and sufferings, these survivors of the last persecutions. But he has done nothing of the kind. Had he gone to the usual sources of information, the Collections of Councils, he would have found five more Bishops at Ancyra than the Syriac gives; and he would also have been able to correct his own or the Syriac's blunders; at least, he would have had those difficulties solved which he thus candidly states:—

'Basilius of Amas g r m n Major (*i.e. Amasea, what the letters g. r. m. n. are meant for, I cannot divine.*)'—*Analecta Nicæna*, p. 35.

They are meant for Armenia, as the reading in the margin of Labbè would have shown him (Amasea was afterwards the metropolis of the more recently-formed province of Helenopontus; hence the variations of MSS.), and Basilius of Amasea was by no means an unimportant person in the history of the time; and a re-inspection of the Syriac would have discovered the true reading. But, indeed, he need not have gone beyond his own list of Nicene subscriptions; for Eutychianus of *Amasea* occurs there among the Bishops of Armenia Major.

So in the next name—

'Philadelphus of Loliopolis of Galatia. (*Loliopolis is called Juliopolis in the Nicene List.*)'—*Ibid.* p. 35.

And so it is in correct copies of the Ancyrene. Mr. Cowper did not know of, or did not think it worth his while to consult, 'Ancient Maps,' or works on ancient or ecclesiastical geography,

where he would have found the correct names of places; or 'Bingham's Antiquities,' where one list (a *Notitia*) of Provinces and Sees is given, and other *Notitiæ* are there referred to; or the *Oriens Christiana*, where he would have found the lists of the Bishops under their different sees. Had he done so, he would have found the true use of these Syriac lists. They are not new, with one most important exception; they are not complete; they are simply valuable as any fresh and early MS. is, in adjusting the balance of evidence for readings where existing MSS. differ.

But a moment's reflection ought to have convinced Mr. Cowper that his theory, that the Ancyrene Synod,—which is thereby 'invested with so much interest and importance,' that he gives us the list of the Bishops who subscribed its canons,—'adjourned from Ancyra to Nice,' nay, actually occasioned the calling of the Nicene Council, is annihilated by the fact that most of the Bishops who, according to his own list, were at Ancyra, disappear in this process of adjournment, and that others rise up in their places. Out of the thirteen whom the Syriac list gives as at Ancyra, five only are found at Nice, while of the remaining eight, the sees of seven are represented at Nice, not indeed by the prelates who were at Ancyra, but by their successors.

Now, what pretensions has a person, so careless of evidence that is before his eyes and passing under his review—so ignorant too of all that is known on these subjects, and which may be found easily in common books of reference—what pretensions has he to discuss the question of the relation of the Synod of Ancyra to that of Nice, to investigate the meaning of the letter he has discovered, or to set right the world on points of ancient history on which hitherto they have been mistaken? He ought at least to read before he writes. But what are we to say of the letter itself? Why, thus much,—

I. If the words in the *title* of the letter be correct, then there was, no doubt, *a* synod at Ancyra, which suggested the assembling of a larger synod, and occasioned the Œcumenical Council of Nice: but it is not what the letter calls it, '*the* Synod of Ancyra:' it is a synod hitherto unknown to history: wholly unheard of; still, that there should have been such a synod, which produced the Council of Nice, if true, is an addition to our information most interesting and valuable: only we must remember that we have to account for that word 'formerly' in the letter.

II. If the title be not authentic—which of the two we think the better line for Mr. Cowper to take—then on the supposition of the genuineness of the letter, we must imagine that *the* Synod of Ancyra, which was a very important synod indeed, gathering

together as it did the Bishops of the chief Sees, from the Hellespont to the Euphrates, from Armenia down to Palestine, made some rule or expressed some judgment on the calling of larger synods to decide controversies between different branches of the Church; to which Constantine refers, as a reason for a general council. For thus much seems to be implied in this interpretation of the letter. This also would be a new fact: there is no trace whatever of it in the extant canons of the council; there is not a whisper breathed respecting it in ecclesiastical history. But is it true? Is the letter containing it authentic?

Yes, Mr. Cowper says, such a letter was known to have existed; Eusebius says Constantine wrote one. Why, this very circumstance is the temptation to the forger; it at once gives a colour to his invention: just as the lost Apology of Melito suggested a fictitious title for that other Syriac forgery, which Mr. Cowper and Mr. Cureton alike put forward as genuine.

Suppose the letter be not authentic, as the difficulties which hamper every possible explanation of these words about Ancyra suggest; and that the very clause which the forger inserted, in order to give his production the air of a genuine composition, proves it to be a forgery—and this no uncommon case in a false story. What then? Why, Mr. Cowper's discovery proves what is vulgarly known as a mare's nest; and the Pope may breathe freely again for a little while. His last chance is not gone. There may yet be a discovery of the true letter of Constantine, and it may contain the desired evidence of the Holy Father's exclusive right to advise or summon councils.

And we suspect the letter is a forgery, and that these words prove it; and that they were inserted for the very purpose of making it look genuine. Let it be remembered that these Syriac scribes were not well-informed historians, nor acute critics. They had but a limited stock of knowledge; but they had *lists* of councils and canons, and among these in this very volume of precious antiquity, they had, as Mr. Cowper informs us, the canons of Nice, Ancyra, Neocæsarea, &c., with the statement that the Council of Ancyra 'was held before that of Nice, which is placed first because of its importance.' This one bit of information they had; it is to be found in all the Collections of Canons; for those that Mr. Cowper finds in Syriac, he will find in all languages; they are the canons accepted by the universal Church (except that the unorthodox Syrian omits those of Ephesus); and among them the Canons of Ancyra were the earliest; and so there is this notice, as a kind of explanation why Nice is put first in order, though it was not first in time. 'This Council (of Ancyra) was held before that of Nice.' On this the forger builds his romance, and frames his letter of Constantine, and

makes the earlier Council of Ancyra agree to hold the Council of Nice; and in his heading represents Constantine as summoning the bishops from Ancyra to Nice. If this is not the true explanation, where is an explanation to be found which will make the title consistent with the letter, and both with the known facts of history?

We have done with Ancyra and the letter. But we think the Pope's friends may fairly ask Mr. Cowper to allege some arguments for its authenticity, stronger than the fact that it existed in Syriac, or even in Greek (for which last statement we do not see that he alleges any evidence whatever), in the sixth century.

But what are we to say of S. Athanasius's well-known words about one council re-examining what had been decided in an earlier one, hitherto supposed to refer to quite a different subject, which Mr. Cowper wishes to bring to bear on Constantine's letter? Mr. Cowper was not content with M. de Broglie's citation of it. He examined the passage himself (Apol. cont. Arian., ii. § 22), and rightly observes that Athanasius speaks of it as an ἔθος πάλαιον, only noticed and recommended by the Council of Nice. But did he not observe that Athanasius is speaking of councils judging on *persons*, not *doctrines*, and having had their decisions re-examined and reversed? Whilst, by his theory, the Council of Ancyra asked to have a larger council, not to re-examine their own decision, if they had made any, but to confirm it: or, which would be more likely, to decide that which they felt themselves incompetent to determine; and that, *probably*, on a point of doctrine.

II. The other document which Mr. Cowper considers to be an important addition to the history of the Nicene Council, is a Syriac list of the Bishops who subscribed it. This list is undoubtedly valuable; just as the discovery of a new manuscript of such a list might be, in that it affords fresh readings, which may confirm, illustrate, or correct old ones. That is, so far as it is important to have a list of the names and sees of the subscribing bishops, exact in the spelling of their names, and in the designations of the cities where their churches were; so far it is important. And it is also, no doubt, important as confirming the authenticity of the lists previously known, and existing in many other MSS. In that way it corresponds to the Coptic list which was published many years ago, and reprinted in the 'Spicilegium Solesmense;' only that was not complete.

What we regret in Mr. Cowper's treatment of this subject, is his putting forth his Syriac list as superior to any previously extant, and suppressing any distinct statement respecting the

other lists. It certainly has not all the names which occur in the well-known Latin lists; and we think that the omission of some lies with the Syriac: so that we cannot subscribe to Mr. Cowper's statement, that this list is the most complete that has been published. The MS. which contains it does indeed appear to be earlier than any other; and this is a great advantage. But we should hesitate in assenting to the statement that it is the most correct. Of course, in lists of names of persons and places, and those foreign to the country of the successive transcribers of the MSS., blunders of all kinds will arise, and, accordingly, each extant copy has blunders of its own, and each is useful for correcting the rest. But we cannot undertake to say, if they were counted, which would have most blunders; but we do not see any pre-eminent accuracy in the Syriac. And the Greek and Latin names appear so strange in their Oriental dress, that we cannot but prefer them in Greek or Latin: Faustus and Quintus are more intelligible than Pontus and Conatus. The Syriac and the Coptic are certainly helpful in the Oriental and Egyptian provinces, as they give their own names to the places they mention: thus the Coptic has Cois, and Thmuis, and Siut, for Egyptian sees; and in the Syriac, Mabug and Tadmor, in the place of Hierapolis and Palmyra, the Greek names found in the other lists. So far the Syriac will be useful to some hard-working scholar who may, at a future time, rectify the errors of the different lists, and give us the true names of the bishops and their sees, with such illustrations of each as the fragmentary records of contemporary history supply.

Mr. Cowper has done very little in this way; and he is either ignorant of the sources of information respecting them, or carelessly or wilfully suppresses what he knows. It would have been only a business-like course to have said what lists are already extant, and where they were to be found. But he does nothing of the kind. He does not mention the Collections of Councils, in which any of his readers would find the lists as they were extant in Europe. We are left in utter ignorance of them by Mr. B. H. C., except that there is a Lat. 1 and a Lat. 2; and we might very reasonably suspect, that he knew nothing about Lat. 1 and Lat. 2 beyond what he found in the 'Spicilegium Solesmense,' where, and where only, so far as we know, the titles Lat. 1 and Lat. 2 are found. The fact is, that in Labbè's original edition of the Councils a list is given derived from four different MSS., the variations of which are noted in the margin. Another such list was printed from another MS. by Harduin, and both are reprinted by Mansi, with occasional corrections of the names of Bishops from such sources as Epiphanius and Athanasius. It would have been better if Mr.

Cowper had stated this, and that his Syriac list, so far from being new, is only in fact these lists (for they are substantially the same) in another language. This would have put the real value of the Syriac in its true light. In addition to these Latin lists, is the imperfect Coptic version of the same of which we have spoken. There is also a fragment in Greek put forth as a portion of the Subscriptions, which belongs to a much later council; it will be found in Mansi. And another wonderful list of exactly 318 names in Arabic, which was printed by Selden in his Eutychius, but which appears to have been made up by some forger of a late date, out of the real lists, out of historical notices, and not least of all out of his own imagination.

In the 'Spicilegium Solesmense' the Coptic and the Latin lists of Labbè and Harduin are given in three parallel columns, but without the variations of the MSS., which often supply the true reading. Mr. Cowper seems to have taken these lists, compared his own Syriac list with them, and so made notes of their agreement and difference. He seems scarcely to have used the Latin lists at all. If he had, he would have found other variations from the Syriac copy; *e.g.* he would have found four names more in the province of Pisidia, two in that of Isauria, and great differences in the later, the European provinces.

To have consulted the most obvious books of reference on the subject on which he is writing, is what may reasonably be expected of any one who publishes statements and investigations such as Mr. Cowper's notes contain. It would not be fair to expect more. We have therefore thus far confined ourselves to what might have been learnt in Labbè, Harduin, or Mansi. Beyond these we have not yet gone. Information as to what is extant on subjects of ecclesiastical antiquity is so scattered; the documents are found in places so unlikely; and there is so entire a want of catalogues of the dispersed knowledge, or of guide-books through its mazes, that a writer may well be ignorant of much that might be known. We mention, therefore, without imputing ignorance to Mr. Cowper, what is, if not, in the one copy that has been printed, 'the most complete and the most curious,' yet is, we apprehend, the most genuine form of the list of Bishops who were at the Council of Nicæa.

It is a Greek list, compiled or recorded by Theodore, a Reader in the Church of Constantinople, best known by his Latin title as Theodorus Lector. His extracts of Ecclesiastical History are found in the common collections of the Ecclesiastical Historians; but besides these he made an Epitome or Compendium of Church History by putting together extracts from Sozomen, and filling these up with shorter extracts from Socrates and Theodores; thus making an *Historia Tripartita*. One copy

of this MS. had belonged to Leo Allatius, and was used by Valesius in his edition of the Ecclesiastical Historians, to settle the readings of the text; Montfaucon had another; a third is said to be in the Bodleian Library; and a fourth in the Library of S. Mark at Venice. Out of this list a catalogue of the Nicene Fathers was printed by Morelli the Librarian, in his *Bibliotheca MS. Græca et Latina*, pp. 225, sqq., in the pages preceding which the information we have given will be found.

Socrates in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' lib. 1, c. 13, says, 'I 'conceive it the part of a lover of knowledge to put down here 'the names of the bishops who assembled at Nicæa, so far as I 'have been able to find them, and of what province, and what 'city each was, and the time at which they assembled: "Hosius, 'Bishop of Corduba, of Spain, I so believe as is written above: 'of Rome, Vito and Vincentius, Presbyters; of Egypt, Alex-'ander; of Antioch the Great, Eustathius; of Jerusalem, Ma-'carius; Harpocration of Cynon;" and of the rest whose names 'are set down fully in the Synodicon of Athanasius, Bishop 'of Alexandria.'

We wish to draw Mr. Cowper's attention to the fact that when Socrates wrote, the names were extant in a complete list in a work of S. Athanasius. This fact (though it has to be reconciled with Theodore's incomplete list) has an important bearing on the question raised by Mr. Cowper, as to the numbers who were present at the Council. He will also observe that Socrates places first after Rome, the Bishops of the three great sees, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem; and then follows the name found first among the Bishops of Egypt.

Now, in this place in the Compendium of Theodorus Lector, there is inserted a list of Bishops corresponding very nearly to the Latin list in the Councils, but still more to Mr. Cowper's Syriac. At the end of this Theodorus says, 'Of so many 'have we been able to find the names: but as yet we have 'not found the names of the others.' One of the most important circumstances in the list is the insertion of the name of Paphnutius among the Bishops of the Thebaid, but without the name of his see; and that of Nicolaus of Myra among the Bishops of Lycia; these are in no other lists.

The list is evidently the same as the Syriac. The order of the provinces is the same, and the order of the names in the provinces, with now and then a slight dislocation caused by the errors of some of the copyists. Thus, Eustathius, Patriarch of Antioch, is made Bishop of Seleucia in this way; the original list ran:—

'Eustathius of Antioch,
Zenobius of Seleucia.'

The copyist's eye deceived him; and 'of Antioch,' and 'Zenobius,' have slipped out. In Libya the Greek list has 'Lower Libya,' with 'Titus of Patronius' in it. It omits Marinus and Badonius in Phœnicia; Theodore of Tarsus, in Cilicia; the Chorepiscopi, Doron and Stephen, in Cappadocia; the title 'of Pisidia,' and Eulalius and Telemachus, the first two names in it. It omits Rufus and Eulalius in Bithynia. It supplies 'Aquila, Chorepiscopus,' as the last name but one in Isauria; a name obviously wanted in the Syriac to make up the 17 which the heading says there are.

We conclude that in this Greek copy we have a transcript, copied or printed carelessly, of the list which Theodore considered to be most genuine: and that the Syriac is possibly a very early translation of this list—since the MS., if of the date A.D. 501, was written in the lifetime of Theodore—or a translation of a list current at the time, which he also adopted. Into this he or some of his copyists inserted Paphnuthius as one known to have been at the Council, and Nicolas, because he was a great Bishop, said to be there. These additions seem, as we have said, to be peculiar to this Greek list. From the same source the Latin and Coptic translations are evidently derived. The Bodleian MS. of Theodore might supply the list in a still more perfect form. By such comparison the lists would by their variations mutually correct and supply the defects of each other; and vindicate themselves probably from the sneers which Mr. Cowper very foolishly throws out against them, as if the names were occasionally invented to try to fill the numbers.

For Mr. Cowper is not content with printing and translating, and briefly annotating on this Syriac edition of the names of subscribers to the Council. He has some views of his own respecting the number of Bishops who were present at the Council: and though he has not apparently made up his own mind on the subject, he communicates his suspicions to his readers, and the various conjectures which present themselves to him. This he does in the following passage, which is a note upon these concluding words of the Syriac list:

'The names of the Bishops and of their cities end, which are 'in all 220, because the names of the Western Bishops were not 'written.'[110]

'(110) The reason here assigned is the common one, but it is scarcely borne out by the facts. The names of several European bishops are actually found in the list. But what is most extraordinary is, that if we leave out the two *presbyters* from Rome, the actual number of episcopal signatures is two hundred and eighteen, and not three hundred and eighteen, as almost universally stated. This singular difference of a hundred reminds us of the Septuagint Chronology. There may have been

more present at the Council, as Eusebius himself gives about 250, and he knew something of it. But then, the names of not a few who are said to have been at Nice, are absent from this (and other) catalogues. Perhaps they were not there, as we are quite sure some were not, whose names are in the other catalogues, which bear the most palpable signs of having been tampered with. Even Pitra's editor exclaims, "In cauda venenum: Provinciæ omnes, quarum catalogus clare incipit, in tenebris desinunt." In other words, to serve a purpose, names of places and of persons have been invented to make up the number. How unlikely that the names of such as were there should be omitted! But we may reply again: that such as we do not find here, omitted to subscribe, because they left before the business closed, or for some other strong reason. Each of these explanations may apply to some, but there is every probability that the Syriac translator omitted no names which he found in his copy. Indeed, he distinctly affirms as much by saying, that they were 220 in all; and accounts for the absence of the rest. He therefore believed that 318 fathers were present.

'It is worth while to compare the explanation, "Because the names of the Western bishops were not written," with what the Emperor says in his circular letter. He fixes upon Nicea partly because he wishes to have the bishops of Italy and the rest of Europe. Of course they were there, and yet they alone, or nearly so, are not represented in the lists! If they were present, why did they not subscribe more generally? If they were absent, whose authority did they confess in the Church?

'As with the 318 of the Nicene council, so is it with the council of Chalcedon, with its fabulous twice 318, or 636 holy fathers: a list in our ancient MS. gives but 362. In the same way the 150 of Constantinople are reduced to 135, some of whom, as in the case of Chalcedon, were proxies. It is so with the smaller councils of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangra, and Antioch, in the same volume; all give one result. The fact respecting Chalcedon is very significant, as the volume from which our extracts are made was translated from Syriac into Greek exactly half a century only after the council was held. It is a charitable supposition that the numbers invited have by inadvertence been put down for the numbers present.'—*Analecta Nicæna: Fragments relating to the Council of Nice*, p. 34.

The observations we have already made, and the facts we have elicited in illustration of Mr. B. H. Cowper's acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, show how little weight is due to any opinion he may express. The *animus* of this passage is plain. He wishes to insinuate, at least, that the number who were present at the Councils is exaggerated by ecclesiastical historians.

The passage we have cited is a curious instance of thinking aloud; of changing one's mind, and taking a different view in every line one writes. But why should Mr. Cowper doubt the correctness of the number at Nicæa? Why, for these reasons:—

I. That if you deduct the two presbyters who signed as proxies of the Bishop of Rome, have then you 218 left; and as in the LXX. Chronology there is an alteration of a hundred years in every generation, so it is implied there may have been a similar alteration here.

II. That the number summoned may have been put for the number present.

What are these suppositions of bare possibilities when they are opposed to all facts, *except* the lists which remain, which are professedly deficient, and for some reason or other do not contain the names of some who were known to have been present? How could the number summoned be put for the number present, when the authorities distinctly say that so many *were present:* and how could 218 be the true number, when the lowest estimate of a contemporary is '*about* 250?'

This indeed Mr. Cowper allows: for it was so stated by 'Eusebius himself,' 'and he knew something of it.' Is Mr. Cowper aware how many others, who also knew something of it, have stated the number to have been far greater? Is he aware that the Emperor himself in his letter to the Christians of the empire from the Council, said that there were '*more than* 300 Bishops' present; and speaks again of the consent of 300.[1] It is hard to say what authority should weigh more with us than that of a public document, sent forth from the Emperor throughout the world; and that stating a fact of a most patent kind, which any one could have contradicted, if it had been such a palpable exaggeration. Another person who 'knew something of it' was Eustathius, the Patriarch of Antioch; and he, in a sermon to his own people just after the Council, set the number at 270, but said there were so many, that he could not speak with certainty.[2] Athanasius, too, 'knew something of it:' he, in his work on Synods, says there were 300; in his letter on the Decrees of the Synod, '300, more or less;' and in his letter to the Bishops of Africa says expressly that 318 were assembled (*συνελθόντων*). Pope Julius, in a public letter preserved in S. Athanasius, three times speaks of them as 300. Hilary, who took an active part in the Councils that followed, and was associated with many Bishops who were at Nice, of all parties, says, in his Historical Fragments, there were '300 and more;' and in his book against Constantius, that there were 318. These are the statements of contemporaries made at various times from the very day of the Council itself, almost continuously for thirty or forty years. The variations are only such as might be expected, when men spoke generally; and the vague statements must be determined by the precise ones. Epiphanius, writing just fifty years after the Council was held, expressly states that there were 318 Bishops present, and that their names were extant at his day. And 318, as it is the one precise number given, is uniformly

[1] Constantine's letter in Socrates' History, book i. chap. 8.
[2] Cited by Theodoret, H. E. i. 7.

stated as the true number during the next twenty years, by Pope Liberius, by S. Ambrose, by Paschasius, by Jerome, and Rufinus. Why then dispute the fact on the ground of these lists of subscribers; when we know that men who were at the Council, even most distinguished men, whose names will be preserved to all future ages, are not mentioned in the list? Paphnutius from Egypt, the distinguished advocate for clergy retaining their wives, and Spyridion, the noble but simple minded confessor from Cyprus, and Cyriacus of Mysia, mentioned by S. Athanasius. It is quite certain that the list is not complete: and many probable reasons may be assigned for this, as (*a*), on the supposition that our lists are taken from the *subscriptions*, that the signature of the Metropolitan should stand for those of his whole province; and this would be the true explanation of the note that the Bishops of Europe did not subscribe: which Mr. B. H. C. conceives is negatived by the fact that there are subscriptions of *some* western Bishops. Mr. Cowper says, 'of course they were there; yet their signatures do not appear, &c.' If he admit that they were there and did not subscribe, it is enough. That they of the West assented to the Creed is beyond all question. They were most influential in advocating it. Thus Cæcilianus of Carthage would sign for the African Church—the Bishop of Rome by his proxies for Italy; Hosius for Spain; Nicasius of Divio, whoever he was, for Gaul, including probably our own countrymen; and Theophilus for the Goths. It is certain, we repeat, that the Western Bishops were attached to the Creed; so that the non-appearance of their names must be attributed to some cause which we are not acquainted with. They may have left before the *Canons* were fully settled and the subscriptions made. It is well known that the detention of Bishops at Synods was a great inconvenience to them: and we may imagine what in those days must have been a journey of our Bishops to the shores of the Hellespont. All this we say on the supposition that these lists are made from the subscriptions; but (*b*) it is not improbable that they were made from historical accounts of those who were present; or from such information as S. Athanasius could collect: and that the western Bishops being little known to the Greek writers, the names of their Metropolitans only could be ascertained. There are difficulties either way.

III. But we must pass on to notice a few names which Mr. Cowper prints in English without the Syriac in a leaf of Supplement: and which he gives us without a word to indicate their value. These are the names of some of the Bishops who were present at the Council of Laodicea. He gives also lists of the

Bishops who were at Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangra, and Antioch; but these we already have from other sources, and therefore only gain assistance for correcting our lists, whilst the list of the Bishops at Laodicea, *so far as we know*—for, after what we have said, we feel that it becomes us to speak cautiously on such a subject—is *absolutely new*.

And, *if the list be authentic*, its importance is great—so far as anything of this kind can be called great—in that it goes far to determine the date of this Council. It is a Council of considerable interest, not only from the great number of its canons, and the light they throw on many of the ecclesiastical usages of the period, as well as on many superstitions, but especially to many of us from the list of Canonical Books which are given in the concluding Canon; a list continually alleged for our Canon as against Rome. This Canon, it is true, is wanting, so Mr. Cowper informs us, in the Syriac, as it is also in some Western MSS. But this is a question we cannot engage with at present.

The date of this Council has hitherto been, within certain limits, matter of absolute uncertainty. There has been no sufficient means of determining it. It has scarcely been a subject of dispute, from the very want of materials in the way of evidence to dispute about. Baronius put it in the year 320: he saw, rightly we think, signs that it was an early council; and he wished it to be held before Arianism arose, that it might not be said of these Canons, as of those of Antioch, that they were made by Arianisers. But one of the Canons mentions, with other heretics, the Photinians; and orders that their baptism shall not be recognised. It is true, as it was rejoined, that some copies had not the word 'Photinians' (what has the Syriac?): still the appearances which there were of the Council being later than that of Nice seemed to counterbalance other considerations; and while the Collections of Councils leave the date blank, various years between 360 and 372 have been suggested, as the time at which it was held; with little other ground, than that of the time within which the school of Photinus might have acquired sufficient influence to lead a Council to condemn, as invalid, the baptism ministered by his followers.

Our own view is, that the mention of the Photinians is out of place, and not a genuine part of the Canon. In other respects, the matter of the Canons would lead us to fix a much earlier date for them. But now, by Mr. Cowper's publication of the names of the Bishops who were present, *if they be authentic*—and in a *primâ facie* view, we see no reason to doubt it, except that they are all found in other lists—we may go very near the time at which it was held.

The force of the argument from the names of the Bishops, will appear both from the list of those who were at Laodicea, and also from the list of the Bishops who were at the Council of Antioch, called the Council of the Dedication, A.D. 340 or 341; that Council of *moderate men*, the followers of the literary Bishop of Cæsarea, the historian Eusebius, who counselled peace, and avoided extremes, and abhorred excessive zeal, and kept on good terms with the court, and condemned and banished S. Athanasius. Alas! how many of them had voted with him in the unanimous acceptance of the Creed of Nicæa, and in the condemnation of Arius: but having done that, and protested once for all, they thought now, fifteen years after, it was better to be at peace, and to sacrifice the Bishop of Alexandria.

We will first give from Mr. Cowper's *Analecta* the list of the Bishops who were at the Council of Laodicea, retaining the asterisks by which he marks the names which are also in the Nicene list. We ought to premise that the commencement of the list is wanting.

THOSE WHO WERE AT LAODICEA.

Of Palestine.
Moses of Castabala* of Cilicia.
Manicius of Hamath of Syria.*
Patricius.
Ætherius.
Jacob of Nisibis of Syria.*
Agapius of Seleucia* of Isauria.
Magnus of Damascus* of Phœnicia.
Æneas of Accho of Phœnicia.*
Anatolius of Emesa* of Phœnicia.
Macedon of Mopsuestia* of Cilicia.
Peter of Gindara of Syria.*
Corion (1) of Philadelphia.*
Theodotus,*
(Theodotus?)
Of various provinces:
Of Cœle Syria.
Of Phœnicia.
Of Palestine.
Of Arabia.
Of Mesopotamia.
Of Cilicia.
Of Isauria.

(1) Called Cyrnon in Nicene list.

We now give the list of the Bishops who were at Antioch, in 340 or 341, and among them, we mark with an L those who are in the list of Laodicea, and with an N those who were at Nice. We take the list from the Latin, in the Collections of Councils, as the sees are given in it, which are not given in the Syriac; and enclose with [ ] the names which are not in the Syriac list.

Provinciæ Palestinæ:
N Eusebius Gadarensis.

Provinciæ Phœniciæ:
N Anatolius Emisenus, L
N [Æneas Ptolemaidis,] L
N Magnus Damascenus, L

Provinciæ Arabiæ Petrææ:
N [Nicomachus Bostrorum,]
N [Cyrion Philadelphiæ,] L

Provinciæ Mesopotamiæ:
N Ætherius Edessenus, L
N [Antiochus Rhesinatis,]
N [Jacobus Nisibensis,]

Provinciæ Syriæ Cœles:

N Archelaus Dolichenus,
N Alphius Apameæ,
N Bassus Zeugmatis,
N [Mauricius Epiphaniæ, L
N [Petrus Gindarensis,] L
N [Paulus Neocæsariensis,]
N [Piperius Samosatenus,]
N Theodorus Laodiceæ,
N Syricus Cyrreticensis.

Provinciæ Ciliciæ:

N Macedonius Mopsuestiensis, L
N Hesychius Alexandriæ Minoris,
N [Moyses Castabalæ,] L
N Nicetas Flaviadis,
N [Narcissus Irenopolis,]
N Tarcondimantus Ægerates.

Provinciæ Isauriæ:

N Agapius Seleuciæ, L
N Theodotus Vasadensis,
Eustathius,
Patricius, L
[Alexander, &c.]

It will be seen that the Syriac gives the Oriental names of Hamath and Accho, the Latin gives the Greek names, Epiphania and Ptolemais. Of course, Gadarensis ought to be Cæsariensis too.

We do not pause to correct more names: but we would observe that, *supposing the lists genuine*, the Council of Laodicea must have been very near, in point of time, to that of Antioch, probably shortly *after* it: as a sign of this, its Canons are placed in the ancient collections next after those of Antioch. And an examination of the dates, when particular Bishops named in it had vacated the sees and others succeeded them, confirms this. For instance,—

Mauricius of Epiphania was succeeded by Eustathius, a noted Arian, who held this see at the time of the Council of Philippolis, A.D. 347.

Again, S. James of Nisibis died 'many years' (*multos annos*) before Julian visited that city (which was A.D. 363), according to Gennadius; whilst, on other grounds he is supposed to have lived to A.D. 350, being mentioned by Philostorgius at the third siege of Nisibis; others make him die A.D. 338.

Agapius of Seleucia was succeeded by Neonas: and Neonas was Bishop when the Council was held there A.D. 359.

Lastly, Anatolius (it might seem) did not continue Bishop of Emesa long after 341; inasmuch as the Arian party, after having failed in their object of making Eusebius (a native of Emesa) Bishop of Alexandria, endeavoured, against the will of the people, to consecrate him Bishop of Emesa. This was *in* or soon after A.D. 341, but we do not know what circumstances made it vacant. Indeed, we need scarcely say that difficulties arise at almost every step in these chronological investigations: it is enough for us to indicate the nature of the evidence, and the bearing of these lists on Church History.

And these grounds, coinciding with one another, would go to prove that if the list be authentic, the Council of Laodicea

was, at latest, held not long after that of Antioch, *i.e.* between 340 and 347: and the names of the Bishops betray the fact that, like those of Antioch, they belonged to the Arianising faction. But their canons were good and useful. So the Church accepted them, and they became embodied in her rules. The fact that the only names of the Laodicean Bishops remaining, are of the list of Antiochene Bishops, is remarkable, and naturally excites suspicion.

Having gained so much from Mr. Cowper's book, we would gladly part with him in good humour: thanking him for his little book, and recommending most strongly to him the old proverb, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

We ought to add that the Syriac portion is very nicely lithographed, and that only 250 copies are printed. It is also worthy of notice that Mr. Cowper complains of the putting together of the Syriac in binding; the leaves of the MSS. being thrown into confusion, continuous portions being quite severed from each other. And we ought to observe in conclusion, that if the date of A.D. 501 assigned to the MS. be correct, its agreement with the Greek would give us a security that we have the text of the fourth century for the many canons of early councils which the volume contains. This is manifestly the case with the two canons of the Council of Nice, sixth and seventh, given by Mr. Cowper: and when this is the case, it is plain that the Greek original is in every way preferable; the translation is useful as a testimony to the correctness of the text, not to the meaning of the original. Only it is ever to be kept in mind that the Syriac Christians became severed from the Catholic Church in the fifth century, and that these MSS. are written and preserved either by Nestorians or Monophysites: and must therefore at all times be examined with especial reference to this circumstance. Mr. Cowper's publication contains an illustration of the work of each of these bodies: the Nestorians omitting from the Collection of Canons those of the Council of Ephesus; the Monophysites having an heretical creed, falsely bearing the name of S. Athanasius.

ART. IV.—*Paraméswara-jnyána-góshthí. A Dialogue of the Knowledge of the Supreme Lord, in which are compared the Claims of Christianity and Hindúism, and various Questions of Indian Religion and Literature fairly discussed.*

'Ii sæviant in vos, qui nesciant, quanto labore Veritas acquiritur.'—*St. Augustine.*

'Cum homines DEUM quærunt . . . . . facillime debent ignoscere errantibus in tanti investigatione Secreti.'—*Id.*

Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co. London: Bell and Daldy. 1856.

WHAT a wonderful change have the events of the last few months caused in the knowledge which English people possess of the geography of India and the East! Before the Mutiny broke out, the mass of people—and amongst them must, in this instance, be included a large portion of the reading public, and of persons fairly acquainted with the subjects of the day, and tolerably well read in history—knew almost nothing of that immense empire which, after being retained for so long a period, has been well-nigh lost to us; and which seems, if one may venture to prophesy, destined to play a more conspicuous part than it has ever yet done in the annals of the world. Perhaps many, even of the readers of this Review, had vague and indistinct notions of the connexion between it and the mother country; or, if acquainted with the history of British India, were little familiar with that wonderful country which, for thousands of years, has variously influenced the fortunes of other Eastern countries, and has indirectly affected the interests of the remote nations of the West. In the real amount of knowledge which we possess of its history, whether ancient or modern—of the character and affinities of the tribes which have from time to time been dominant in this immense peninsula—of their religions, their modes of life, the relations in which the natives stand, both to each other and to other tribes, —it would be absurd to suppose that the public at large are much more learned than they were six months ago. No one, however, can deny that an interest has been excited amongst all classes, quite unparalleled by anything that he can remember in his own time. The eager desire for fresh news, which characterises all seasons of great excitement, has spread itself even to the very lowest classes of the population, and the increased, and increasing facility of transmitting intelligence, only serves to whet the appetite which it both creates and to some extent gratifies. The feverish excitement which

prevails, first for the telegraphic messages, followed by the eager desire for the mail, for which people must wait at least two or three days, the anxiety to know details of what at first reaches us only in mere outline statements, are phenomena which, from the nature of the case, never can have been witnessed before. The nature of the intelligence is such as has at no time been surpassed in interest, and the mode of its arrival has kept the interest up altogether unabated for six entire months. The Indian Mail is looked for as anxiously now as it was in July of last year. It would be absurd to suppose that the thrilling interest that is felt in matters that have gone on, and are still going on, in various parts of India, has told in any practical way upon the mass of people in this country; or even much increased the available knowledge of those who are most familiar with Eastern affairs. On the contrary, it is much to be feared, that writers in newspapers and reviews have exercised a very baneful influence over the people's mind, by speaking strongly and dogmatically of subjects of which we who live in this country are by no means competent judges. Many who write as if they were quite at home with their subject, seem entirely ignorant even of the physical condition of the country; the state of the roads, for instance, the modes of communication, &c. And we believe most are profoundly in the dark as to the real character of the people with whom we have to deal.

We have heard it remarked by a clergyman who spent some time in the West Indies, that before he left England he fancied that he possessed some acquaintance with human nature, but that when he found himself in the midst of negroes, he discovered that his acquaintance was only with white nature. Making allowance for the slight exaggeration which this mode of expression adopts, there can be no doubt that the remark would apply with much stronger force to the contrast exhibited between European and Asiatic character and custom. West Indian negroes differ from Europeans as children from grown people; but the natives of India have hereditary traditions and national habits of which such comparison would convey no idea. We shall speak at large on this subject in the sequel of this paper; for the present we do not wish to lay so much stress on the ignorance of Eastern customs and modes of thought under which we labour, as on the manifest tendency, exhibiting itself in various quarters, to become better acquainted with everything belonging to India. And the first instalment of this knowledge consists, as we began by saying, in an improved acquaintance with the geography of the country. Most of us are familiar now with what till lately was little known; viz. the

information contained in the first chapter of Mrs. Speir's interesting work on ancient India. People who were only disgusted with the endless repetition of *pores* and *abads* as terminations, and who really never stopped to enquire even into the meanings of these syllables, must feel as if it were impossible they should ever forget the exact localities, the relative distances, the size of the towns and villages, the number and situation of the independent and protected provinces, and all other such pieces of information as can be gathered from a good map and its accompanying explanations.

It will perhaps in the next generation scarcely be credited that the generality of people knew no more of Indian geography than the fact that the country extends over about thirty degrees of latitude, and in its greatest breadth more than twenty of longitude—that English dominion extends over more than twenty different states, and that twenty more are under its protection, whilst a small portion still remains independent, and under the rule of native princes; that the country is bounded on the north-east by the mountain range of the Himalaya and the Ganges; on the west by the Indus. Let us not be accused of overstating the ignorance of the present or the past generation as to the geography and history of India: it will be in the recollection of many of our readers, that twenty-five years ago the authorities of the University of Oxford issued their notice for the subject of the Latin poem for the following year as follows: '*Alexander ad Gangem;*' and it was not till after an interval of some days—we believe we may say weeks—that the announcement was altered to '*Alexander ad Indum.*' We do not pretend to decide whether those who selected the subject thought the Ganges and the Indus were the same river, or whether they supposed the Macedonian conqueror to have penetrated through the whole of Northern India, across Lahore, Delhi, and Oude, to the Ganges; but it is impossible to get out of the charge of ignorance of the history or the geography of India. We do not pretend to account for the fact; which we state without fear of its being contradicted, for probably most of the candidates for that prize are still living.

When we have added to the facts already given, that there are three presidencies, each with a governor and bishop, and that the Bengal presidency contains the seat of the supreme government, and is in most respects considered superior to the other two; and that the population of the country amounts to above 200 millions, we think we have nearly come to the end of the information possessed by ordinary people about Indian geography and topography six months ago. Moreover, even those who possessed the best opportunities of becoming acquainted

with Indian affairs, the large number of persons employed either in the army or the civil service, seemed till lately profoundly indifferent to various topics which might have been supposed likely to possess some degree of interest. Even the striking architectural remains have been all but unnoticed; and Mr. Fergusson, in the introduction to his handbook (p. 2), after speaking of the completeness and good preservation of the existing remains, observes that notwithstanding this, 'the investi-'gation of them is attended with much difficulty, arising from 'the indifference with which the whole subject is regarded by 'the Anglo-Saxon sojourners in the country.'

Things are wonderfully changed now. We know the minimum time in which Calcutta can be reached from London both by the overland route and round the Cape. The sad events of the last few months have impressed indelibly on the minds of most the nature of the country, the changes of its seasons, the difficulties experienced in crossing it, the course of the rivers, and the lines of road along which the electric telegraph has been laid down. Maps of India are put up in the shop windows of every town, and it might almost be said, with truth, that the outline of its geography is better known at this moment than that of any other country in the world. We feel sure that this, little as it may perhaps be thought, is the prelude to greater things. It is not likely that Indian affairs will ever again occupy the subordinate position which in most minds has hitherto been assigned them. Neither the present nor the rising generation is at all likely to forget the stern warnings of the last few months. People may indeed draw different conclusions as to what these warnings teach us, but the very difference of opinion will only serve to keep up the interest of the subject. Whatever ground may be taken, it will not be denied that grievous mistakes have been made in the government of India, both as regards its general management and its particular details. Politically speaking, the mere fact of the disasters which have come so suddenly upon us, is in itself evidence enough to show the most culpable ignorance and neglect both on the part of the Government and the India Company; whilst perhaps the deepest view is that which mere politicians will despise—that God's vengeance upon this country has been signally shewn in results which He graciously permits us to trace back to their first causes, whilst we are fearfully reminded of His words of old: 'Them that honour me, 'I will honour; and they that despise me, shall be lightly 'esteemed.'

Already, before the outbreak of the mutiny in the Indian army, symptoms had shown themselves of a revived and increasing interest in Indian affairs. The recent renewal of the

Company's charter, the modifications in the constitution of the Board of Directors, and perhaps more than any other single change, the throwing open of the Indian appointments to public competition, and the nature of the examinations to which candidates were to be subjected, tended to turn the thoughts of a large number of young men in the middle class of life, who had to make their own way in the world, to the history of the Asiatic nations in general, and more especially to the languages and dialects of India. An increased taste for philology, which perhaps originated with the late Dr. Prichard, and the absolute necessity of a knowledge of Sanskrit, for those who will pursue this subject in connexion with the Greek and Latin languages, have contributed to the same result; and the study of ethnology has had its influence in opening the minds of many to the importance of things and people beyond the narrow boundary of our own island. When to all these causes we have added the general adoption of the principles of free trade, the increased facilities of intercourse, and the instantaneous communication of intelligence by the electric wire, we have, perhaps, enumerated most of the causes which were in active, though silent operation, in bringing our Indian empire into more prominent notice than it claimed during the first half of the present century.

Yet, after all, it can scarcely be doubted that every aspect of the case has met with more attention than that one which we venture to think is of paramount importance. We mean the character of the Hindú mind, as it has been formed and influenced by their historical traditions and religious ceremonial. It could scarcely be expected of European officers—frequently, we fear, persons of very neglected education—to make themselves familiar with the tone of thought of people whom they are accustomed to regard with little other feelings than those of contempt; whilst the employés of the civil service, probably, have felt that this was not their business. Still, it might naturally be thought that some information as to these points would have transpired from the missionaries who from time to time have been sent out by various denominations of Christians, and who have certainly met with some success in their attempts to spread the tidings of the Gospel through this immense extent of territory. And the university education which has, till lately, been thought an indispensable preliminary to the ordination of the Clergy of the Church, if it taught them but little of theology, at least might have been thought likely to give them somewhat of that enlargement of mind which we shall see presently, is absolutely necessary to enable them to cope successfully with the philosophic systems of Brahmanism and Buddhism. The truth is, India has been, with regard to its Clergy, as well as its civil

officers, looked upon as a refuge for the destitute. With a few brilliant exceptions, the men who have gone out, whether as Chaplains to the India Company, or officers of the Church Missionary Society, we fear we must even add the Clergy sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, have been men of an inferior stamp of mind. At the present moment we have no Bishop in India, possessed of sufficient comprehensiveness of mind for the difficult post which he occupies. Neither are we acquainted with the names of any amongst the inferior Clergy who have devoted much of their attention to this important subject. No doubt there are many who, from coming into contact with forms of worship, such as practically represent the doctrines of their creeds, have become more or less familiar with parts of it, but they have at least not given to the world any fruits of their labours in this field. We can, of course, have no desire to underrate the self-denial in the laborious, though, alas! for the most part unsuccessful efforts of our Missionaries. All honour be to them for what they have done! and especially we would speak reverently of those who have suffered in the late terrible massacres, humbly hoping that some of them may have won the crown of martyrdom. What we do complain of is, that we have not done on a larger scale what has been attempted at Bishop's College in Calcutta. Why should there not be in each of our presidencies a college, governed by a head and managed by tutors of the same intellectual calibre as the present Principal of Bishop's College? We cannot, of course, hope for a repetition of Dr. Mill's thoughtful mind and searching intellect. At present we are indebted for most of the information we possess, to the publications of dissenting ministers; and of these we may specially mention the two volumes of a Baptist missionary of the name of Ward, and the two works of Mr. Spence Hardy, the Wesleyan minister, as containing a most interesting account of the history and present state of religion on the continent of India and in Ceylon.

In illustration of the utter inability of the Clergy sent out by the Church Missionary Society, to cope with the phases of belief and unbelief with which they meet, we remember hearing one of them at a public meeting, some fifteen years ago, descanting on the difficulties which they experienced, and the impenetrable stupidity of Brahmans, who could not see or understand the plainest inferences of reason. In evidence of this, he quoted a conversation he had himself had with one of that order, in which he wanted to convince him of the folly and absurdity of supposing the waters of the Ganges were possessed of any peculiar sanctity. We quote the missionary's own words, as far

as we can recollect them at an interval of more than a dozen years. He attributed to the Brahman the view which the other admitted, that the water of that river was essential purity, and demanded of him—what met with a ready acquiescence on his part—that he would give up his belief in the power of this water to wash him clean from the stain of sin, if it could ever be demonstrated to him that the fact which was a necessary condition of the doctrine, was false. Our readers will easily guess that the means employed to expose this mighty delusion was the exhibition of a drop of the water magnified, as they have themselves witnessed at the Polytechnic Exhibition, by the oxy-hydrogen microscope. The missionary seemed to expect that the fact at least would astonish the Brahman, though probably he hardly expected that what appeared to himself an inevitable logical conclusion, would have the desired effect of destroying the Brahman's belief in a system upon which his life had been modelled. But perhaps some of our readers may be a little sceptical as to the fact for which we vouch—that he recounted to an admiring audience, not one of whom appeared to see how completely the Brahman had discomfited his adversary, the answer which he received—we believe we are quoting nearly the exact words we heard, for the story made a deep impression upon us at the time,—'Oh, it is the very purity of 'the water that enables you to see these impurities floating in 'it!' We are not now insisting on the facts of the religion of Brahmanism, but give the story as showing how a wrong form of belief must be attacked with weapons stronger than that with which its defenders are armed.

The deep truths of the Gospel, and their felt adaptation to the circumstances of human nature, will, we doubt not, make their way against all opposition; even that worst of all adversaries, an illogical argument adduced in their behalf. And there is no country in the world where more subtlety of argument and refinement of intellect is required than in India, where religious belief is intimately connected with the institutions of the country and the customs of its inhabitants,—has traditions of more than two thousand years,—and is mixed up with philosophic systems widely different from those which the Western world has inherited from the schools of ancient Greece.

The volume, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, is almost the first systematic attempt fairly to represent, and cope with, the doctrine of Buddhism and Brahmanism. Three prizes have, within the present century, been offered to the two English Universities, with subjects assigned, bearing upon the present discussion. To the first of

these essays, which was published at Oxford in 1808, we need not further allude. The terms prescribed by the donor scarcely admitted of a regular refutation of Hindúism forming part of the composition. The last two were specially addressed to this subject. One was offered to the University of Oxford, by an unknown benefactor, in 1840, through the Bishop of Calcutta; and the prize was gained in 1842 by Mr. Morris, of Exeter College, a gentleman of great learning, whose subsequent defection to the Church of Rome we have had to lament.

The volume which we are now reviewing is the most recent attempt to exhibit these systems fairly, and to grapple with them. The author has not placed his name in the title-page, but he has evidently no wish to conceal it, as the dedication of the volume is sufficient to show that it contains the essay which, in 1847, gained the prize of 500*l.* offered to the University of Cambridge, by John Muir, Esq., for the best refutation of Hindúism, and establishment of the exclusive claims and authority of Christianity. The two dates and addresses appended to the dedication, we may presume, were at once intended to identify the author, and to show that he had literally followed the advice of the Roman satirist—

> 'Si quid tamen olim
> Scripseris, in Metii descendat judicis aures.
> . . . . nonumque prematur in annum
> Membranis intus positis: delere licebit
> Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.'—*Ars Poet.* 386.

The office of Metius seems, in this case, to have been discharged by Mr. Muir, to whose suggestions the author acknowledges his obligation.

In spite of the difficulties of the subject, Mr. Williams has succeeded in presenting us with a very readable book; a work which may in fact be read, at least in parts, by any reader moderately acquainted either with the philosophy of ancient Greece, or the turn which modern philosophic scepticism has taken. It professes to be a narrative of a conversation, at a conference held at Conjeveram, where there were present an English bishop, whose name is given as Mountain; a younger man, called Blancombe, who is the chief conductor of the disputation; three natives, one a Buddhist from Nepaul, whose presence so far south is accounted for by representing him as on his way home from a conference with the Ceylon Buddhists, on the difference of their sacred books; the other two are a Brahman of great sanctity, who is supposed to have come so far south to meet another Hindú, who was president of a college somewhere in the neighbourhood, and whose reputation was rather for learning than devotion: these pass under the

names of Vidyáchárya and Sadánanda respectively. The *dramatis personæ* are completed by the introduction of a European, named Wolff, employed by the English government, though a foreigner, on some medical inquiry.

The interest of the dialogue is extremely well preserved to the last; and the slight improbability of such a combination of people, as well as that of the discussion going on, in so entirely amicable a style,—the representatives of the religions of India seldom interfering or interrupting the exponent, for the time being of his particular system—is amply compensated by the great clearness which the method allows, in stating the different views; and the points in which they come in contact with the truth, whether in the way of agreement or discrepancy.

We do not intend to give our readers any analysis of the work, but in giving them a slight sketch of the religions in India, shall follow the order adopted by Mr. Williams, and begin with Buddhism. And our object will be to exhibit the difficulties that lie in the way of those whose object it is to substitute the true for the false, in theory, and to establish a code of morality on the ruins of existing systems. We have already adverted to the grand distinction that exists between the methods of persuasion necessary to be used towards nations of savages, and those who, with more or less of cultivation, may yet be spoken of as uncivilized; and those who, like the inhabitants of Hindostan, are in possession of a civilization handed down from remote generations and developed in successive ages, running in a stream parallel to, though with a current much less rapid than that of European advance. Whatever may be the difficulty, in the case of nations almost or entirely without education, in reaching the heart, the intellectual part of the missionary's task is, so to say, light. He has to graft upon the rude and indistinct notions of a Supreme Being—or, perhaps, the conceptions of a multitude of beings that superintend human affairs, and guide the progress of events—the idea of the One true God. He has to confront the consciousness of sin, and of ill desert, if only he can happily find or implant such a conviction, with the offer of pardon and redemption. The divinity of Him who came to be the Saviour of the world, is not met with the weapons of intellectual pride. The difficulties that are felt as regards the mysterious doctrines of the co-existence of evil with the perfections of Almighty God; the singularity of the existence of human freedom of will and agency, whilst the rest of the universe may be thought to indicate the regularity of fatalism; and a thousand questions issuing from these sources; belong to a later period of a people's Christian life. There is,

happily, no necessity that our missionaries in general should be learned in philosophic systems, or possessed of keen logical power. We say, happily, for there is really no probability of our ever rearing a numerous set of men capable of so much as this. The power of sounding the depths of philosophy,—the acuteness which can exactly estimate the value of logical processes,—belongs to the few and not to the many. And what we insist upon, and we think the reader, when he has read what we have to say, will not be slow to admit, is, that we must send, at least, some of the former class to India, if we expect to make much progress in converting the natives to Christianity.

Perhaps some even of the readers of this Review will be startled at our first statement respecting Buddhism, viz., that it exists in, and rules over, a greater population than any other form of religion in the world. It has existed for nearly twenty-five centuries, and the present professors of its faith amount to nearly one-third of the human race. Its history is quite unique. It might have been supposed that a religion which, whatever be the extent of its influence over the minds of its votaries, certainly possesses in a remarkable degree powers of propagating itself even where there have been previously-established modes of belief, must have had some peculiarly marked and easily distinguishable characteristics of fascination. Such, however, it can scarcely be said to possess. Neither do we pretend that we can give any analysis of this system, which will serve to relieve the inquirer from the perplexity which every one must have felt, who has compared the tenets of Buddhism with either its rapid diffusion, or its apparent stability and permanence.

The researches of scholars have now established, beyond any reasonable doubt, that it originated in India in the sixth century before the Christian era. It would be useless to attempt to trace the indications of its appearance before the birth of Gótama, who was its founder; but we venture to suggest that the cause of its development must be looked for not in its speculative but in its practical doctrines; and it seems to us possible that the collision of these two classes of doctrine will, in a more enlightened period, lead to the final extinction of Buddhism. Already it has disappeared from the greater part of India, though it is still in full force in the island of Ceylon. Thibet and Tartary are in the present day its strongholds. For an interesting account of its development in these countries, we are indebted to M. Huc's second volume of his Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the years 1844-5-6. We can do no more than just allude to the singular phenomena of agreement in external ceremonial which in these countries it presents with the external rites, ecclesiastical customs, &c. of the Western

Church. The reformed Buddhism which prevails here belongs to the fourteenth century of our æra, a period at which frequent relations existed between Europeans and the peoples of Upper Asia. Neither do we think M. Huc at all oversteps the boundaries of probability in conjecturing that the very legend of Tsong-Kaba the reformer, points to the fact of his having been actually instructed by one of those Catholic missionaries who at that precise time are known to have made their way into Upper Asia. One story from this book we must take leave to insert, because, though not immediately connected with our present subject of Indian religions and traditions, it nevertheless illustrates the main point of this article, viz. the difficulty of substituting Christianity in the place of an established philosophic system.

Amongst other wonderful parts of the legend of Tsong-Kaba, not the least wonderful is that of the tree which is said to have sprung from the hair of his head, and to bear a Thibetian character on each of its leaves. Now one of the difficulties which presents itself at the outset of the inquiry into Buddhism, consists in the alleged miracles which have been performed either by its founder, or during the course of its progress; and we who reasonably lay stress on the miraculous evidence for Christianity must be prepared either to show cause why Buddhist miracles should not be believed, or else to assign the stories in which they are related their proper place in philosophy as well as in history. It cannot be denied, that the legend of a tree exhaling an exquisite perfume, every leaf of which is said to bear engraved on its surface a character in the sacred language of Thibet, springing up from the long and flowing hair of a child of three years old, shaved off by his mother, and thrown outside their tent, upon a resolution formed by the child to renounce the world and embrace a life of religion,—it cannot be denied, we say, that such a legend sounds romantic to the utmost verge of extravagance and absurdity. Yet there the wonderful tree exists, and was seen by M. Huc and his companion; and the accomplished Jesuit acknowledges himself fairly at a loss. He leaves it, he says, for wiser intellects than his to explain the mysteries of this wonderful production of nature. The tree of the ten thousand images stands in a large square enclosure, not far from the principal Buddhist temple in the country. It is so large, that three men with outstretched arms could hardly span it, the wood possessing the odour of cinnamon. Nowhere else is any such tree known to exist; and the Lamas informed the writer that all attempts to propagate it by seeds or cuttings have proved failures. M. Huc speaks of his first impression, upon viewing the tree, being that of absolute

consternation, when he found that upon each of the leaves were well-formed Thibetian characters of a green colour, some darker, some lighter than the leaf itself. Of course, the first suspicion was, that some deceit had been practised on the missionaries; and this will probably be the view taken by most readers of the narrative. We are not concerned here to defend or to combat this view of the matter. What we would insist upon is, that a Jesuit whom no one could imagine, from the general tone of his work, to be wanting either in common sense or subtlety of mind, tells us that the characters appeared to be portions of the leaf itself, the younger leaves representing the characters only in a partial state of formation. The bark of the tree is also covered with the same characters; and when a piece of the old bark is removed, the young bark beneath exhibits the indistinct outlines of characters in a germinating state, the new characters being frequently different from those which they replace. M. Huc says, 'We examined everything with the closest attention, 'in order to detect some trace of trickery, but we could discern 'nothing of the sort; and the perspiration absolutely trickled 'down our faces under the influence of the sensations which 'this most amazing spectacle created.' Our readers will excuse the digression we have made on the properties of this wonderful tree. We do not wish to make any other use of the story than to put it in evidence for the position that those who set about to convert Buddhists to Christianity will have to entertain the question of alleged Buddhist miracles. We now return to the origin and progress of this widely-propagated form of belief.

In the first place, then, it must be noticed, that it is not in any sense of the word an aboriginal form of religion. It cannot pretend to be anything but a reformation. What the modified and altered tone of thought and practice introduced by Tsong-Kaba in Tartary and Thibet was to Buddhism, Buddhism in its commencement was to the older religion of India. Entirely antagonistic as it is to Brahmanism, it nevertheless is an offshoot from it. We remember a striking expression made use of by the greatest writer and by far the profoundest thinker of this day, that Protestantism is what mathematicians call a function of Romanism. Precisely so is Buddhism a function of Brahmanism. It will perhaps appear in the sequel that the comparison of the relations of Protestantism to Catholicism and Buddhism to Brahmanism respectively holds in minute points of resemblance, and may suggest some useful hints as to the subject of the oscillations of human belief, the ebb and flow of the tide—now swelling into the uncontrolled assertion of the rights of individuals to judge for themselves, now subsiding

into credulous and listless submission of the reason to authority, real or pretended.

The founder of this system adopted the name of Buddha, or 'The Enlightened,' after conceiving the idea of becoming the renovator of the religion of his country, and it was perhaps inconsistency with his belief in his high commission that he adopted or rejected at pleasure the doctrines of Brahmanism. When scarcely thirty years of age he gave up the world for the sake of devoting himself to a life of mortification; and during this period of study he gained the conviction of his mission to be the regenerator of his countrymen, the enlightener of the world. He lived to the great age of eighty-four, and devoted nearly half a century to the preaching and propagating his doctrines—first at Benares, afterwards in other parts of Northern India. We may be permitted to observe, that its spread has some striking points of resemblance to that of Christianity. Thus, its adoption by Asoka, some three centuries after its foundation, can scarcely help reminding us of Constantine's conversion to the true faith, whilst its synods and its mode of organizing missions are equally suggestive of the Councils of the Church, and the means taken to propagate the Christian faith. Perhaps even the abandonment of the idea of caste will bear to be mentioned as analogous to that ordinance of Christianity by which the partition wall between Jew and Gentile was broken down, and certainly must be considered as one element of the success of Buddhism as compared with the older forms of Brahmanism. It spread both northward and southward, but with the exception of Ceylon and Nepaul, Northern Asia alone exhibits the dominance of this form of faith in the present day. Readers of works on the subject will find themselves puzzled by the extraordinary difference of opinion which prevails with regard to the tenets of Buddhism. In a note at the end of his first chapter, Mr. Williams tells us that Mr. Turnour considers it in the light of a revelation; Mr. Hodgson speaks of it as a deification of human reason; Lassen finds no clear intimation of a Deity in the primitive Sutras, and that M. Cousin has described it as *un nihilisme absolu*. Various reasons may be assigned for such variety of opinion, both as to facts and inferences. In the first place it must be remembered that the Buddhism of Tartary, and Thibet, and China, is an extremely different development from that of Ceylon and Nepaul —that even the two forms of it established in these parts of India exhibit two phases of belief differing in important particulars—with an equally wide difference in practical matters. In the next place, considerable allowance must be made for the different tone of thought of Asiatic and European nations, and

the consequent incapacity of any language of modern Europe faithfully and exactly to represent even the most elementary terms of the languages of India. Persons ever so little familiar with the abstractions of metaphysical science must have had occasion to observe how, with all the affinities that exist between our own language and the German, it is frequently impossible for disputants to find any common ground to meet on. The terms in use do not admit of the precise and clear definition of words used in mathematical science, nor of being so well understood as those of physical science; and a long discussion will frequently terminate in the reluctantly-felt conviction that the dispute has been as much about the meaning of terms as the realities of truth. This difficulty may wear away as intercourse becomes more familiar and languages approach each other, but exists at present, as regards the languages of the East and West, as a great drawback to their mutual comprehension.

Again, every theory of religion, with the exception of the one true system of revelation which stands in direct antagonism to all others, must, from the very nature of the case, be involved in many inconsistencies. It is a simple absurdity to suppose the possibility of an erroneous theory being in all points consistent. The philosophic systems of the schools of Plato and Aristotle, are probably better understood by Oxford tutors than by any other class of men in the world; and it will have struck most thoughtful men who have been trained in that admirable school of mental discipline, what an immense variety of opinion exists amongst able men as to the meaning of both these authors in many passages of their works. Now, after ascribing as much of this as we can to the natural difficulties of the subject, the state of the text, &c. &c., we feel sure there is a large residuum of difference of opinion to be accounted for by the endeavour to represent these authors as always consistent with themselves, and, if possible, with truth. Wonderful as is the amount of consistency in Aristotle, and profound as are the investigations of Plato, suggesting the idea of a special inspiration, we nevertheless feel sure that sufficient allowance is frequently not made for the view which, stated in the general, no one would venture to question—viz. that heathen systems of morality must of necessity be both defective and erroneous. We need not, therefore, be surprised if, upon becoming more intimately acquainted with Asiatic forms of belief and systems of philosophy, we should find them involved in glaring inconsistencies, or if the logical consequences of parts of the system should seem to destroy other parts—and, in particular, we must ever bear in mind the distinction between the keen, subtle, logical discriminative intellect of the West, and the vague,

thoughtful, comprehensive, mystical turn of mind that prevails among the nations of the East.

Whatever be the truth on the controverted question of the atheism of the Buddhists, the very existence of a doubt on this point is sufficient to show that the individuality of the Deity is not made a prominent point in their teaching. Whatever the system may have been speculatively, we cannot be wrong in regarding it as practically of atheistic tendency. The principal of the supernatural occurrences related of Sakya's birth and life, is that his mother, though married, remained a virgin, and conceived by divine influence; and the most remarkable prophecy he is said to have uttered, and which has been already in part fulfilled, was that his religious system would last five thousand years, after which time another Buddha would arise to teach the human race. 'Until that epoch,' (we are quoting M. Huc's words) he added, 'my religion will be the object of persecution, 'and my faithful ones will be obliged to quit India, and retire 'to the highest summits of Thibet; and this plateau, from the 'top of which the observer commands the world, will become 'the palace, the sanctuary, and the metropolis of the true faith.' The near approximation of the system of Buddhism and Brahmanism to each other did not prevent, nay, probably, was in part the cause of the bitter persecution of the former by the latter. The effect of this persecution was the fulfilment of Buddha's prophecy of the expulsion of his followers from India, from which dates the commencement of their spread over Thibet, Bucharia, Mongolia, China, the Burmese empire, Japan and Ceylon. The Buddhists of Ceylon differ in many points of opinion and practice from that of the North; and they have a tradition that Buddha, when fleeing from the persecutions of the Brahmans, reached their island, and from the summit of one of their mountains ascended into the skies. To this brief historical account of Sakya's life it ought to be added, that he associated with himself five of his disciples, who went about preaching his doctrines, which are contained in a collection of eight hundred volumes. M. Huc tells us that these books treat exclusively on the metaphysics of creation, and the frail and perishable nature of man—and adds that this monumental work is found in all the libraries of the great Buddhist converts, and that the finest edition is that published at Pekin from the Imperial press.

We are too much accustomed, in this country, to protestations of entire absence of prejudice, coupled with more or less deference to established and traditional opinions, to be much surprised at the shifting groundwork of Buddhist opinions. Sometimes it appears as if its professors denied anything that could not be worked out for itself by human reason. Side by side with

this, we meet with appeals to their sacred books in evidence both for facts and doctrines. Here and there we have scepticism going the lengths of adopting a theory something like that of Berkeley, of the non-existence of matter, though this is perhaps only a carrying out of the principle which characterizes all Buddhist philosophy, that 'things are not so much seen as 'their existence inferred from the outward manifestations which 'strike our senses,' that external forms change and perish, the essential reality beneath those forms remaining ever the same—growth and decay, life and death, flux and reflux succeeding each other in a natural order which appears fatalistic, and shows no signs of a guide or ruler external to itself. Under one aspect the tenets of Buddhism seem very much to resemble those of materialism; Mr. Williams appears to put in a plea in their defence, on the ground of the misrepresentation of terms and the consequent misapprehension of their meaning; as when body is spoken of as *appearance*, matter as *ignorance*, and spirit as *void*. But, again, the practice of Buddhists is quite at variance with any such notion of their creed. The class of virtues enjoined upon the votaries of this faith certainly exhibits a near approach to the style of Christian graces:—humility, and forgiveness of injuries especially, which are so remarkably absent from heathen systems of morality, hold a high and prominent place in the Buddhist system of ethics—whilst the other duties enjoined upon the disciples of this creed, undoubtedly recognize a power of exercising free will and a consequent responsibility in human agents. This system seems to have contained most of what was valuable in stoicism, and to have been remarkably free from the haughty tone which characterised both the precepts of the teachers, and the practical life of the professors of that sect. The prohibitions of their decalogue are very like those of the ten commandments given on Mount Sinai. They were alleged by Sakya Muni as having been revealed to him after his devotion of himself to a life of sanctity. It should be borne in mind that Buddha is pretty generally looked upon as the 'Saviour of Mankind,' and that he is regarded as a man-god. M. Huc informs us that a Mongol or a Thibetan would immediately answer to the question 'Who 'is Buddha?' in the words 'the Saviour of Man!' We have already alluded to the ten precepts. 'The four verities' which seem to be in this wonderful system the ultimate truths upon which these precepts rest, and which therefore occupy the place which in Greek systems of philosophy, as well as in revealed religion, belongs to the being and attributes of the Supreme God, are—1, the existence of pain; 2, that sin is the cause or source of pain: 3, that there is a remedy for pain which issues in what is called Nirvána; 4, the method by which Nirvána is attained.

The difficulty of understanding what Nirvána means is much complicated by the fact of the discrepancy that is exhibited between Buddhist principles and Buddhist practice. It is so difficult to throw ourselves into the attitudes of thought, which, however strange, were common in Eastern philosophy, and the different tone of thought has led to such widely different forms of expression, that we hesitate to say more than that Annihilation is probably the word which conveys to us the nearest approach to the meaning of Nirvána. Life, which is mere pain and misery, has had some beginning. To escape from it is the highest object—Death does not terminate it, but only changes its form; and incessant efforts are necessary to attain, sooner or later, to a state of meditation which is preliminary to what we have called 'annihilation.' It has been, indeed, disputed whether the word means so much as this, and whether it ought not more fitly be represented as 'an eternal rest,' 'an uninterrupted sleep,' 'an entire apathy.' But it does not seem to us that, philosophically speaking, there is much difference between these modes of expression. Call it by whatever name we may, it seems to us equally wonderful and inexplicable that human beings should have been found to surrender all that is generally thought valuable in life, with so dreary a prospect in view. Professor Max Müller, in his first article which appeared in the *Times* of April 17, 1857, observes that 'Fortunately the 'millions who embraced the doctrine of Buddha, and were saved 'by it from the depths of barbarism, brutality, and selfishness, 'were unable to fathom the meaning of his metaphysical doc-'trines.' There can be little doubt that in the popular mind, the prevailing notion embraced something more definite than such a mere negation as this; that natural aspirations worked themselves out into an adoration of a supreme Buddha, and that the long vista of existence terminated in a paradise which should be the reward of his faithful worshippers. The last words of Hiouen-thsang, which we quote from Professor Müller's second article of April 20, convey a tolerably good idea of what the best-informed votary of that creed, a thousand years after the death of its founder, believed. 'I desire that whatever merits I 'may have gained by good works may fall upon other people. 'May I be born with them again in the heaven of the blessed, 'be admitted to the family of Mi-le, and serve the Buddha of 'the future, who is full of kindness and affection. When I 'descend again upon earth, to pass through other forms of 'existence, I desire at every new birth to fulfil my duties to-'wards Buddha, and arrive at last at the highest and most 'perfect intelligence.' No such idea as this, however, is at all favoured by the accounts usually given of the steps or degrees

by which Nirvána is reached. Through freedom from sin and of all desire, except that of Nirvána, the votary is supposed to proceed to a second step, where the reasoning power entirely disappears; and what marks the individual now, is, a sense of satisfaction arising from this freedom from reason, which is looked upon as the perfection of intellect. This disappears at the next stage, when consciousness of the present and memory of the past alone remain. At the last degree, memory has vanished; and consciousness having also disappeared—the region of infinity of space, thence that of intelligence, thence that of nothing, is entered; beyond which, there is another step, which is, the absence even of the idea of nothing, where 'there is a complete rest, undisturbed by nothing or what is not nothing.' It would be useless to deprecate the reader's criticism, which will be sure to pounce upon the absurd confusion of the subjective and the objective which runs through all this metaphysical jargon. It will seem, we suppose, to our readers, as it does to ourselves, a monstrous tissue of absurdity; parts of which lie very close to deep truths, and one aspect of which—the sighing for rest—will remind the intellectual reader of the Greek philosophic systems, and come home to the hearts of earnest-minded Christians.

For the knowledge we possess of Buddhism, we are mainly indebted to a Wesleyan missionary, who studied its history and its practical workings in the island of Ceylon; and it is much to be regretted that we have no such full account of this system as it exists elsewhere, as Mr. Spence Hardy has given us of what he himself witnessed and learned in that island. In a volume published in 1850, he described the discipline, rites, and present condition of the Buddhist priesthood; and this work was followed, after an interval of nearly three years, by another, entitled 'A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development.' His view was, to enable his successors in the field of missionary enterprise, to become acquainted with the wonderful system against which they would have to do battle. Few people in this country will be found possessed of patience enough to read through this latter work, the greater part of which consists of a translation from different Singhalese manuscripts; most will probably content themselves with the author's able summary, prefixed to each portion, casting occasionally a glance at the vouchers which accompany it. From either the reader will soon discover, whatever opinion he may be disposed to form of the metaphysical system of Buddhism, that there will be no great difficulty in breaking down the absurd mass of physical facts to which it has unfortunately committed itself. And thus, an advance in secular knowledge may, in their case, be an indispensable preliminary to their reception of divine truth;

whilst the strange assertions of matters of fact in physical science show the necessity for not only a competent knowledge of the phenomena of nature, in those who would set themselves up as their instructors, but also for some acquaintance with the mode by which these truths were established, and some argumentative power in pointing out the deficiencies of evidence, or the contradictory nature of facts alleged to be coincident. For instance, we have here definite assertions made as to the size of the diameter and circumference of the sun and moon, the respective velocities of their motions, besides an immense amount of similar statements, which will not bear being confronted with the discoveries of modern science. And it is quite worth while that our missionaries should be able to point out in detail the argument which Mr. Hardy has thus summed up at the conclusion of his first section—

'The notions entertained by Gótama—that there are innumer-
'able worlds; that the earth has nothing beneath it but the
'circumambient air; that the interior of the earth is incandes-
'cent; and that the world will be destroyed by the agency of
'fire—may so far be correct; and a small portion of his other
'cosmical speculations may agree with ancient philosophy or
'modern science; but they are mixed up with so many other
'statements, which have no foundation whatever in truth, that
'they seem like the meteors of the morass, a dim light where
'there are dangers numberless; or like insulated rocks, that are
'no protection to the mariner, as they are covered by every
'wave that rushes near them in the storm. The whole of his
'cosmogony, and of his astronomical revelations, is erroneous;
'and there are statements in nearly every deliverance attributed
'to him upon these subjects, which prove that his mind was
'beclouded by like ignorances with other men; consequently, he
'cannot be, as he is designated by his disciples "a sure guide
'to the city of peace."'

Besides all this large mass of statements of fact which will not bear the light of modern science, there is a still larger amount of the most puerile and extravagant assertions, which go to make up the creed of Buddhism. There are various traditions too puerile in themselves to be worth any notice, were it not that they may eventually tend to throw some light upon the grand system of which they form a part. It would be quite useless to encumber our pages with any detailed account of these absurdities; we have absolutely no clue to their interpretation, and the reader's only idea of them probably would be, that they resemble the efforts of children rivalling each other in the extravagance of stories invented to amuse each other, or to display the ingenuity of their fancy.

Such stories might perhaps be expected to present some resemblance to the other myths and traditions of the old world; but the religious reader, who should come to their perusal with any expectation of tracing the connexion between these fictions of the imagination, and the historical accounts of the earliest inspired books, will be grievously disappointed. Scarcely any, the faintest resemblance will be detected. What likeness there is to truth, strange to say, for the most part consists in something like shadowy representations of events which were yet future. The following passage, extracted from Mrs. Speir's useful epitome, entitled 'Life in Ancient India,' will both serve as a specimen of the best and least absurd class of fables prevalent, and will show the view taken by a remarkably unprejudiced person, not of our own communion—

'There is beauty and truth, as well as absurdity, to be 'detected in these tales, and the superficial resemblance which 'they bear to parts of Christian Scripture is such as to make 'one thoughtful. In truth, Buddhism still lies entangled in a 'net, and the time has not yet arrived when, like the lion in 'the fable, the nibble of a mouse can set it free. We do not 'know whether these resemblances should be attributed wholly 'to the similarity of human vanity and human hopes, in all ages 'of the world; but we could almost imagine that before God 'planted Christianity upon earth, he took a branch from the 'luxuriant tree, and threw it down to India. It was from the 'tree of truth, and therefore it taught true morality and belief 'in future life; but it was never planted, therefore it never 'took root, and never grew into full proportions; and it was '*thrown* upon earth, not *brought*; and though man perceived it 'heaven-born, he knew not how to keep it alive. When its 'green leaves drooped, he stiffened them and stifled them with 'varnish; and soon, although bedizened with tinsel, it shrank 'into formal Atheism, or dead idolatry. It is difficult wholly 'to suppress discussion of this kind, even when convinced that 'it is but little to the purpose, because the subject to be dis'cussed has so little distinctness. Sometimes, the artificial 'character of the tales is sufficiently conspicuous, as when we 'find a number of Buddhas, all made according to one pattern, 'and the three last born like flame, or resplendent like fire or 'gems. Occasionally, we may also detect a legend at various 'stages of its growth, as in the story of the holy man who 'visited the infant Buddha. The Ceylon books represent him 'as going, out of respect, to the Raja, to wish him joy on the 'birth of a son; but the Chinese version adds miraculous 'signs, and a bright light, which guided the sage, from his 'house on the mountain, to the king's palace in the city. So

'also in reference to Buddha's birth, the Ceylon books relate 'that his mother dreamed that an elephant from Chadanta 'rubbed her side while she was pregnant; and state that 'Chadanta was a lake in the Himalaya, celebrated for its breed 'of elephants; and since elephants were much esteemed, there 'was nothing unnatural in supposing that the queen received 'this mark of affection from her elephant as a sign of future 'greatness in her child. The Tibet translation gives a very 'different aspect to the tale, saying that the Buddha elect 'entered the womb of his mother as a six-tusked elephant. 'Mr. Turnour accounts for this by supposing that the Tibetans 'translated Chadanta literally as six-tusked, instead of giving 'it as the name of a place. In Pegu, the story took a different 'turn. Such are the legends now current amongst northern 'Buddhists; and yet Csoma Korösi says their sacred books 'contain no mention of the virginity of Buddha's mother. The 'individual threads of Buddhist literature are indeed of doubt-'ful character, many-coloured, tangled, and confused. But 'nevertheless we may conclude, as we began, that whether 'more or less fictitious, they are an indispensable link between 'the edicts of Piyadasi, and existing Buddhism.'—Pp. 264—266.

It would be quite out of place here to attempt to give any historical account of the progress of Buddhism as a religion, or form an estimate of the mode and extent in which it was affected by contact with other forms of faith. If the doctrines of Buddhism are obscure, its history is no less so, and it will probably take some time to separate the true from the fictitious, and to assign their proper dates to monumental inscriptions and other historical documents. We may at least profess our own incompetency to deal with this large subject. At the same time, any such attempt would far exceed the limits of an article in a Review. But for some sensible reflections on the subject generally, we will refer the reader to the concluding chapter of the second book of Mrs. Speir's interesting volume.

Mr. Williams has endeavoured to elicit all that he could of truth and consistency from this system; and one especial value of his book consists in this, that he has put the best possible face on the theories which he designs to controvert. He has endeavoured to understand, and to throw himself into them. The chief speaker in the disputation, who is called Blancombe, may be well supposed to represent the writer; and the first page of the volume informs us that he sought to agree, as far as possible, with his opponents, as if he were in search of some common ground upon which they might meet. There is one other doctrine to which we have not yet alluded, viz. that ignorance is the cause of all things, which is even more unintelligible

than those which we have detailed. The chain of causes, or sources from existence, is represented as follows:—What seems to exist originates in desire, which implies sensitive perception which must have some object, which object is the distinction, between things, which distinction pre-supposes ideas which are themselves illusions, and the effects of ignorance. Such a system of mysticism, it might be thought, must, from its dealing in such abstractions, soon have perished. And the strongest point which the author has made in the able summary at the conclusion of his first chapter, against the Saugata Muni, consists in the contrast exhibited between the simplicity of Buddha's practical precepts, and the abstract and transcendental character of his speculations, on the one side—and on the other, the gorgeous apparatus of ritual and ceremonial, and the elaborate system of sacerdotalism, which characterise its present development. The author is, perhaps, scarcely satisfied with the answer which he puts into Saugata's mouth, *viz.* 'that it is not sur-'prising that a religion thoroughly established, should need some-'what different provisions from those which suited its commence-'ment.' In spite, however, of such changes or developments, or whatever else they may be called, which have come over the external appearance of Buddhism, its spread and continuance must be admitted to be a phenomenon quite unparalleled in the annals of the world. We, therefore, object to the incautious expression of Professor Müller in the letters to which we have referred, where he says that Buddhism, in its historical growth, pre-supposes Brahmanism; and that, however hostile the mutual relations of these two religions may have been at different periods of Indian history, it can be shown, without much difficulty, that the latter was but a natural consequence of the former. We call this an incautious expression, for the whole tenor of his letters proves that he regards the phenomenon of the rise and progress of Buddhism as quite unique; and that the author only means that Brahmanism in its whole history, and by the analogy of other forms of faith, indicated the probability of some such reaction from its tenets, as Buddhism has shown itself to be. We confess, we have no admiration of that large class of so-called philosophic historians, who are so fond of telling us that everything has happened just as it ought to have happened. When these gentlemen have exhibited any marks of sagacity in predicting the future, and their predictions have been verified, we shall be able to feel more confidence in their lucubrations on past history.

It will be asked, what there could be in a system of religion founded upon the denial of a Deity, or at least entirely ignoring his existence, and professing self-denial, as the only possible

mode of escape from those sufferings which passion entailed upon the human race, and utter annihilation, or at least the privation of individual consciousness as the ultimate end to be attained—what there could be in such a system to attract the attention of any class of people? It is no adequate answer—though, perhaps, it may be admitted as a contribution towards the solution of the difficulty—that in practice it rose above its theory. It made its appeal to the sympathies of men by its advocacy of the gentler virtues; and the traditional character of its founder was, perhaps, repeated in many of those who, in subsequent ages, taught and promulgated his faith. 'A great part of the respect,' says Hardy, 'paid to Gótama Buddha, arises from the supposition 'that he voluntarily endured, throughout myriads of ages, and in 'numberless births, the most severe deprivations and afflictions, 'that he might thereby gain the power to free sentient beings, 'from the misery to which they are exposed under every possible 'form of existence. It is thought that, myriads of ages previous to 'his reception of the Buddhaship, he might have become a *rahat*, 'and, therefore, ceased to exist; but that, of his own free-will, 'he forewent the privilege, and threw himself into the stream of 'successive existence for the benefit of the three worlds.' What a wonderful anomaly is it, that love to our neighbour should be grafted on the speculative denial of the existence of God, and the cherished desire of gaining a more speedy annihilation! We cannot speak precisely on the subject of the rapidity of the spread of the new doctrines; but we know that in the first year of his ministry Gótama gained twelve hundred adherents, and that he spent the forty-five remaining years of his life in preaching over all the north-western parts of India. After his death dissensions arose, and synods were held for the suppression of schism. The third of these synods was held about three centuries after the death of Buddha, under Asoka, king of Magadha, who had become a zealous convert to his doctrines. After this, its spread must have been rapid. Thibet and China received it at the very time when Christianity was being preached by the Apostles and their immediate successors. In the fifth century, it was the prevailing religion in the north of India; and in the seventh it had been adopted throughout Thibet.

We have already alluded to one of the causes of the progress of Buddhism. In touching upon other conditions which tended to bring about the same results, we beg entirely to disclaim the imputation of attempting to give any adequate account of this very singular phenomenon. That it should meet with some success, as distinguished from the religions of the rest of the ancient heathen world, was but natural, for proselytism was of its very essence. Whilst Greece and Rome were content

with the individual and political aspects of religion, the founder of this system professed the purpose of alleviating the sorrows of the whole human race. Again, the caste-system of the Brahmanical religion favoured, if it may not even be said to have originated, Buddhism. When the only known form of belief was such as insisted upon absolutely impassable barriers between different classes of men, a preparation was already made for the entrance of a new religion, which should proclaim the entire equality of all mankind; whilst the reaction from an elaborate ceremonial, and from external observances involving continuous and painful efforts to a spiritual form of religion, would be likely to fall in with the sympathies of the indolent Oriental mind. It is obvious here to notice the parallel between the development and the change that came over Europe in the sixteenth century. It will not be denied, either by favourers of the Protestant reformation, or by those whose sympathies are on the other side, that the temporary success of Protestantism is chiefly due to the corrupt practices prevalent at the time of its birth. How far the corrupt practice was the natural consequence of corrupt addition to the faith, may be a legitimate subject for discussion; but it is not in point here. If the parallel which holds in this instance between the relations of Buddhism to Brahmanism, and those of Protestantism to Catholicism, be thought to suggest the general law of reaction which obtains wherever one class of truths or practices has been strained, and insisted on, to the exclusion of another class which is sure in the long run to come in for its turn of public favour—we make no objection to this mode of statement. But we may observe, that the particulars of the development and establishment of Buddhism are such as to remind us much more forcibly of the relation of Christianity to the old dispensation than that of Protestantism to Catholicism. And this view points to a more effective cause of the progress of the religion which we are now considering, than perhaps any other which we can suggest. In contemplating the miraculous spread of Christianity over the Western world, it is but reasonable to suppose that the human methods adopted were such as were best adapted to the circumstances of that human nature whose unruly will and affections it claimed to control—and the nearer the approximation that can be exhibited to these methods, in the process of development of any false religion, the less ought to be our astonishment at its success. Thus we cannot doubt that the very announcement so emphatically made, that 'to the poor the Gospel was preached,' was, humanly speaking, one of the great causes of its rapid propagation, and the enlargement of the sphere of the old dispensation, whilst it was a stumbling-block to the bigoted adherents of the

Jewish law, was itself its own recommendation to those who before had felt, or even now for the first time heard, of the ancient exclusiveness of the chosen people.

There may be, then, no irreverence in comparing the progress of a false with that of the true religion. The growth of Buddhism indicates both an inherent weakness in the system which it supplanted, and some adaptation to the condition of human nature in general; as well as some peculiar relation to the circumstances of the people amongst whom it spread. Its analogies with Christianity consist in its overthrow of the distinction of castes; its aiming at universal dominion; its rising out of a previous system which it supplanted; its spreading, and for centuries retaining, its hold over countries where its predecessor was unknown; its proselytising as well as its protesting spirit—whilst the analogies become actual points of resemblance, when we view the virtues which it preached and inculcated; the councils by which its schisms were suppressed; and its missionary efforts for the propagation of its faith in distant regions. Even the surrender of its territory which it once possessed when Brahmanism became again the dominant religion of India, offers a remarkable parallel to the retreat of Christianity in Asia and Africa before the overwhelming tide of Mahometanism. There is this grand distinction, which cannot be too carefully borne in mind, when we allow ourselves to dwell upon this comparison—that, unlike Christianity, it does not profess to be in any way a completion or development of a previous form, but is wholly antagonistic to it; and what, if we were now comparing the respective claims of the two religions, would be of paramount importance, that, in the case of the retreat of Buddhism, it is its predecessor and old antagonist that has beaten it out of the field. Whatever objection may be urged against the Christian religion on the score of its having retreated from ground which it once occupied, the objection would take a much more serious form, if it could be shown that Judaism had expelled Christianity from its strongholds, and had itself re-occupied them. And we cannot but think that as regards the religions of India, it is a strong point to be able to object to the undeniable fact, that Buddhism has supplanted, and in turn been supplanted, by Brahmanism.

We are well aware that the analogies and resemblances we have been noticing will be pressed into a very different service from that in which we have been employing them; and that many will seek to represent the one true religion as nothing more than an inevitable development in the Western world of the very same ideas which in the East exhibited themselves in

a somewhat different form of progress. And with regard to any such arguments to be founded on the facts which we have been noticing, it is sufficient to observe, that it will not bear being confronted with the contrast exhibited by the antagonism of Buddhism to Brahmanism, as set against the educational character of Judaism, its preparation for, and its prophetic anticipation of, Christianity.

But we have digressed from our immediate subject. Our purpose is to exhibit the religions of India as they are; and that especially with the view of showing that we must have missionaries acquainted with the system which they have to overthrow. It is necessary for some, at least, to know the points of resemblance and contact; to understand when they may agree, and when they must enter protest. Perhaps we may be permitted to say, whilst we are on this subject, what must have been already seen to be implied, that a somewhat greater knowledge of ecclesiastical history is desirable than has generally been possessed by our Indian missionaries.

Before we quit the subject of Buddhism, we may make one remark upon its pertinacious adherence to the idea of the eternity of matter, supporting itself in this view by allaying the difficulty of the conception that things could have come into existence—if there ever was a time when there was nothing—and there being no appearance in the nature of things of any beginning. The Eastern mind seems to have accustomed itself to the contemplation of enormous periods of time. Astronomical Science has only of late years opened to the view of Europeans the corresponding intervals of space. And though with us the idea of matter having existed from all eternity is reasonably thought a characteristic of some form of Atheism or Pantheism, yet the equally absurd idea of the existence of worlds occupying the infinity of space—and which, in point of fact, implies a successive creation from all eternity—is familiar enough to those who have conversed with persons acquainted with the marvellous disclosures of modern Astronomical Science. M. Arago, in his 'Popular Astronomy,' thought it worth while to attempt a disproof of the infinity of material worlds, in opposition to Kant, who 'endeavoured, by metaphysical considera-'tions, to maintain that space is infinite, and everywhere 'peopled with stars similar to those contained in the regions 'to which we can penetrate with our powerful telescopes.'[1] The argument he adduces is worthless; though the view which it combats is held by many, we believe, who would be shocked at the consequences to which it leads: and the reason for

[1] Popular Astronomy—Translation, vol. i. p. 247.

which we have noticed this phase of belief, is, to plead it as an argument against pushing an adversary to conclusions from which he shrinks, but which may, nevertheless, be logically deducible from premises to which he tenaciously holds. There can be no reason against waiving a point which a Buddhist is unwilling, or perhaps unable, to concede; and pressing other arguments, the force of which would be better appreciated. We, of course, do not mean to advise any scheme of comprehension which should compromise a single particle of the truth, but are only recommending a *disciplina arcani*—which, whatever may be said against it, is practically adopted by all persons engaged in the education and development of intellectual minds.

But it is time for us to proceed to the notice of the other forms of faith prevailing in India; and in doing so, we must for the present depart from the order of Mr. Williams' volume; and, omitting the notice of the philosophic systems which seem to have given rise to Buddhism, or at least bridge over the interval between the Brahmans and the Buddhists, will attempt to give some account of the religious system of Brahmanism.

This religion diverges in two directions, and appears to us under two phases—the popular and the philosophical. The essential unity of the Godhead is the feature of resemblance between the popular faith and the teaching of the learned. And though abstractedly the name by which the Deity is worshipped may be thought unimportant, yet in point of fact the variety of opinions on this subject has led to the formation of a number of schools and sects. To pass by other discrepancies, there is a grand dispute as to whether worship is due to Vischnu or to Siva; and both parties appeal to their sacred books in vindication of their respective practices. And here the matter becomes entangled in great difficulties, owing to the uncertainty of the dates of these books and the amount of their interpolations.

Characteristic of both the popular and philosophical development of religion, is the doctrine of Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls; of which it has been observed, that it is the main principle of Hindú metaphysics, and the foundation of Hindú philosophy. It is a point too which both the religions of which we have been speaking have in common. We need not attempt to determine the exact amount due to the different causes and conditions of its rise. No one could doubt that it is intimately connected, first, with the natural changes and development of material things, whether animate or inanimate; and secondly, with the observed inequality of suffering awarded in this life both to human beings and the lower species of animals.

Neither can it be doubted that the consciousness of demerit might tend strongly to confirm any such hypothesis when once formed and admitted. A vague belief in the existence of some mysterious power external to and above humanity, and a more or less defined consciousness of sin and responsibility, are in fact at the bottom of this, as they are the foundation of every other system of religion; and the means of escaping from the wrath or propitiating the favour of the Deity, which form the subject-matter of religious ordinances in this case, took the form of methods devised for the escape from the necessity of such transformations. The deep and enduring interest which, as children, all our readers will remember to have felt in the story of the transmigrations of Indur, as told in Mrs. Barbauld's popular work, 'Evenings at Home,' may serve to point out to us the fascination which such a doctrine might exercise, at least over uneducated minds. That this doctrine is so easy and intelligible is, in fact, the chief reason of its predominance amongst the uneducated people of India; whilst the idea of these changes being inevitable, and the successive lives in themselves not presenting any very terrible aspect to men who live a life but little above that of the lower animals, will go a great way towards accounting for the universal prevalence of such lax morality as we hear of from all European residents in that country. Indeed, it is scarcely conceivable that any higher tone of morals could have prevailed amongst members of the fourth class of society, which probably embraced all the aboriginal inhabitants who were subjugated by their Aryan conquerors.

The caste-system of India is intimately connected with their whole religious system; and the Sudras, or fourth class, are so entirely separated from the other three, that a Brahman may not even read the Vedas in presence of one of that caste; whilst to attempt to teach such a person the law, is one of the most heinous offences a Brahman can be guilty of. Yet the Sudras are by no means correspondent to the slaves of other nations. They have a rank of their own, and have defined hereditary privileges, such as they are. There is nothing very remarkable in the division into castes, which, in fact, much resembles the system adopted in Egypt. What is remarkable is, the preservation of the distinction unaltered for so long a period of time, and that in spite of the interference with it, which appears in the rise of Buddhism,—as also the fact that the priestly order retains the first rank, a place which has probably been kept so long, [illegible] owing to the ordinance, that they alone [illegible] Vedas, or sacred books. The belief [illegible] derived from revela-

tion, has wonderfully survived the obscuration which it endured during the time when an undefined awe of the powers of the material world seemed to comprise the whole idea of religion; and the succeeding period, when the worship of the elements was supplanted by the more rational, though perhaps less religious, worship of deified men and heroes. The doctrine of a Trinity, such as it is, cannot help striking the inquirer, even at the most cursory perusal of the accounts of their religion; and most writers have thought it necessary to caution their readers against the assumption that the doctrine has much in common with the mysterious tenet of the Trinity in Unity taught by the Christian creed. Even Schlegel, in whose views as to the religions of the ancient world we can most easily acquiesce, is careful to point out the want of unity in the three conceptions of Brahma, Vischnu, and Siva. In the condensed account of the Brahmanical system given in the 'Christian Advocate's' publication for last year, the same view is strongly insisted on. He speaks 'of the sacred triad of the Brahmans (p. 34) as one example of 'a law by which the mind of the Hindú was constantly disposed 'to view all forms of being under triune aspects.'

Later in the volume (p. 104), he quotes Sir William Jones as a most unprejudiced witness to the same view, saying, that though eager to detect the slightest shadow of affinity between the Bible and the sacred books of India, he strenuously denied the reality of the alleged resemblances. Neither can it be said that the resemblance extends much further than to the mere outward form of expression. Worship, so far from being paid to the three in one, is offered by different worshippers to the different deities; and thus have arisen separate classes or sects amongst the teachers of Brahmanism. It was to be expected, from the profession which Mr. Williams makes in his first chapter, that he would not exhibit this distinction between heathen and Christian worship in exaggerated colours, but rather that he would make the best he could of the resemblance, real or fancied. At page 101, he introduces Dr. Blancombe as saying, with reference to the Eternal's supposed exhibition or development of Himself in the act of creation, 'How wonderful!—wonderful 'alike in its resemblance, and in that, resembling so nearly, 'it still differs so much.' And if this is a less definite, it at least appears to us a more philosophical view of the outpouring of heathen thought as to the mysterious nature of the One Infinite Being, and the aspiration of the heathen mind towards Him who is not far from every one of us—in whom we live, and move, and have our being. It would indeed have been absurd to expect any more close approach to Christian doctrine in Indian religion,—if only we bear in mind the utter absence

of any such doctrine from the Jewish belief at this day. Yet we cannot but think that the recognition, from some form or other, of a Trinity in Unity, may be one of the necessary conditions of philosophic thought—which is thus made unconsciously to bear witness to the truth.

We ought not to omit to notice that the change from the earliest historical form of religion in India, viz. from the worship of the elements to that in which the Deity is clothed in human form, has been attributed to the reflex influence of Buddhism upon the system of which it was an offshoot. Ritter has observed that, 'So soon as the principle of anthropomorphic 'polytheism was deliberately and consciously asserted, as it was 'in Buddhism, a spirit of opposition was immediately awakened 'in the religious system of the Brahmans, alike against the 'principle and the practices resulting from it; and the re-'jection of all the polytheistic elements which had been intro-'duced in the second period of its history was the natural 'consequence. In what manner this was effected is apparent 'from the actual state of the Brahmanical religion. It still re-'tains entire the pantheism of the deities created and em-'bellished by the poetic fancy; but combines therewith the 'doctrine of the Oneness of the Godhead, asserting that One 'only God is the true and supreme God—that the other gods 'are in the popular opinion his ministers, in the opinion of the 'wise the deceptive creatures of his Maja, his illusive image. 'This representation naturally gave an opening to the forma-'tion of a variety of opinions as to which of the many was the 'one true God. Some honour Maja as such, others Krischna, 'others also Siva, &c. &c., for each of which opinion sufficient 'authorities were easily to be found in the motley medley of 'their fables. The religion of Brahma has consequently been 'split into divers sects, holding a variety of opinions as to the 'proper object of highest adoration.'[1]

Side by side with this religious belief, and running parallel to it, we find a philosophic system which has evidently sprung up from the attempt to explain the unfathomable mysteries of the nature of God, the possibility of creation, and the origin of evil. And if we learn nothing else from the extraordinary vagaries of Indian intellect when exercised upon these subjects, we are at least permitted to see and adore the wisdom of the Almighty in having committed the oracles of God to an unintellectual and unphilosophical people—to find deep cause for thankfulness that the Hebrew nation, the depositaries of the faith, were saved from those blind speculations which will yet render the conversion of the people of India to the Christian faith so diffi-

[1] Ritter; History of Ancient Philosophy, vol. i. p. 96, Translation.

cult a task. The questions which have agitated Christendom since the establishment of Christianity on a firm footing in the Western world, most wonderfully resemble the difficulties which presented themselves for solution to the minds of Indian sages; and even amidst the awful falling away from the faith which has been witnessed in our times, both amongst the nations of Europe and the further West, we have this consolation to sustain us—that they are serving the purpose of sharpening the weapons which, as we trust, are destined to overthrow the very same theories in the East.

The distinction of caste is the most marked characteristic of the difference between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the chief secret of whose influence we have supposed to be the entire disregard of class. Perhaps the next mark of distinction most conspicuous is in the end to which all human efforts are to be directed. Up to one point the two systems are agreed, viz. in seeking for the means of deliverance from the evil and miseries of existence in this earth; but the ultimate end of all things is with the Buddhist, Nirvána, or annihilation—with the Brahman, absorption into the Supreme Deity. A question has indeed been raised as to the meaning of the Buddhist's Nirvána,—a question which needs not be noticed further here than to allude to the evidence which it furnishes as to the impossibility of the popular mind resting on the mere abstract dogmas of metaphysics. The harmonious working of the abstract and mysterious doctrines of revealed religion, however imperfectly understood, upon the minds of those who obediently follow its precepts, and the gradual dawn of light upon the humble worshipper, or the felt adaptation of the true faith to his own individual circumstances, are, after all, the best 'Evidences of Christianity;' and we cannot but think the most telling argument against Buddhism to those who are votaries of this form of religion, will be in the fact that the practice of mankind has risen above, and so condemned, its principles. The original meaning of the word Nirvána is, 'a blowing out,' like the extinguishing the flame of a candle. No other word could have been invented more expressive of extinction and annihilation; yet it has been denied that this is really the belief of Buddhism—and that chiefly on the score of the discrepancy that exists between such a view and its supposed logical consequences, and the observed practice, of Buddhists. The dispute as to the meaning of Nirvána is, as Professor Max Müller has shown, not new; and he has successfully proved that, in the theory of Buddhism, extinction or annihilation is the end proposed. We may add that, such being the case, it was impossible but that disputes, such as have occurred, must have arisen. The natural aspirations of the

human mind could not bear being confronted with so gross an absurdity, and hence the variety of thought and expression which has led even recent writers to adopt the theory of the identity of this doctrine with that of Brahmanism; in which the highest end of all religion and philosophy is maintained to be the union and communion of the soul with God—the absorption of the individual into the Divine essence.

The difficulty of estimating the meaning of Maja, or the illusory appearance of things existent; the near approach to truth in much of the expression of Brahman philosophy, with regard to the mode in which things, beside the Divine essence, may be considered to exist or not to exist, is very interestingly and clearly drawn out in the dialogue, between Blancombe and Vidyáchárya. In it the latter is the principal speaker, the Englishman performing the part of listener, and attempting to draw out the Brahman's view, and here and there to accommodate it to English modes of thought and expression.

Perhaps the most striking part of the philosophy of the subject, is the consistency of the doctrine of the illusory nature of present appearances of created things; and the re-absorption of the human soul into the Deity, when this illusion of creation has passed away. After making due allowance for the tone of Christianity, which the author has suffused over this portion of his book, it is impossible not to be struck with the many points of coincidence which the doctrine exhibits with the system of Berkeley, and the general tone of resemblance which the most elevated form of Brahmanism bears to Christian views and feelings. When language is so abstract, and truth is necessarily expressed in metaphor, it is extremely difficult to draw the line of separation, which bounds the territories of truth and error. Still more difficult will it be found to bring the minds of individuals into a state to recognise the line of demarcation.

Christianity has already had its battle to fight, and will again have to wage mortal combat with a doctrine which follows close upon the heels of this, whether true or false, view of Maja or illusion,—we mean the temporary and illusory nature of sin. And our author is himself an instance in point, to show the great danger of too large an amount of concession for the sake of conciliating an adversary. We even fear that the contest with Hindúism will furnish excuses for the desire which is daring to show itself more conspicuously than heretofore, to get rid of the belief in a doctrine of eternal punishments.

However, we are at present concerned with the doctrine of future bliss, which is recognised, in this system of theology, as consisting in a resolution of separate individual existence into the Deity, from which it originally sprung; and it is easy to

see that, if the Buddhist view of the future could only survive in the popular mind by means of its distorted images being reflected back again into a nearer resemblance to the original ideas of which they were the distortions,—the doctrine of Brahmanism must have become influential owing to a similar process. Expressions, indeed, might be quoted in considerable numbers from the Christian Scriptures, which, taken by themselves, might seem to favour this leading idea of Brahmanism; and the real resemblance, so far as this is the practical working of the Heathen and the Christian creed, is owing, no doubt, to the inability of human nature to throw off its belief in its own separate personality and responsibility. It is but natural, therefore, that Christianity should make more progress against the religion of the unsophisticated people than that of the educated and intellectual. It will be found as true now as in the early days of Christianity, that not many wise, not many noble are amongst its converts, but that the principal triumphs of the Gospel will be amongst the humble and despised of this world. Nay, we will be bold to say that the opening up of the controversy between Hindúism and Christianity will not be without the painful consequences of a defection from the ranks of Christianity to the views of Pantheism. And, on the contrary, we do not fear but that in the case of the Brahman, who is taught to feel the reality of his own sinful nature, and of the actual sins of which he has been guilty, he will in that very consciousness discover the antidote to that subtle and false system of metaphysics which represents this world with all its misery and wickedness, as but a reflection of the image of the Divine Eternal Uncreated Being. To such an one, it will neither be necessary to deny the doctrine of future punishment, nor to explain away the sufferings and death of our Blessed Redeemer, as a vicarious sacrifice and propitiatory atonement for the sins of the whole world. Rather in these will he find the satisfaction that his soul is yearning for; and the explanation, so far as explanation can be had, of the mysteries of creation and existence, of sin and its forgiveness, misery and its liberation. Such persons may be unable precisely to distinguish between the subjective and the objective; they may be puzzled at the identity of the thinker and the thought, incompetent to draw the precise line which distinguishes being from experiencing; but the humble and religious sense which they possess of dependence upon a higher power, will lead them to avoid the false mysticism which would identify them with that higher power, and to adopt the view which commends itself alike to their moral interests and their intellectual perceptions, that God will be all and in all, the source of all joy and peace.

We are quite prepared for the accusation which will be urged against us, that all this looks like cutting the question, that after all we have not brought the two views into direct collision, nor shown the absurdity of the philosophic system, which, to some minds, will appear under an imposing aspect.

And our reply is, that it would be a strange system of religion; and, we suppose, unexampled in the history of the human race, which should make its appeal solely to the intellect and the reasoning power of men. Certainly, Christianity has ever been remarkable for its protest against any such view as this. It seems, if one may reverently say so, as if the intellectual aid of miracle and prophecy,—so far, that is, as the aid of these is merely intellectual,—and the like, were supplied in scanty measure, and only as a necessary supplement to other methods of persuasion, when the necessity of some such assistance was obviously apparent. Neither do we attempt to deny the grandeur of the theory (grand, because it contains so much of truth), which would represent material things as a sort of shadow of the Divine nature, the outpouring of the thought of Deity, as fleeting and unsubstantial as the language in which human thought is embodied and clothed,—and the mode in which the Divine essence puts forth or develops itself.

But then to make this doctrine consistent with itself, it must be pushed a step further; and the power of the human will must be denied; and all things must be regarded as proceeding in a blind order of fatality, or else as issuing from the arbitrary will of the supreme and only truly existent Being. With the fatalistic doctrine we do not join issue, because it can never be other than a speculative doctrine, practically denounced by the constitution of society, and disproved in every voluntary action of every individual life. But we do believe that we must take our final stand against unbelief and misbelief of every form on the individual consciousness of him with whom the argument is conducted. All the speculative difficulties as to the freedom and independence of the will, and the origin of evil, find their only practical solution in an argument addressed to, and presupposing, the consciousness of having voluntarily gone counter to the will, and so having incurred the displeasure of a higher Being.

It may take time to develop the feeble remains of such consciousness, obscured, it may be, more and more in successive generations by a downward course of wickedness, and almost lost in the tangled skein of metaphysical investigations in which it has been wrapped. And the co-existence of a great philosophic system, with an awfully extensive depravation of morality, may render the task of the conversion of India one of immense

difficulty. Even under the comparatively favourable circumstances in which he was placed, the late excellent and energetic Bishop of Grahamstown thought it necessary to caution people at home against extravagant expectations of rapid progress in the propagation of Christianity amongst the natives of South Africa. With his characteristic straightforwardness and honesty, he says (Memoir, p. 308), 'I, myself, expect no sudden fruit; 'and though longing for help from home for devoted men, for 'larger means, that we may enter energetically on the work, 'I believe it to be a work that will need patience, that will try 'our stedfastness, that will make a strain upon hope; and 'in appealing warmly to the English Church for help, I enter 'a solemn protest against the impatience of the age which 'requires in spiritual, as in commercial matters, quick returns '—glowing accounts of great triumphs, no depressing tale of 'failures and disappointments.' And with reference to India especially, the Church must make up her mind to work on in faith amidst much discouragement.

We must content ourselves with a very brief notice of the Sankya philosophy, which occupies the second chapter of Mr. Williams' work. There is the less necessity for our noticing the system at any length, because it can hardly be said to have any existence in the present day. Professor Wilson had never met with more than one Brahman who professed to be acquainted with the writings of this school, which has, however, an historical importance, and is looked upon by the best informed writers on the subject, as having paved the way for Buddhism. Capila was its founder. And whilst it possesses many features of resemblance to both the systems of which we have been speaking, it may be considered more daring than either of them. It approaches more nearly than either of them to the Materialism of the present day, and reminds us forcibly of the Greek doctrine of an *anima mundi*. Knowledge is its panacea for attaining the end which, as in all other Indian systems, consists in the extrication of the soul from the illusion under which it labours, of having a separate personality and consciousness. The close connexion which this philosophic system exhibits with fatalistic views, certainly seems to justify the author in attributing, as he appears to do, the licentious practices both of worship and of common life which are so prevalent in India, to its influence. At the same time it must be remembered that this influence must be indirect, inasmuch as the system itself is so little known—and there is no possibility of denying the connexion of the worship of some of the gods of the older system, with rites and practices of the most obscene description.

The strong point of this system consists in their speculations upon the mystery of creation and the origin of evil, and is well drawn out by the author at p. 61. If it is once allowed that knowledge is the highest endowment of human nature, and all mysteries are expected to be reducible to common sense in the crucible of reason, we are forced to confess that we have no answer to give to such statements as the following:—

'But as to our conclusions, they are forced upon us by the 'state of the case. For if there had ever been a time when an 'Iswara, all-wise and all-sufficient, such as you imagine, existed 'alone without a world, he being happy in himself, would have 'had no inducement to create—nor again, could he have created 'without materials; and if even he had created a world, being 'all-wise, he would have made it more perfect far than the state 'of things around us. Living things would not have preyed 'upon life, nor man have injured man. But now consider again 'this argument. You think that the world is sufficiently good 'to imply an Iswara; we ourselves think otherwise. But your 'argument sufficiently shows that a certain order is observed, 'and that too very much such an order as would arise upon 'our theory of like begetting like, or causes containing their 'effects. For all things you see proceed in the gross, and, as it 'were, by waves of the tide, rather than by dropping from the 'hand. The more perfect, then, you conceive this order to be, 'we make no objection so far, but advise you to derive consola-'tion from the comparative certainty of things in respect of 'cause and effect. Such a certainty may well assure you that 'by adapting your conduct (if you believe that man is a free 'agent) to the revolutions of nature—or, as we should say by 'contentedly suffering the unavoidable and liberating the soul, 'so that it can rejoice in the grandest of all spectacles—you will 'both secure such a happiness as it is in the nature of things 'for you to enjoy, and also act consistently with piety.'—P. 61.

From what has been said it will have appeared that, for the successful coping with Indian philosophy and religious belief, it will not only be necessary to be furnished with answers to such allegations as are likely to be urged against the system of Christianity in general and its particular doctrines. Besides this, the antagonist of Brahmanism and Buddhism will have to settle for himself the grounds of natural religion as the basis on which his system of revealed religion has to be erected. In an article which appeared in this Review at the commencement of last year, we pointed out the necessity of exhibiting clearly the state of the case as regards natural religion; how far its grounds were cognisable by the speculative faculty; and how far they

were established by their felt conformity to the common affections of our nature. In this we had principally in view, the anticipating the first step in the downward course from a tottering and unsteady faith in the high mysterious doctrines of the Church, leading first to disbelief and then to denial of other doctrines, till at last, as its natural and logical consequence, it issues, in minds of a certain degree of intellectual power mixed with some moral defect (not unfrequently an overweening estimate of its own intellect), in entire disbelief of religious obligation and distrust of any power external to itself. The Atheistic, and Pantheistic, and Materialistic theories—to the overthrow of which treatises on Natural Theology, such as appear at the present day, specially address themselves—strikingly resemble the forms of belief which are professed in the East; and different as are the persons to whom the argument is to be applied, the argument itself is, upon the whole, pretty much the same; and the author has shown great skill in this part of the conduct of his dialogue. In the fourth chapter, Wolff, the European sceptic, is introduced skilfully veiling his own belief behind a profession of inability to see how this Materialistic system of the Charvacas could be refuted. The keenness with which the speaker enters into the views which he at first does not undertake to defend, and the subsiding again into the affectation of neutrality and indifference at the end of his speech, are eminently natural. Great skill, too, is shown in throwing into the narrative form points more or less closely connected with the subject which would scarcely bear being dwelt upon in the way of argument, which yet when taken in the aggregate have a telling effect on some minds towards the side of Materialism. This relief from the monotony of continued dialogue is quite necessary in so long a treatise, as well for the sake of fairly representing objections to the truths as for giving due effect to the arguments in reply. In the present instance, the writer has given a remarkably clear statement of the view itself, and has represented the solution of the difficulty in a very satisfactory light. We are glad to be able to acquiesce heartily and entirely in our author's views as to the proof of the presence of mind—whilst his views of the questions of the existence of innate ideas, intuitions, &c., as opposed both to the school of Locke and the modern sensational theory, though expressed very differently, is really precisely the same with that which was advocated in the paper already referred to. The rest of this chapter, too, is most thoughtful and beautiful; it treats of the value of the testimony of the conscience and the affections, the yearnings of mankind, and their natural tendency to prayer. All this, when coupled with the inability of human

language to escape from the recognition of a personal Supreme Being, and the manifestly good results that are produced by such belief, make out a case of wonderful cogency, whilst they are represented by the author with an εἰρωνεία worthy of Socrates or Bishop Butler. We should greatly exceed the limits assigned to us if we attempted to give any analysis of this beautiful chapter, which seems to us to indicate a mind not only of high intellectual power, but of deeply religious tone. This chapter, with the following, contains moreover an excellent criticism of the two systems of religion, as well as of the Sankya philosophy, which bridges over the interval between them. Both chapters contain some striking thoughts, amongst which we may particularly notice the representation of the two views of unity of type in nature and evidence of design, as being by no means antagonistic; but the former enlarging the conceptions engendered by the latter, and addressing itself to a more comprehensive grasp of intellect than either special instances or general rules of what is commonly called design or forethought appeal to. Equally striking is the pressing of modern geological science, against both the extravagant periods of time in which Hindú history revels, and the doctrine of perpetual revolutions of life and death which characterises both the great religious systems of India. The author justly observes that the unity of type seen in the remains of ages long past and pointing onward to man, the highest specimen of that type, indicates progress and not revolution. And here we must conclude this part of our subject, though not without just alluding to the skilful mode in which the author precludes the Buddhist disputant from arguing from alleged miraculous interposition, on the ground that his system allows no room for it—and the no less clever exhibition of Brahman spiritualism as tending towards and developing into Materialism.

The following two chapters are devoted to an examination of the chronology and literature of India. Without attempting to follow our author through this part of his subject, we shall only say that he has very clearly exhibited the inconsistencies and absurdities of Indian history. Perhaps there are hardly yet sufficient data for settling even the grand epochs of the history of this country, excepting in very few cases, with any tolerable exactness. All processes of this kind must for the present be regarded as tentative, or to speak logically, all the premises open to be altered and modified to suit the conclusions which seem to come out from a comparison of them with other independent sources. No doubt, the discovery of monumental remains, and the publication of additional works on the subject, will eventually bring the history of the East

into some more tangible shape than it has hitherto appeared in. It would not be doing Mr. Williams justice, if we did not acknowledge that he has nowhere on this subject overstated his case; and perhaps he has produced the best possible account out of the scanty reliable data which are presented to us. So great, indeed, is the uncertainty of the whole subject, that there are not wanting authorities for the hypothesis that Buddhism is more ancient than Brahmanism: an hypothesis, which, as the reader will have seen, we have with Mr. Williams, and an overwhelming weight of authorities, treated as scarcely worth notice. Dr. Wolff is introduced as the advocate of this view. In reply to him, as well as the other disputants in the controversy, Dr. Blancombe is represented as endeavouring to concede as much as possible to the views of all the three speakers who appear in the dialogue; and perhaps the following extracts will put our readers in possession of as much of the outline of the history, as is either undisputed or may be considered as tolerably established. After giving his reasons for assigning different dates to different portions of their sacred books, he continues:—

'If now you consider that such change of language is the mirror of changes in society, which must have been long in coming about, you will understand why the laws of Manu belong to a period long after the earliest Vedic hymns, though before the rise of Buddhism.

'Our friend Sadánanda is so critical, that he will readily enter into what I will offer conjecturally about Capila. There is in the Sánkhya philosophy an acknowledgment of the might of nature, which might well enough spring out of the Vedic worship. But the abstract tone of the philosopher's speculation, and his way of reducing the deities into natural forces, is unlike the simple fervour of the old devotional song. We must blame Capila for not having substituted any clear conception of an overruling mind; but we must acknowledge he had reason for taking away that worship of blind elements which the older faith involved. Perhaps it was his mission, as a rationalist, to work out freedom for the human mind from undue subjection either to the material world, or to that elaborate system of the religous caste, which had become a superstition to some, and a policy to others. Thus he paved the way for Sákya, who added devotion to speculation, and extended to masses of men that freedom which Capila had given only to the few. Since, however, the faith of Sákya must have been to many a painful revolution, there would arise men desirous of a scientific freedom, yet anxious to reconcile it with the orthodox religion. This seems to have been attempted by Patanjali, the grammarian, who lived some time after Pánini, and therefore later than Sákya. The interval then between the two stages of the Sánkhya philosophy comprises the rise of Buddhism. Later than these, though I dare not fix a precise date for it, must have been that orthodox wisdom which the venerable A'chárya represents. For though attempts to explain the purpose of the Vedas may have begun early, and some of them may have been called the earlier Mimansa, yet they evidently received an impulse from the opposition after approved systems. The very phrase A-dwaita (non-duality) implies that the distinction between spirit and matter had

been taught by others; and some elements in the A'chárya's system are traced by himself to Sancara. Nor should I wonder if some of them are even later. But Sancara lived not earlier than 800 or 900 A.D. How different this newer Vedántine system is from the older Vedic worship we have partly seen, and shall see farther. But all this stage of philosophical development occupies a middle ground of vast extent between the old poetical faith, and the new burst which gives the religion of India another form, as evident in the Puránas. It is in nearly the same middle region that we are to place the rise and fall of the Bauddha faith in India. Only there is this difference; a religious creed is so antagonistic to its rival creed, that we can fix definitely its date; whereas tendencies of thought may be at work when unacknowledged, and stretch over into their opposites, so as to be hardly disentangled. Thus the philosophical spirit may have anticipated its fuller consciousness by certain portions of the Epic poems, as well as interpolated episodes in the later of the two; and again it reaches on into the Pauránic stage, both giving a meaning to the legends, and suffering itself to be fancifully transformed in them. Again, as the philosophical sects supply the middle ground in speculation, so do the Epic poems in both heroic legend and physical parable, between the hymns of the old Vedic ritual and the modern mythology of the Puránas.' —*Paraméswara-jnyána-góshthí*, p. 279.

And again afterwards, at page 282:—

'The earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda, shew us the Hindú not yet having earned his name by long dwelling on the Indus, but in the country of the Five Rivers, worshipping all the skyey influences, hailing the dawn in song, and personifying the dark cloud which withholds, as well as the blue heaven which liberates the rain. His deities are *Devas*, the bright elements which seem to bless him. He has not yet built temples, nor bowed down to idols, nor become the instrument of priests, nor does he fancy anything of the transmigration of souls, nor probably of the incarnation of deities, nor has he yet suffered the brotherhood of mankind to be outraged by division into castes. Nor again does he make the pitiless demand for widows to be burned. It is very remarkable that none of these things are originally Vedic. Whether the horse sacrifice (*aswamédha*) was merely symbolical, as your commentators say, or whether the later symbol represents an earlier usage, of perhaps Persian or even Tartar origin, I will not determine. But at least, sacrifices were common enough, and the flesh of them might be eaten: so that the modern horror of eating flesh can hardly have existed. So far the earliest Hindú we read of had rather the advantage of his descendants; on the other hand, his hymns show no deep feeling of the moral evil of sin, nor reverence for the deities as moral governors. Some have fancied that they can trace in the Vedas, vestiges of an earlier belief in one supreme God. But no texts have yet been shown me, belonging to the earliest stage, which bear clearly such meaning. On the contrary, physical nature seems to present the objects of worship, and animal nature to suggest the prayers. Man seems as yet the first among animals worshipping the elements. By degrees however the shaping mind modifies its impressions into an unity; and a deeper sense appears of the mystery which underlies the agencies of nature with a feeling after some spirit which formed them. It is chiefly in the *Upanishads*, so far as I have observed, that this tendency develops itself; there ore not in the earliest time. Thoughts however of *A'tman*, the great Soul, or Self, or Person, without whom it is as unnatural to conceive the world as a human body without a mind, may have had many indistinct utterances before they grew into such reasoned poems, as that about Vách,

which you quoted to me. There seems also to have broken off from the A'ryas while yet in the country of the Five Rivers, a section which carried westward some Vedic traditions and ripened them in Bactria or Persia, into the Zoroastrian lore. This re-migration must not be confused with the original advent of the A'ryan race from Irán; still less must the ebb be made to account for the earlier flow. In the mouth, however, of Zarathastra, the mere nature-worship took a deeper tone, and spoke of strife no longer between cloud and sky, but between evil and good, or the malignant serpent and the Son of Heaven. Thus he divorced, in a way, mankind from physical nature; and brought out a deeper moral consciousness, with both its sense of suffering and its manlier struggle. Whereas with the true Hindús remained longer, and almost remains still, something of the old childhood, which felt itself cradled in the world, and only asked their bounty, looking on it almost as a right. I need not stay to trace nicely how many hymns of the Rig-Veda reappear in both the Yajurs, and again in the Sáma, or how they are somewhat modified. But in the Bráhmanas we have the signs of a priesthood or caste, arranging and explaining the songs which were already ancient; and this tendency is said to reach a more elaborate formalism in the Sútras. Before the Atharva or fourth Veda had been compiled, the A'ryas must have spread into India. It speaks more directly of the aboriginal races, among whom it mentions the Súdras as hostile. It has words which are said to betray symptoms of Prácrit, or at least of the older language already assimilating itself to indigenous idioms. It gives prayers no longer as natural effusions of the religious feeling, but as formal charms against sickness. It deals more in its episodes, with metaphysical questions, as about death and the spiritual world. It is the expression, in short, of a religious revolution, which already the Brahmanical caste was conducting. We may estimate both its comparatively recent date, and yet the antiquity of Manu, from remembering that the legislator recognises only three Vedas, though it is possible the fourth may already have been framed. Some also find in the Atharvan astronomical signs of B.C. 1100, rather than 1400, but these I will not venture to argue from.'—*Paraméswara-jnyána-góshthí*, p. 282.

Our readers will not suppose that we mean to assert that all our missionaries in India must be philosophers, or indeed that many of them will be liable to encounter such intellectual minds as our author attributes to the Saugata Muni, Sadánanda, and Vidyáchárya. Many of them, it is to be supposed, nay, we had almost said hoped, will be in happy ignorance of the scepticism that has spread its blighting influence so extensively amongst the educated portion of the rising generation. Christianity will not be propagated by intellect, but by zeal, and the influence of argument is much more indirect than direct. But it would be, and we take leave to say it ought to be, a fatal barrier to its progress, if its claims could not approve themselves to the intellect of the unprejudiced inquirer, if we may be allowed for a moment to make such a monstrous supposition. But yet, though people cannot be unprejudiced, yet they may in different degrees approach this state of mind. The same person, moreover, will at different periods be able to divest himself more or less of such prejudices as are habitual to him. It is something, even, to know that persons, whose judgment cannot be

set aside as of no value, have said what to themselves appears conclusive against a false theory. Sceptics, whether amongst ourselves or in the East, will not be able, however much they may profess to be guided by what they call pure reason, to throw off the restraints imposed by the very constitution of human nature upon absolute freedom of thought; and it is in the highest degree necessary, both for their own sake, and much more for the sake of those who will come under their influence, to exhibit the strength of the cause which they are attempting to gainsay. Still it must be remembered, that the questions at issue are such as reach the lowest depths of thought. And it could not be wished that many should give up their time and energies which are due to practical matters, to such metaphysical abstractions as we have been considering; neither indeed could we expect to find many minds endued with natural capacity, and fostered and disciplined by the highest style of education, so as to be competent for such a task. The battle in India has to be waged, alas! not with the highest style of intellect, but against the most degraded form of morality. And, miserable as the picture is, we must now shift the scene from philosophy to fact, and attempt to lay before our readers a little of the actual state of religion in India. The contrasts displayed in the commencement and development of both Buddhism and Brahmanism, are in themselves such as to form a strong argument in condemnation of both these systems.

It may reasonably be asked, What sort of worship can properly exist in a system which admits of no Supreme Deity, and professes to conduct its votaries to annihilation? And certainly modern infidels, in the Western world, have been more consistent in carrying out their principles into practice than their Buddhist colleagues, either in the Northern or Southern parts of Asia. The present state of Buddhism is the best instance in point to show that man cannot live without a religion, and that that religion must have external rites cognisable by the senses, and must prescribe injunctions, the performance of which shall exercise the physical as well as the mental energies. That Buddhism should have degenerated, if indeed it be a degeneracy, into idol-worship, may seem strange; but it was the necessary development of its teaching, if that teaching was destined to survive its author. It is of no importance to ascertain the precise time when image-worship may be said to have commenced. It is at present the universal custom. Not only have they images, but gorgeous temples, in which they are enshrined. And idol manufactories are spoken of as being of common occurrence in China and elsewhere; and the remains of Buddhist temples in India are such as to show that they

were of immense size and elaborately ornamented. What is very strange in their mode of worship is, that amidst many minor differences the worship of a triad is said to be universal. Mr. Spence Hardy, in his earlier work on 'Eastern Monachism,' says (p.)209, 'The invocation of the triad is noticed by a 'Mahometan traveller in Thibet, who calls its constituents, 'God, his prophet, and his word. By Rémusat it is translated, '"Boudha, la loi et le clergé." '

Another very remarkable approach to Christian doctrine is in the prevailing belief in some form of atonement. That this should be connected with views somewhat resembling Solifidian views will not be wondered at. Both these points are illustrated by the following extract from the same work:—'The king of 'Ságal on one occasion said to Nágaséna, "You declare that 'although a man live in sin a hundred years, taking life and 'committing other crimes, if he thinks of Buddha once, when 'at the point of death, he will be born in a déwa-lóka; this I 'cannot believe. You say again, that if a man only once takes 'life, and does not think of Buddha, he will be born in hell; this, 'also, I cannot believe." Nágaséna replied, "How so? If we 'put ever so small a pebble in the water it will sink, but a 'hundred yálas of stones may be put into a boat, and floated 'across the river without difficulty; and it is the same with 'those who acquire merit." '—P. 211.

All writers on the subject of Buddhism have noticed the resemblance in the externals of its worship to the rites of the Roman Church. Some have not scrupled to avow their belief that the monastic system of the Church is derived from its contact with Eastern habits and manners. The resemblance itself it is impossible to deny. The cave monasteries of the Buddhists are both much more numerous, and on a considerably larger scale than those of Catholic countries. The number of priests, also, is very great; and their method of conducting service such as forcibly to remind spectators of the practice in Roman Catholic churches. Upon the whole, however, as might perhaps reasonably be expected, the resemblance of worship is rather to the corruptions than the legitimate developments of Christian worship. The image worship which is universal, is not in Thibet connected with the worship of relics, which is so prevalent in Ceylon. It is interesting to trace these two developments of Buddhist worship. In Thibet, the prevalence of a belief in successive incarnations of Deity fixes the attention of the worshipper upon its living representative. In Ceylon, on the contrary, where the Buddha is supposed to have ceased to exist, the mark of his footstep, one of his canine teeth, and other parts of his bones, have become the

objects of worship. It would be scarcely necessary to say anything of the manifest absurdity of worshipping parts of the body of a being whose existence has altogether ceased; but we are tempted to make a long extract from Mr. Spence Hardy's volume, with the view of illustrating the extraordinary methods in which absurdities can be defended, and that especially with the view of illustrating the intellectual difficulties that missionaries may have to encounter.

The view of the following dialogue is to reconcile the apparent contradiction of worshipping an extinct God. The defender of Buddhism commences:

'*N.* When that fire, that although it has no mind, receives 'the grass and fuel, is extinguished—is the world without fire?

'*M.* No; any one who wishes to produce fire, may do so by 'the friction of two pieces of wood.

'*N.* Therefore they who say that no benefit can be received 'from the making of offerings to Buddha, utter that which has no 'foundation in truth. Whilst Buddha was in the world, the 'glory that he possessed may be compared to a brilliant flame; 'now that he has attained Nirvána, his passing away is like the 'extinguishing of that flame; but as the flame receives the grass 'or fuel that is thrown into it, though without any desire on its 'part, so although Buddha does not receive the offerings of the 'faithful, the reward of those offerings is certain. For as any 'man may procure a flame by the rubbing together of two pieces 'of wood, by the light of which he will be able to carry on 'whatever work he has in hand, so the faithful by making offer-'ings to Buddha, and reflecting on the excellences of the Dharm-'ma, will reap the reward for which these exercises are practised. 'There is another comparison to which you must listen. There 'is a high wind; it shakes the trees and causes them to fall, and 'then dies away; after thus passing away, is it from desire that 'it again returns?

'*M.* This cannot be, because it has got no mind.

'*N.* Does the wind that passes away make some sign to the 'wind that is to come?

'*M.* No; any one may cause wind by means of a fan; when 'he is warm, he can cool himself in this way.

'*N.* Therefore the unbelievers that say there is no benefit 'from the making of offerings to Buddha speak falsely. As the 'wind spreads itself in every direction, so the virtue of Buddha 'is diffused everywhere; as the wind that has passed away is not 'again produced, so there is no reception of the offerings on the 'part of Buddha. As men are subject to be annoyed by the heat, 'so are dewas and men afflicted by the three-fold fire of evil 'desire, enmity, and ignorance; and as men, when thus annoyed,

'cause a wind to refresh their persons by means of a fan, or some 'other instrument, so are they assisted who seek the protection 'of Buddha; and the three-fold fire is extinguished, although 'Buddha has attained Nirvána, and does not receive the offerings 'that are presented. Another comparison may be given: a man 'strikes the drum, and causes a sound to be produced; the sound 'dies away; is it afterwards produced again?

'*M.* No; the sound has passed away, but the same man can 'cause a repetition of the sound by again striking the drum.

'*N.* In like manner, though Buddha has attained Nirvána, the 'benefit to be received from the making of offerings and medi-'tating on the Bana is still certain. This benefit is gained 'though Buddha does not receive the offerings. . . . . Again, 'does the earth say, "Let such and such trees grow upon my 'surface?"

'*M.* No.

'*N.* Then how is it that flowers, and buds, and shrubs, 'and trees, and creepers, passing from one to the other, are 'produced?

'*M.* The earth, though itself unconscious, is the cause of their 'production.

'*N.* Even so, though Buddha is now unconscious, he is never-'theless the source of benefit to those who seek his protection. 'That which is the opposite of evil desire, enmity and ignorance, 'is thus like the root of merit set in the ground: the exercise of 'samádhi is like the trunk of the tree; the doctrines of the Bana 'are like the hard wood in its heart; the four Sangwara precepts 'are like the higher and main branches; the five forms of know-'ledge called Wimukti, that reveal the way in which emancipa-'tion is to be obtained, are like the colours and perfume of the 'flowers, and the fruition of the paths leading to Nirvána is like 'the immortal fruit; and all this is brought about by Buddha 'though he has attained Nirvána and is unconscious.'—Pp. 229—231.

We might add much of a similar character, in which it would be difficult to say whether the beauty of the analogy or the grotesque absurdity of the application was more conspicuous. We wish we had more data to go upon in forming an opinion of the actual working of this extraordinary system on the mind of its votaries. But Tartary and Thibet are little known, and in other countries, Buddhism has been so modified by the other forms of religion with which it has come in contact, that no fair estimate of it can be made. Mental inactivity, there can be no doubt, is universally characteristic of Buddhism; but we are inclined to think that Buddhist practice, in point of purity of morals, has nowhere sunk so low as in those parts of the peninsula

of India which are not at present subject to its sway. We now turn to Brahmanism.

The original distinction of castes is in many parts of India altogether extinct. The Brahman is in these parts the only caste that exists in the present day; numerous castes, it is true, may be found; but though, perhaps, founded upon the ancient division of society, they seem to have little in common with it. The subordinate class of Sudras is now reduced to a family proud of its descent; the Vaisyas are almost unknown, and the Kshatriyas are confined to Rajpútana.

Yet a system of castes exists, which, however little understood as yet, is very influential, and has important bearings on the future progress of Christianity amongst them. We remember a remark made by the late Bishop of Madras, which is printed in one of the accounts of his visitation of his diocese, to the effect that he did not profess to understand the distinctions of caste, or to pronounce any judgment upon the matter, whether they were to be regarded as only a part of the natural frame-work of society, corresponding to the distinctions of rank in other countries. Yet this remark is followed by the singular announcement that he should make it an indispensable condition to applicants for holy orders that they should not refuse to eat with himself and the rest of his clergy.

The belief in the Unity of the Godhead is obscured by the prevalence of an idolatry which comprehends in its sphere thousands of fancied deities. We need not repeat the observation, so often made, that there are three hundred and thirty millions of gods in their Pantheon. The idol-worship which prevails, is quite intelligible as the only possible development to an uneducated people, of the mysterious doctrine of all things being an emanation from Deity. For an account of these deities, and a dissertation upon Hindú worship in general, we are indebted to a Baptist missionary named Ward. The third edition of his useful work appeared just forty years ago. We may take it for granted that his facts are trustworthy, derived as they were from personal observation, and conversations with all classes of Hindús. Yet, though evidently well acquainted with the system of religion such as at present prevails, as well as with the books to which it makes its appeal, and the philosophic system with which it is connected, he is evidently unable to appreciate Brahmanism. He sees nothing but darkness when the nearest approach to truth is made; and his prejudice in this respect is in part owing to the unutterable abominations which he witnessed and heard of. The principle of self-sacrifice, which in itself demands our warmest sympathy, meets with no favour from him; nor is it much to be wondered

at, when it is so strangely connected with the most degrading sensuality. Impurity of every kind is indeed the main characteristic of Hindú life in the present day. We have heard the remark made, that fornication and adultery sink altogether into the shade when placed in comparison with the horrid forms of impurity practised in India. Mr. Ward's book is full of passages where he professes himself obliged to stop short; it being impossible to pollute his pages with such filthiness as he has seen in their books, and heard from their priests. He tells us that, amidst all the objects of worship, there is not one which tends to elevate or improve the mind. The many deities which they worship, have their origin in the countless corrupt desires which have arisen in the hearts of worshippers. There is prevalent amongst them, an impure form of worship corresponding to the phallic worship of the Greeks; and whatever opinion may be formed as to the propriety of suppressing religious ceremonies, and interfering with national modes of worship, it might at least, we think, have been expected of English authorities to interfere, to prevent the eyes of women and children being polluted with the sight of disgusting objects of worship, stuck up like the statues of Hermes in the streets of Athens.

There is one remark made by this author which seems to imply that there is one characteristic of the Hindú which may be pressed into the service of Christianity. They profess a great reliance upon the merit of their works, and will listen to any new proposal with as much eagerness as though they had hitherto done nothing towards obtaining heaven. And, perhaps, Christian missionaries in India may derive a lesson from St. Paul's preaching of the unknown God at Athens, viz. that of using their sagacity in accommodating themselves to the prejudices and habits of the natives when it can be done without compromising the truth. Another, and a still more hopeful quality to work upon, is the great fear that Hindús manifest of future punishment. And much, no doubt, may be done by judiciously giving this fear its proper direction, and by purifying it by bringing it into contact with the doctrines of redemption and atonement. But alas for the missionary prospects of the Church of England if that series of doctrines, which has lately made its appearance amongst us should, be destined to make further progress! It can scarcely be said any longer that we are at issue about mere externals or non-fundamentals. Internal disputes have been gradually reaching further and further, till they have at last touched the central truths round which all other teaching is formed. The course in which denial of the truth has been progressing is steady, consistent,

and logical. The fear of future punishment has been set aside by the denial of the doctrine of its eternity. There follows, as a matter of course, an indefinitely lowered estimate of the sinfulness of sin, and an entirely different view of the atonement necessary for it. And if the essential Deity of the Saviour has hardly yet within the pale of the Church been openly impugned, it is easy to foresee that that will be the next point of attack, which will be made covertly, and perhaps with the outward show of explaining the statements of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds.

Already it has been objected against us by the philosophers of India:—'Settle it among yourselves what your faith is before you can hope to convert us to it.' Alas that our divisions should tell so fearfully against the progress of Christianity amongst the heathen! Alas that we must be content with desultory action where it is all-important to exhibit an unbroken front to the enemy! We need hardly say that there are two methods of meeting this difficulty which have been resorted to ever since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. There will be the attempt to compromise matters, by representing lesser points as of no importance. And there will be the efforts of those, from which alone we expect any good to arise, who refuse to acquiesce in a hollow and merely apparent agreement, and who will not concede one iota of Catholic truth. The latter half of Mr. Williams' book shows that we should have to count him amongst the former class. As for our own opinion, we will only add here that the contemplation of the subtleties of Hindú metaphysics have only impressed us with a stronger conviction of the profound, and, we doubt not, superhuman wisdom of the early Church, in so jealously guarding the language in which the truth once delivered to the saints was to be transmitted through successive generations.

We cannot, at the conclusion of so long an article, enter upon the discussion, which, after an expression of difference of opinion from the author, might seem fairly demanded of us. He is far too independent a thinker to allow of his being classed with any of the three schools of religion that profess adherence to the Church of England. And though he certainly would not, in the estimation of people in general, be associated with the principles with which this Review is supposed to be connected, we may be permitted to say, that we have never seen in any of the writings of the Latitudinarian party, so much to demand our admiration and sympathy, as in this volume. The author is perhaps more hopeful of efforts to convert the people of India, than we are, if only on the ground that he would consider dif-

ference of faith and practice in minor points as of less importance. Doubtless there can be no difference of opinion about this point, that the infinitesimal and straggling attempts that have been made, must be replaced by one gigantic effort on the part of the whole Church. It is not likely that the Christian Church will make much way against a system which exhibits itself in such conspicuous grandeur, if its services are performed in the cheapest edifices that can be erected, or if they are wholly devoid of that gorgeous ceremonial which is so peculiarly attractive to the uneducated natives of Eastern countries. It is said that Benares alone contains a thousand Hindú temples, and more than three hundred Mahometan mosques. Many Hindús have left their own belief and adopted the faith of the false prophet, and Mahometans have successfully used and adopted their temples and style of architecture. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* We must do the same, though we are far from asserting that it will be as easy to adapt the externals of a false religion to the requirements of Christianity, as it has been found to modify the edifices for the purposes of Mahometan worship. And we seem to be likely to have a splendid opportunity offered us. Even whilst we write, the intelligence has arrived that all the land-holders in Southern Oude have taken up arms, and are against us. Now, the entire confiscation of all such lands will certainly be a punishment much lighter than the occasion will demand; and we venture to suggest that Government could not do anything, which, in the long run, will be more advantageous than to appropriate whatever may be necessary to the endowment of a cathedral, schools, and colleges, on a large scale, where missionaries may be educated, and sent out to all parts of the peninsula. We have little hope of any such suggestion being acted upon; but of this we are sure, that the desultory efforts of the two Missionary Societies which represent the two parties in the Church which are anxious for the salvation of the heathen, will never make much impression upon the people of India. They must not only hear of the Gospel, but they must see it in operation; and, above all, they must have before their eyes examples of holy living, such as, for the most part, they have not yet witnessed.

ART. V.—*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, &c.* By DAVID LIVINGSTONE, LL.D., D.C.L. London: Murray.

No one can rise up from the perusal of Dr. Livingstone's book without feeling that in its author we possess a genuine traveller of the useful, hardy old school. Many travels have lately inundated the world, the results of holiday tours, or the experiences of professional life; a journey to some remote part of the world has been often a favourite stock-in-trade for authors of the descriptive class; but the ingrained natural love of travel, as the passion of youth surviving to the settled ambition of a strong and matured mind, is as rare as ever. A traveller, like a poet, must be born so; indeed, a traveller, to earn the name, must be a poet—must have that ardent love of nature, that aspiring after unseen, unexplored beauties and wonders, that power of abstraction from the immediate and visible pursuits or ends of life, which are the foundation of a poetic mind. There is always something touching and romantic about the history of a genuine traveller; he is no vulgar note or even book-maker; he is pervaded, ever after, in the reputation of the world, with the same halo that rests on the head of genius in other forms; for high and persevering investigations into nature, however simple, however plain—be they only accurate, close and true—are very near akin to the highest efforts of human imagination. Penetration into the outward world, even in what seems to be a purely mechanical manner, bears a very close relationship to that inward penetration into the nature of things which we call philosophy or poetry. Ulysses, the father of all travellers, is the subject of a poem which surpasses every other production of the uninspired literary world (if we may thus speak of Homer) in its abiding influence over mankind. Ulysses was matter of fact, plain, and purely descriptive; placing accuracy of observation before any intentional display of the picturesque. In some features of the present book, we think Dr. Livingstone follows this great type of his class. An active inquiring mind, even to restlessness; a strong independent will; great personal coolness and courage; an intense appreciation of that high standard of beauty, which, though always inherent in nature, yet so seldom finds vent in this dull, cold, foggy, self-destroying world, that it may almost rank with spiritual existences; an acute pleasure in observing the ways of mankind; a quiet, yet constant sense of humour; all these,

with a love of science, technically so called, and a true ambition to benefit mankind, form the groundwork of a character which is celebrated in the Odyssey, and which impelled our author to cross over some seven or eight thousand miles of unexplored country in the centre of Africa. To be a traveller requires also a mind free from prejudice, open to conviction, and always ready to give facts and appearances their due places and relative proportions. He must not be a man of one object or taste, but of large comprehensive intellect; moreover, he must be endowed with physical health and powers of endurance; but, above all, with patience, both in nerve and mind—untiring, unconquerable patience.

Dr. Livingstone's early life is a most praiseworthy instance of a strong will and an independent spirit marking out its own course. His family was of a hardy race, small farmers in the island of Ulva in the Hebrides, a spot where we can easily imagine that adventurous spirits would not be tamed down either by the soft repose of nature or the luxury of effeminate living. As autumn storms gather round those Western islands, it can be no bad school for the nerves even to convey farm produce to its regular market. Seldom have we witnessed a more picturesque scene than the disembarkation at Tobermory from an open boat of a large party of the inhabitants of Ulva (or some adjoining island), having been many hours exposed to a sea that land-bred people would think far more suitable (to say the least of it) for a well-built steamer. Originally his family were Roman Catholics, and stanch supporters of the Stuart race; nor does he attribute this conversion to the effects of rational argument, but to the singular reason of a man coming round 'having a yellow staff.' Our author himself was, however, reared in the strictest school of the kirk of Scotland; and, when his father moved to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, he was kept close to the cotton-mill, and the religious atmosphere of the 'Cloud of Witnesses' and Boston's 'Fourfold State.' Steady and conscientious, however, as he was both as a 'piecer' at the age of ten, and the higher grade of 'spinner' at nineteen, he was somewhat rebellious on the point of literature, having a strong and obstinate prejudice for science and travels over the dim speculations of his native theology. Between the intervals of his toil, he educated himself late and early with that dogged industry that is so often the honourable distinction of the Scotch. When many of his cotemporaries were only learning to be idle at Eton or Harrow, he was devouring every book he could lay his hands on, from Horace to the 'Philosophy of a Future State' (always excepting novels), resting them 'on a portion of the spinning-jenny.'

The first design of Dr. Livingstone, after attending various lectures in Glasgow, medical and theological, was to go out to China as a missionary. Circumstances drew him to join the London Missionary Society; and after further training, chiefly in medicine, he was induced, by the previous labours of Mr. Moffat, to turn his thoughts to Africa. He landed at the Cape in 1840, and for sixteen years was engaged in those laborious researches which form the subject of his book.

We have called Dr. Livingstone a traveller rather than a missionary, because this is the obvious impression which his writings convey. We do not, however, mean to imply that by any other course of conduct from that which he adopted, he could have done more than he did toward the conversion of the heathen among whom he travelled. His strong good sense and honesty of principle rendered him incapable of anything like missionary cant, and produced in him a strong preference for teaching truth through means of example; by showing practical illustrations of Christian conduct, rather than by mere harangues or formal assemblies. A natural repugnance to the religious system of his father's house, led him in the first instance to the London Missionary Society, as representing to his mind a free unprejudiced system; and his whole subsequent career shows that his ruling principle in religion was to keep himself clear of everything unreal or, if we may use the expression, professional. Viewing him as a missionary, we should miss entirely the distinctive clerical character, that as Churchmen we naturally expect from any one in holy orders, especially one sent forth alone to be the representative of the Church into heathen lands; we regret, even as it is, that his early education had not brought him in contact with those great aids and encouragements to all missionary labours which the realization of Christ's Church as His earthly fold, can alone impart; but in his lay character, we hail him as an invaluable pioneer both to civilisation and religion. Though without any system of his own,—what may be called an unattached Christian,—yet he does not object to the system of others, in so far as he traces any good results; and we may often discern almost more than a secret yearning for some mode of operation more likely to leave behind it abiding effects than the missionary system he was most conversant with. He hopes, indeed, that the circulation of the Bible will be a guarantee that something remains; but he by no means ignores, as many of his school would do, the beneficial and solid effects of Jesuit zeal and system, as formerly brought to bear on those portions of Africa under the rule of the Portuguese.

It is not our province to give anything like an abstract of the

volume before us; and therefore we shall say very little of the plan under which these travels were arranged, the various shorter expeditions with which he felt his way, and the vast journey with which he consummated his labours. The general outline of his route, as shown on the map, is as follows:—From Capetown, in a direct northern direction, for about 1,300 miles, past Lake Ngami to the River Leeambye and the Makololo tribe; then in a north-west direction, for about the same distance, to Loanda, on the west coast: he then returned, by nearly the same road, to the Makololo, and followed the River Leeambye, or Zambesi (for these are one and the same) to the eastern coast, a distance of about 1,000 miles. The greater part of this was entirely unexplored country; the whole character of the centre of Africa was a mystery; the word *desert* was supposed to express the whole of this vast district; and where now have been found lakes, rivers, and fertile soil, it has always, up to this time, been supposed that nothing existed but the burning, consuming glare of a tropical sun, or some mythical snow-clad mountains, the source of those rivers which were seen to discharge themselves into the ocean.

The geological character of Central Africa has engaged much of Dr. Livingstone's attention. During the early part of his travels, when Mr. Oswell was with him, he collected many rough observations, which Sir Roderick Murchison made use of, and which led him, in his study in London, to arrive at the same conclusions which Dr. Livingstone also arrived at, after long years of travel. The latter was consequently somewhat astonished to receive, when in Africa, the copy of a discourse by Sir Roderick Murchison, before the Geographical Society, in 1852, containing the very hypothesis which he imagined to reside only in his own brain. Philosophy, however, came in to his aid.

'There was not much use in nursing my chagrin at being thus fairly "cut out," by the man who had foretold the existence of the Australian gold before its discovery, for here it was, in black and white. In his easy-chair he had forestalled me by three years, though I had been working hard through jungle, marsh, and fever; and, since the light dawned on my mind at Dilolo, had been cherishing the pleasing delusion that I should be the first to suggest the idea that the interior of Africa was a watery plateau of less elevation than flanking hilly ranges.'—P. 500.

The theory thus doubly sanctioned, is, that Central Africa was at one time a vast lake, stretching from 17° to 21° south latitude. On each side of the continent are mountain ranges, about 4,000 feet high, between which is an elevated platform, or rather bason. In this are various lakes, as Ngami, &c., and also rivers, some of which run from the sea toward the centre. Throughout this district there are many signs of active volcanic

agency, such as cracks and fissures; and also trap rocks, forced up through soil that bears evident tokens of having once formed the bottom of a lake; being full, indeed, of the very same kind of fresh-water shells which are now found in the existing lakes. This whole district would seem, then, to have been uplifted, and at the same time to have been rent in great fissures, through which the water found its way in the shape of vast rivers, out of the central bason to the sea. The Victoria Falls are occasioned by an abrupt fissure of this kind, and, perhaps, are the most extraordinary phenomenon in the whole world of waterfalls. The vast river of the Zambesi suddenly descends into a cavern, from which the only exit is through a fissure at one side. But our author must describe them himself:—

'It had never been seen before by European eyes; but scenes so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight. The only want felt, is that of mountains in the background. The falls are bounded on three sides by ridges 300 or 400 feet in height, which are covered with forest, with the red soil appearing among the trees. When about half a mile from the falls, I left the canoe by which we had come down thus far, and embarked in a lighter one, with men well acquainted with the rapids, who, by passing down the centre of the stream in the eddies and still places caused by many jutting rocks, brought me to an island situated in the middle of the river, and on the edge of the lip over which the water rolls. In coming hither, there was danger of being swept down by the streams which rushed along on each side of the island; but the river was now low, and we sailed where it is totally impossible to go when the water is high. But though we had reached the island, and were within a few yards of the spot, a view from which would solve the whole problem, I believe that no one could perceive where the vast body of water went; it seemed to lose itself in the earth, the opposite lip of the fissure into which it disappeared, being only 80 feet distant. At least, I did not comprehend it until, creeping with awe to the verge, I peered down into a large rent which had been made from bank to bank of the broad Zambesi, and saw that a stream, of a thousand yards broad, leaped down a hundred feet, and then became suddenly compressed into a space of fifteen or twenty yards. The entire falls are simply a crack made in a hard basaltic rock from the right to the left bank of the Zambesi, and then prolonged from the left bank away through thirty or forty miles of hills. If one imagines the Thames filled with low tree-covered hills immediately beyond the tunnel, extending as far as Gravesend; the bed of black basaltic rock instead of London mud; and a fissure made therein from one end of the tunnel to the other, down through the keystones of the arch, and prolonged from the left end of the tunnel through thirty miles of hills; the pathway being 100 feet down from the bed of the river instead of what it is, with the lips of the fissure from 80 to 100 feet apart; then fancy the Thames leaping bodily into the gulf; and forced there to change its direction, and flow from the right to the left bank; and then rush boiling and roaring through the hills,—he may have some idea of what takes place at this, the most wonderful sight I had witnessed in Africa.'—Pp. 519, 520.

A remarkable feature of this scene consists in five huge columns of steam, or smoke, as the natives call it, issuing from the abyss. These are visible from a great distance.

'After twenty minutes' sail from Kalai, we came in sight, for the first time, of the columns of vapour, appropriately called "smoke," rising at a distance of five or six miles, exactly as when large tracts of grass are burned in Africa. Five columns now arose, and bending in the direction of the wind, they seemed placed against a low ridge covered with trees; the tops of the columns at this distance appeared to mingle with the clouds. They were white below, and higher up became dark, so as to simulate smoke very closely. The whole scene was extremely beautiful; the banks and islands dotted over the river are adorned with sylvan vegetation of great variety of colour and form. At the period of our visit several trees were spangled over with blossoms.'—P. 519.

A nearer approach to one of these only increases the charm.

'From this cloud rushed up a great jet of vapour exactly like steam, and it mounted 200 or 300 feet high; there condensing, it changed its hue to that of dark smoke, and came back in a constant shower, which soon wetted us to the skin. This shower falls chiefly on the opposite side of the fissure; and a few yards back from the lip, there stands a straight hedge of evergreen trees, whose leaves are always wet. From their roots a number of little rills run back into the gulf; but as they flow down the steep wall there, the column of vapour, in its ascent, licks them up clean off the rock, and away they mount again. They are constantly running down, but never reach the bottom.'—P. 521.

The great water system of this country has singular relics of byegone ages, as well as exhibiting the living wonders thus described. There are the remains of former lakes, called salt-pans, which are peculiar saline incrustations that have exactly the appearance at a distance of actual water—a tantalizing vision in these thirsty regions.

'The mirage on these salinas was marvellous. It is never, I believe, seen in perfection, except over such saline incrustations. Here not a particle of imagination was necessary for realizing the exact picture of large collections of water; the waves danced along above, and the shadows of the trees were vividly reflected beneath the surface in such an admirable manner, that the loose cattle, whose thirst had not been slacked sufficiently by the very brackish water of Nchokotsa, with the horses, dogs, and even the Hottentots, ran off towards the deceitful pools. A herd of zebras in the mirage looked so exactly like elephants, that Oswell began to saddle a horse in order to hunt them; but a sort of brake in the haze dispelled the illusion. Looking to the west and north-west from Nchokotsa, we could see columns of black smoke, exactly like those from a steam-engine, rising to the clouds, and were assured that these arose from the burning reeds of the Noka ea Batletli.'—Pp. 62, 63.

The peculiar bason-shaped country, thus surrounded by hills, with rivers flowing into central lakes, and discharging themselves by what may be called the new rivers—that is, the rivers formed by the more recent volcanic convulsions—as they account for the periodical inundations of the Zambesi, so would they point out the cause in the parallel case of the Nile. There is probably in the north, as in the south, a vast collecting bason, discharging its contents after the rainy season through these great river channels into the ocean.

'The characteristics of the rainy season in this wonderfully humid region, may account in some measure for the periodical floods of the Zambesi, and perhaps the Nile. The rains seem to follow the course of the sun, for they fall in October and November, when the sun passes over this zone on his way south. On reaching the tropic of Capricorn in December, it is dry; and December and January are the months in which injurious droughts are most dreaded near that tropic (from Kolobeng to Linyanti). As he returns again to the north, in February, March, and April, we have the great rains of the year; and the plains, which in October and November were well moistened, and imbibed rain like sponges, now become supersaturated, and pour forth those floods of clear water which inundate the banks of the Zambesi. Somewhat the same phenomenon, probably, causes the periodical inundations of the Nile.'—P. 475.

The love of nature, animate and inanimate, must, of course, be a principal characteristic of any traveller, and is the special gift of Dr. Livingstone. It was this which softened hardships, and cheered many a desponding day: it was his philosophy. Speaking of the luscious balmy air of morning amid scenes of surpassing loveliness, he regrets the jarring effect of 'bitter impure words' from his poor heathen companions. He then reflects in the following strain of deep reasoning and practical common sense:—

'I shall not often advert to their depravity. My practice has always been to apply the remedy with all possible earnestness, but never allow my own mind to dwell on the dark shades of men's characters. I have never been able to draw pictures of guilt, as if that could awaken Christian sympathy. The evil is there. But all around in this fair creation are scenes of beauty, and to turn from these to ponder on deeds of sin, cannot promote a healthy state of the faculties. I attribute much of the bodily health I enjoy to following the plan adopted by most physicians, who, while engaged in active, laborious efforts to assist the needy, at the same time follow the delightful studies of some department of natural history. The human misery and sin we endeavour to alleviate and cure, may be likened to the sickness and impurity of some of the back slums of great cities. One contents himself by ministering to the sick and trying to remove the causes, without remaining longer in the filth than is necessary for his work; another, equally anxious for the public good, stirs up every cesspool, that he may describe its reeking vapours, and, by long contact with impurities, becomes himself infected, sickens, and dies.'—Pp. 259, 260.

The early morning would seem always to have attracted his chief admiration in these rich tropical scenes. Our author's general style is plain, unostentatious, and unconnected, even to an extent that, especially at the commencement of the work, causes a slight feeling of disappointment. He has no eloquent preamble or commanding summaries; he begins in his usual quiet and detailed account of everything large and small which happens to come in his way. Occasionally, however, he warms up into very glowing language and masterly pictures:—

'I have often thought, in travelling through their land, that it presents pictures of beauty which angels might enjoy. How often have I beheld, in

still mornings, scenes the very essence of beauty, and all bathed in a quiet air of delicious warmth! yet the occasional soft motion imparted a pleasing sensation of coolness as of a fan. Green grassy meadows, the cattle feeding, the goats browsing, the kids skipping, the groups of herdboys with miniature bows, arrows, and spears; the women wending their way to the river with watering-pots poised jauntily on their heads; men sewing under the shady banians; and old grey-headed fathers sitting on the ground, with staff in hand, listening to the morning gossip, while others carry trees or branches to repair their hedges; and all this, flooded with the bright African sunshine, and the birds singing among the branches before the heat of the day has become intense, form pictures which can never be forgotten.'—P. 441.

This love of nature showed itself in one trait of character rather unusual with the majority of devotees to the world of nature. He was no sportsman, and did not enjoy scenes of animated life with an eye to its destruction. He had, indeed, constantly to be killing wild animals for food (that is, when he could, for he was a bad shot), but he recoiled from mere slaughter. Speaking of Gordon Cumming, whom he frequently saw during his 'five years' warfare with wild animals,' he is indeed courteously reserved, and gives him credit for conveying a *truthful* idea of South African hunting; but with a slight vein of sarcasm he remarks, that such information is 'for those who love that sort of thing.' As guns increase, this style of hunting will soon go out; for the preserve of rhinoceroses will not allow sportsmen to go on for long killing seventy-three each in a season. He also warns young sportsmen not to follow the example of the 'famous hunter,' lest the charge of an infuriated elephant should overpower their nervous system, or if not their own that of their horses, which would be as disastrous as the other.

'A young sportsman, no matter how great among pheasants, foxes, and hounds, would do well to pause before resolving to brave fever for the excitement of risking such a terrific charge; the scream, or trumpeting, of this enormous brute when infuriated is more like what the shriek of a French steam-whistle would be to a man standing on the dangerous part of a railroad, than any other earthly sound: a horse unused to it will sometimes stand shivering instead of taking his rider out of danger. It has happened often that the poor animal's legs do their duty so badly that he falls and exposes his rider to be trodden into a mummy; or, losing his presence of mind, the rider may allow the horse to dash under a tree and crack his cranium against a branch. As one charge from an elephant has made embryo Nimrods bid a final adieu to the chase, incipient Gordon Cummings might try their nerves by standing on railways till the engines were within a few yards of them.'—Pp. 152, 153.

On another occasion he gives a graphic and touching description of an elephant hunt, concluding with his own reflections on the scene.

'On the following day, while my men were cutting up the elephant, great numbers of the villagers came to enjoy the feast. We were on the

side of a fine green valley, studded here and there with trees, and cut by numerous rivulets. I had retired from the noise, to take an observation among some rocks of laminated grit, when I beheld an elephant and her calf at the end of the valley, about two miles distant. The calf was rolling in the mud, and the dam was standing fanning herself with her great ears. As I looked at them through my glass, I saw a long string of my own men appearing on the other side of them, and Sekwebu came and told me that these had gone off saying, "Our father will see to-day what sort of men he has got." I then went higher up the side of the valley, in order to have a distinct view of their mode of hunting. The goodly beast, totally unconscious of the approach of an enemy, stood for some time suckling her young one, which seemed about two years old; they then went into a pit containing mud, and smeared themselves all over with it, the little one frisking about his dam, flapping his ears and tossing his trunk incessantly, in elephantine fashion. She kept flapping her ears and wagging her tail, as if in the height of enjoyment. Then began the piping of her enemies, which was performed by blowing into a tube, or the hands closed together, as boys do into a key. They call out to attract the animal's attention—

> "O chief! chief! we have come to kill you.
> O chief! chief! many more will die besides you, &c.
> The gods have said it," &c. &c.

Both animals expanded their ears and listened, then left their bath as the crowd rushed towards them. The little one ran forward towards the end of the valley, but, seeing the men there, returned to his dam. She placed herself on the danger side of her calf, and passed her proboscis over it again and again, as if to assure it of safety. She frequently looked back to the men, who kept up an incessant shouting, singing, and piping; then looked at her young one and ran after it, sometimes sideways, as if her feelings were divided between anxiety to protect her offspring, and desire to revenge the temerity of her persecutors. The men kept about a hundred yards in her rear, and some that distance from her flanks, and continued thus until she was obliged to cross a rivulet. The time spent in descending and getting up the opposite bank, allowed of their coming up to the edge and discharging their spears at about twenty yards' distance. After the first discharge, she appeared with her sides red with blood, and, beginning to flee for her own life, seemed to think no more of her young. I had previously sent off Sekwebu with orders to spare the calf. It ran very fast, but neither young nor old ever enter into a gallop; their quickest pace is only a sharp walk. Before Sekwebu could reach them, the calf had taken refuge in the water, and was killed. The pace of the dam gradually became slower. She turned with a shriek of rage, and made a furious charge back among the men. They vanished at right angles to her course, or sideways; and, as she ran straight on, she went through the whole party, but came near no one, except a man who wore a piece of cloth on his shoulders. Bright clothing is always dangerous in these cases. She charged three or four times, and, except in the first instance, never went farther than 100 yards. She often stood after she had crossed a rivulet, and faced the men, though she received fresh spears. It was by this process of spearing and loss of blood that she was killed, for at last, making a short charge, she staggered round and sank down dead in a kneeling posture. I did not see the whole hunt, having been tempted away by both sun and moon appearing unclouded. I turned from the spectacle of the destruction of noble animals, which might be made so useful in Africa, with a feeling of sickness, and it was not relieved by the recollection that the ivory was mine, though that was the case. I regretted

to see them killed, and more especially the young one, the meat not being at all necessary at that time; but it is right to add, that I did not feel sick when my own blood was up the day before. We ought perhaps to judge those deeds more leniently in which we ourselves have no temptation to engage. Had I not been previously guilty of doing the very same thing, I might have prided myself on superior humanity, when I experienced the nausea in viewing my men kill these two.'—Pp. 561—563.

The enjoyment of nature is, however, but one side of such travels through Africa as Dr. Livingstone undertook. The dangers and hardships which he encountered with the admirable courage and patience, most unaffectedly described, by which they were uniformly met, are a solid guarantee for the strength and reality of his character. Hardships and dangers consecrate a cause; they show that the honours of ultimate success, and the approbation of the world, have not been obtained without cost and real sacrifice. Sudden emergencies and prolonged trials of patience, frightful accidents, bodily illness, hunger and thirst, all had their turn, with innumerable other ills, in trying what sort of stuff our traveller was made of. Many of his dangerous encounters with native tribes required the utmost promptness, presence of mind and temper, and happened when he was reduced in strength by long continued fever, or suffering from its most violent attacks.

At the very commencement of his travels he had a sharp foretaste of the kind of reception he might expect from the animal world, whose region he was about to invade. Having fired once at a lion, he was preparing to do so again, when the following struggle ensued, which affords very interesting material for students on the subject of the nervous system:—

'When in the act of ramming down the bullets I heard a shout. Starting, and looking half round, I saw the lion just in the act of springing upon me. I was upon a little height; he caught my shoulder as he sprang, and we both came to the ground below together. Growling horribly close to my ear, he shook me as a terrier dog does a rat. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first shake of the cat. It caused a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain nor feeling of terror, though quite conscious of all that was happening. It was like what patients partially under the influence of chloroform describe, who see all the operation, but feel not the knife. This singular condition was not the result of any mental process. The shake annihilated fear, and allowed no sense of horror in looking round at the beast. This peculiar state is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora; and if so, is a merciful provision by our benevolent Creator for lessening the pain of death. Turning round to relieve myself of the weight, as he had one paw on the back of my head, I saw his eyes directed to Mebalwe, who was trying to shoot him at a distance of ten or fifteen yards. His gun, a flint one, missed fire in both barrels; the lion immediately left me, and attacking Mebalwe, bit his thigh. Another man, whose life I had saved before, after he had been tossed by a buffalo, attempted to spear the lion while he was biting Mebalwe. He left

Mebalwe and caught this man by the shoulder, but at that moment the bullets he had received took effect, and he fell down dead. The whole was the work of a few moments, and must have been his paroxysm of dying rage.'—Pp. 12, 13.

A curious physiological fact is related with regard to the bite of a lion. Pains are felt in the part periodically ever afterwards, and wounds burst out afresh; in the case of the man whose shoulder was bitten in the above encounter, on the very same month next year. Dr. Livingstone himself escaped the result, in consequence, as he supposes, of a tartan jacket, the material of which may have wiped off the virus.

The cavalcade of oxen and Makololo natives must at all times have been a picturesque sight, wending their way over deserts and crossing rivers; but occasionally the scene was rendered far wilder by the sudden flight of all these animals at the sight of a hyæna. Away they go for miles, followed by their native guides, who, on one occasion, were two days before they returned with their recovered herd. But the party, though sometimes dismayed by a hyæna, were not backward in asserting their dignity upon other occasions. On entering a village, his guides delighted in following the custom of their tribes by sending forward a herald, shouting at the top of his voice, 'Here comes the lord,—the great lion;' as these words were often pronounced, they sounded like 'the great sow,' a designation which the honoured man felt obliged to disown. Their natural instinct after plunder on the part of his guides, required also a strong hand to control. Off they would go in full chase after some members of a hostile tribe, and return laden with spoil, which most unwillingly they were compelled to leave behind on the ground, by the stern command of their leader. The passage of a river we leave to our author's description:—

'In the afternoon we came to another stream, ñuana Loke (or child of Loke) with a bridge over it. The men had to swim off to each end of the bridge, and when on it were breast deep: some preferred holding on by the tails of the oxen the whole way across. I intended to do this too, but, riding to the deep part, before I could dismount and seize the helm, the ox dashed off with his companions, and his body sank so deep, that I failed in my attempt even to catch the blanket belt, and if I pulled the bridle, the ox seemed as if he would come backwards upon me, so I struck out for the opposite bank alone. My poor fellows were dreadfully alarmed when they saw me parted from the cattle, and about twenty of them made a simultaneous rush into the water for my rescue, and just as I reached the opposite bank one seized my arm, and another threw his around my body. When I stood up, it was most gratifying to see them all struggling towards me. Some had leaped off the bridge, and allowed their cloaks to float down the stream. Part of my goods, abandoned in the hurry, were brought up from the bottom after I was safe. Great was the pleasure expressed when they found that I could swim like themselves, without the

aid of a tail, and I did, and I do feel grateful to these poor heathens for the promptitude with which they dashed in to save, as they thought, my life. I found my clothes cumbersome in the water; they could swim quicker from being naked. They swim like dogs, not frog-fashion, as we do.'—Pp. 336, 337.

It was the custom of most tribes through which he passed to demand presents, varying according to their insolence or audacity. As a general rule, it was politic to comply with this demand; but occasionally our traveller had to stand out, under alarming circumstances, surrounded by spears, swords, and arrows.

'I then said, that as one thing after another had failed to satisfy them, it was evident that *they* wanted to fight, while *we* only wanted to pass peaceably through the country; that they must begin first and bear the guilt before God: we would not fight till they had struck the first blow. I then sat silent for some time. It was rather trying for me, because I knew that the Chiboque would aim at the white man first; but I was careful not to appear flurried, and, having four barrels ready for instant action, looked quietly at the savage scene around. The Chiboque countenance, by no means handsome, is not improved by the practice which they have adopted, of filing the teeth to a point. The chief and counsellors, seeing that they were in more danger than I, did not choose to follow our decision that they should begin by striking the first blow, and then see what we could do; and were perhaps influenced by seeing the air of cool preparation, which some of my men displayed, at the prospect of a work of blood.'—Pp. 341, 342.

This matter was soon amicably arranged, but the catalogue of difficulties was very various, as the following incident will also show. Marching through a gloomy forest, apprehending an attack from some natives, the rain descending in torrents, and suffering from fevers, his favourite riding-ox played him a dangerous trick:—

'Sinbad went off at a plunging gallop, the bridle broke, and I came down backwards on the crown of my head. He gave me a kick on the thigh at the same time. I felt none the worse for this rough treatment, but would not recommend it to others as a palliative in cases of fever!'—P. 350.

On approaching the Portuguese settlements on the West Coast, the natives were far more troublesome than in the interior; and the long-continued fever under which Dr. Livingstone then suffered made these trials doubly arduous.

'We were all becoming disheartened, and could not wonder that native expeditions from the interior to the coast had generally failed to reach their destinations. My people were now so much discouraged that some proposed to return home; the prospect of being obliged to return when just on the threshold of the Portuguese settlements distressed me exceedingly. After using all my powers of persuasion, I declared to them that if they returned I would go on alone, and went into my little tent with the mind directed to Him who hears the sighing of the soul; and was soon

followed by the head of Mohorisi, saying—"We will never leave you. Do not be disheartened. Wherever you lead, we will follow."'—P. 353.

In the Portuguese settlements he was most kindly and cordially received; everything supplied to him free of charge, and every care taken for the recovery of his shattered health. On arriving at Loanda, he found in Mr. Gabriel, the English commissioner for the suppression of the slave-trade, a firm friend; and he thus describes his reception:—

'When we entered his porch, I was delighted to see a number of flowers cultivated carefully, and inferred from this circumstance that he was, what I soon discovered him to be, a real whole-hearted Englishman.

'Seeing me ill, he benevolently offered me his bed. Never shall I forget the luxuriant pleasure I enjoyed in feeling myself again on a good English couch, after six months' sleeping on the ground. I was soon asleep; and Mr. Gabriel, coming in almost immediately, rejoiced at the soundness of my repose.'—P. 389.

The great result of Dr. Livingstone's investigations through this vast extent of country, acquired also by so entire a devotion of his life, can only very imperfectly be stated even in the thick volume of their author. It does not pretend to be a very comprehensive, though it is a very long, work; and its merits indeed consist, in its being only that chance collection of notes and descriptive remarks, which an observant eye and a natural love of travel would put down on the spot, or relate from a vivid memory. The general conviction arrived at in his mind, is evidently that Central Africa is capable of immense development; that its climate, its soil, its vegetable and animal life, and the disposition as well as the powers of its natives, are all most hopeful and encouraging both for colonization, for trade, and the extension of Christ's religion.

In the first place, what does he say of the climate? This is an important inquiry, considering how much he suffered himself from constant fever. We must be prepared here for the greatest vicissitudes, not as would be the question in our climate, of heat and cold, but of dry and damp; for within the tropics *this* is the variation on which everything depends. On the *river* Kolobeng, for instance, among the Bakwains (this was at the beginning of his African residence), he remains for three years, in so continual a drought, that he was accused by the natives of having charmed off the rain, and defeated the exertions of a very popular class among themselves, the rain-makers,—in whom they strongly believe. Needles lying out of doors for months did not rust; the fish in the river's bed were left to be the food of hyænas, or to putrify in masses; and vegetation shrivelled up. The bulb of the thermometer being placed three inches under the soil, caused the mercury to stand

at 134°; and beetles, placed on the surface, ran about a few seconds and expired. In spite, however, of this, water was to be had in sufficient quantities by digging, to support life; and, strange to say, the ceaseless activity of the long-legged black ants only increased under the intensity of this heat. Their organs of motion seemed, like those of the muscles of the human heart, incapable of fatigue; whilst they possessed the extraordinary power of keeping their subterranean nests thoroughly moist. No other solution of this strange moisture suggested itself, than that these ants must have had the power of chemically producing water by combining the oxygen and hydrogen of their vegetable food. Occasionally also in the desert there is a wind from the north, so dry and in such an electric state, that boxes and furniture all become warped; ostrich feathers clasp the advancing hand with a loud cracking sound; and the fur worn by the natives becomes quite luminous if touched. These extremes are, however, exceptional; and, as a general rule, the neighbourhood of the great Kalahari desert is admirably suited for patients having pulmonary complaints. Cold and damp are never combined; the atmosphere never has the steamy feeling of India or the *coast* of Africa; and the evening air is deliciously cool, even in the hottest weather.

'Nothing can exceed the balmy feeling of the evenings and mornings during the whole year. You wish for an increase neither of cold nor heat; and you can sit out of doors till midnight without ever thinking of colds or rheumatism; or you may sleep out at night, looking up to the moon till you fall asleep, without a thought or sign of moon-blindness. Indeed, during many months there is scarcely any dew.'—P. 133.

From this scene of dryness, however wholesome, the change to wet had its charms.

'There was considerable pleasure, in spite of rain and fever, in this new scenery. The deep gloom contrasted strongly with the shadeless glare of the Kalahari, which had left an indelible impression on my memory. Though drenched day by day at this time, and for months afterwards, it was long before I could believe that we were getting too much of a good thing. Nor could I look at water being thrown away, without a slight, quick impression flitting across the mind that we were guilty of wasting it. Every now and then we emerged from the deep gloom into a pretty little valley, having a damp portion in the middle; which, though now filled with water, at other times contains moisture enough for wells only. These wells have shades put over them in the form of little huts.'—Pp. 285, 286.

The rank vegetation of tropical climates in the neighbourhood of rivers has always a tendency to engender fever; and this cannot easily be avoided, so long as nature has its own way, and follows its own course of cultivation. In return, however, for the presence of fever, there is the absence of many other

diseases. There is no consumption or scrofula, and but little insanity; and many diseases, common in England, are unknown there. The question also may well suggest itself, as to whether the progress of artificial cultivation, and properly regulated irrigation, would not greatly check this evil. How many districts in England, once noted for ague and fever, are now as healthy as any other, entirely from the effects of artificial drainage? Malaria is generally of a very local character. The healthiness of a situation depends far more on the immediate nature of the soil, than on the general character or elevation of the country. A well-drained house, or one built on gravel, is far safer as regards fever, however low its situation may be, than the most airy exposed residence at the top of a hill, if it is built on clay without proper drainage to carry off the damp of its immediate neighbourhood. The picture described in the following words is evidently that of a thoroughly uncultivated district, the evil effects of which would soon yield before human art:—

'The great humidity produced by heavy rains and inundations, the exuberant vegetation caused by fervent heat in rich moist soil, and the prodigious amount of decaying vegetable matter, annually exposed after the inundations to the rays of a torrid sun, with a flat surface often covered by forest through which the winds cannot pass, all combine to render the climate far from salubrious for any portion of the human family.'—P. 504.

It must also be taken into consideration that Dr. Livingstone severely tried even the best climate, and that we must not lay his fever wholly to the score of the special dangers of African air.

'Compelled to sleep on the damp ground month after month, exposed to drenching showers, and getting the lower extremities wetted two or three times every day, living on native food (with the exception of sugarless coffee, during the journey to the north and the latter half of the return journey), and that food the manioc-roots and meal, which contain so much uncombined starch that the eyes become affected (as in the case of animals fed for experiment on pure gluten or starch), and being exposed during many hours each day in comparative inaction to the direct rays of the sun, the thermometer standing above 96 degrees in the shade—these constitute a more pitiful hygiène than any missionaries who may follow will ever have to endure.'—P. 505.

The truth, we take to be, is that Africa, like other countries, has its healthy and unhealthy localities. Those near the sea, and consequently those chiefly known to ourselves, are the most unhealthy parts of the whole continent, while those least known are the central and also the most salubrious parts. This much is the result of Dr. Livingstone's experience, which consequently must in every way raise our ideas above what

they have hitherto been, on the climate of Africa as a liveable country.

We come now to the subject of vegetation. Its luxuriance in all tropical climates suggests very mixed associations. At times its gorgeous splendour is beyond all expression; but utilitarian ideas are much shocked by its enormous waste, and its tendency to empty show. Rankness and decay are as rapid as growth; the poison of death goes hand in hand with the vigour of production. This vigour is difficult to control; it shoots past that happy mean of usefulness which is best adapted to the common wants of human nature; it knows only of extremes, either intense rapidity in the development of internal organization, or equally quick decay. Yet labour can do wonders; and nature can be tamed. Many tropical productions are simply incidental luxuries; and there is often want of solid food, as experienced by our party in their journeys, amid the most boundless fertility; yet the vast herds of wild animals show that in Africa there is a wonderful sustaining power in the soil, of a kind thoroughly capable of useful and practical application.

'The quantity of grass which grows on this remarkable region is astonishing, even to those who are familiar with India. It usually rises in tufts with bare spaces between, or the intervals are occupied by creeping plants, which, having their roots buried far beneath the soil, feel little the effects of the scorching sun. The number of those which have tuberous roots is very great; and their structure is intended to supply nutriment and moisture, when during the long droughts they can be obtained nowhere else.'—P. 47.

Take again the neighbourhood of Kuruman:—

'The aspect of this part of the country during most of the year is of a light yellow colour; for some months during the rainy season it is of a pleasant green mixed with yellow. Ranges of hills appear in the west, but east of them we find hundreds of miles of grass-covered plains.'—P. 113.

The botanical catalogue is infinite of trees and herbs. We cannot omit the camel thorn (Acacia giraffe), a tree of slow growth, which lives for centuries, but which is likely to become extinct, as young trees do not grow. Its wood is imperishable, and it is probable that the Ark of the Covenant and the Tabernacle were constructed of it, as it is reported to be found where the Israelites were at the time these were made. In its growth it is always surrounded with a curious plant, named ngotuané, which bears a profusion of fine yellow strong-scented flowers, as quite to perfume the air, an unusual thing in Africa. This plant is poisonous; he supposes it to be the giraffe's *medicine*, after feeding on the tree. The mowana trees are extraordinary instances of size and vitality. One, at three feet above the ground, was eighty-three feet in circumference, consisting of

six branches uniting into one trunk. Nothing can injure it; the natives bark it, for making cord, repeatedly; but still it lives; and even when cut down it clings to life. It is often without bark, and hollow, and still vegetates; while it is no easy task to attack it with an axe, for its spongy wood embraces the iron, and forbids its extraction. Some of these trees are supposed to be as old as the Pyramids, if not as the flood; for Dr. Livingstone says he would back them against ten deluges, unless they were boiled in sea-water. Strictly speaking, this—and the same is true of the baobab, and the dragon-tree—is not a tree so much as a gigantic vegetable. Our author continually expresses his firm and impartial conviction, both that the rivers afford very superior means of transport, and that the soil adjoining them could support its millions as well as thousands:—

'The grass of the Barotse valley, for instance, is such a densely-matted mass that, when "laid," the stalks bear each other up, so that one feels as if walking on the sheaves of a hay-stack, and the leches nestle under it to bring forth their young. The soil which produces this, if placed under the plough, instead of being mere pasturage, would yield grain sufficient to feed vast multitudes.'—P. 265.

The river Leeba he thus pictures:—

'It winds slowly through the most charming meadows, each of which has either a soft sedgy centre, large pond, or trickling rill, down the middle. The trees are now covered with a profusion of the freshest foliage, and seem planted in groups of such pleasant graceful outline, that art could give no additional charm. The grass, which had been burnt off and was growing again after the rains, was short and green; and all the scenery so like that of a carefully-attended gentleman's park, that one is scarcely reminded that the surrounding region is in the hands of simple Nature alone.'—P. 265.

On one occasion he came upon large forests, and beautiful open lawns, with a few native men and women collecting great stacks of vegetation, to burn for salt—a poor return, we should think it, for the luxuriance of nature. The grass, in these kind of pastures, he describes as looking like 'ordinary English hay;' while the Quango valley is no bad specimen of arable land:—

'This valley, as I have before remarked, is all fertile in the extreme. My men could never cease admiring its capability for raising their corn (*Holcus sorghum*), and despising the comparatively limited cultivation of the inhabitants. The Portuguese informed me that no manure is ever needed, but that the more the ground is tilled, the better it yields. Virgin soil does not give such a heavy crop as an old garden, and, judging from the size of the maize and manioc in the latter, I can readily believe the statement. Cattle do well, too. Viewing the valley as a whole, it may be said that its agricultural and pastoral riches are lying waste.'—Pp. 372, 373.

This is in the country of the Portuguese, who trade only in wax and ivory, while they actually import flour, butter, and

cheese, from America. The cotton-tree is a most promising source of wealth in Africa. If cultivated, cotton could be obtained in any quantities. At present all slave-traders discourage it, cut down the plants, and have thrown seed into the sea, imported to Loanda by order of Lord Clarendon.

Turning from the useful to the ornamental, how pretty is the following specimen of the world of vegetation!—

'Another beautiful plant attracted my attention so strongly on these plains, that I dismounted to examine it; to my great delight I found it to be an old home acquaintance, a species of Drosera, closely resembling our own sundew (*Drosera Anglia*); the flower-stalk never attains a height of more than two or three inches, and the leaves are covered with reddish hairs, each of which has a drop of clammy fluid at its tip, making the whole appear as if spangled over with small diamonds. I noticed it first in the morning, and imagined the appearance was caused by the sun shining on drops of dew, but, as it continued to maintain its brilliancy during the heat of the day, I proceeded to investigate the cause of its beauty, and found that the points of the hairs exuded pure liquid, in, apparently, capsules of clear glutinous matter. They were thus like dewdrops preserved from evaporation. The clammy fluid is intended to entrap insects, which, dying on the leaf, probably yield nutriment to the plant.'—P. 472.

From the vegetable, we ascend a step higher to animal life. In this large range of creation, there is much indeed that captivated our traveller, that inspired awe, or excited curiosity. Nothing was unobserved, from the lions which roared all night round his tent, to the touching little bird's-nest, composed of growing leaves sewn together with threads of the spider's web; or the terrible tsetse, an insect in appearance much like our common house-fly, but more deadly than the lion; and so destructive to all domestic cattle, that whole regions are at present unfit for civilised life in consequence. The whole tribe of African antelopes is beautiful in the extreme, from the large species of the eland, to the little tianyáne, about eighteen inches high, the dams of which may be seen teaching their young to kneel down in the long grass, when alarmed, by touching with their uplifted feet, the seventh cervicle vertebra of the little creature—the very same part which the Arabs touch to make the huge camels of the desert stoop down to receive their burdens. The wonders of African life must speedily pass away on the use of guns becoming general. Wild animals very soon learn the difference of range between arrows and guns. Where guns were not known, it was as easy to approach within two hundred yards, as five hundred, where they were. The beauty of these animals often saved their lives.

'It was grievous, however, to shoot the lovely creatures—they were so tame. With but little skill in stalking, one could easily get within fifty or sixty yards of them. There I lay, looking at the graceful forms and motions of beautiful pokus, leches, and other antelopes, often till my men

wondering what was the matter, came up to see, and frightened them away. If we had been starving, I could have slaughtered them with as little hesitation as I could cut off a patient's leg; but I felt a doubt, and the antelopes got the benefit of it. Have they a guardian spirit over them? I have repeatedly observed, when I approached a herd lying beyond an ant-hill with a tree on it, and viewed them with the greatest caution, they very soon showed symptoms of uneasiness. They did not snuff danger in the wind, for I was to leeward of them; but the almost invariable apprehension of danger which arose, while unconscious of the direction in which it lay, made me wonder whether each had what the ancient physicians thought we all possessed, an archon, or presiding spirit.'—Pp. 255, 256.

How, indeed, is it that, in ordinary country sports, the more we admire wild animals, the more we desire to kill? Dr. Livingstone did not thus allow the savage instincts to predominate; but this is a moral problem hard to solve. The lion is commonly called the king of beasts, but Dr. Livingstone would rather bestow the crown on the elephant. We have seen, however, that a lion assumed a very formidable aspect to himself on one occasion; and we think the tribe deserves respect at his hands. The noble and majestic ideas of a lion do not seem to have been realized in his mind on first seeing them. They seemed like no more than large mastiffs, standing a second or two, and then turning away. The nose is longer in real life than the mythical image of painters, whose ideas of majesty is shown, he says, 'by making their lions' faces like old women in night-caps.' Lions keep far away from human habitation while young and strong, and it is only when unable to catch game that they approach villages to seize on goats or men. It is a common remark of a lion—'His teeth are worn, he will soon kill men.'

Of the elephant we have already spoken. In Africa this animal attains its greatest size, especially in the south; for in the tropics they are somewhat less. They are distinguished from the Asiatic elephant by their enormous ears, under which a man may shelter himself from rain; it is also as rare in this continent to find an elephant without tusks as in India with them. They are never tamed or made use of as beasts of burden in this continent, though two Roman medals are extant, struck A.D. 197, representing elephants thus employed; which, from the ears, are at once recognised as of the true African type. Not one of the species has ever been exhibited in England.

Hippopotami abound in many of the rivers, and present on every occasion the unvarying aspect of our friends in Regent's Park. To one who has witnessed that mass of round flesh, that wonderful mouth, that amphibious existence, and those quaint manners, that mixture of ferocity and childishness, it is wholly unnecessary to give any further description. We may content

ourselves with saying, that they are pleasanter animals to look at through stout iron rails than from a boat on their native rivers when they are disposed to be angry. There are two species of the rhinoceros—the black and white, of which the former is of the most savage nature, and (as Dr. Livingstone remarks), like the ill-natured in general, is never found with an ounce of fat in his body. Mr. Oswell was severely tossed by one of these animals; nor is the white rhinoceros always safe, for this same adventurous hunter was also tossed by one of them. The charge of the rhinoceros is wonderfully rapid, more so than the size and clumsiness of the animal would lead one to anticipate. Still to a naturalist's eye they give great interest to a scene, accompanied, as they generally are, by attendant birds who live on insects picked out of their great rough skins.

We cannot pause to relate of buffaloes, except that they often are a match for a lion; or of ostriches, whose roar is equal to the same animal; or of alligators, reposing their great slimy bodies on the river's bank, ready for any game—man or beast. Of birds, the number is legion. Swifts, in flocks of more than four thousand, reminded our author of home; while the following pretty picture is wholly characteristic of other climes:—

'In passing along under the overhanging trees of the banks, we often saw the pretty turtle-doves sitting peacefully on their nests above the roaring torrent. An ibis had perched her home on the end of a stump. Her loud, harsh scream of "Wa-wa-wa," and the piping of the fish-hawk, are sounds which can never be forgotten by any one who has sailed on the rivers north of 20° south. If we step on shore, the *Charadrius caruncula*, a species of plover, a most plaguy sort of "public-spirited individual," follows you, flying overhead, and is most persevering in its attempts to give fair warning to all the animals within hearing, to flee from the approaching danger.'—Pp. 238, 239.

Green pigeons and scarlet-breasted trogons, with many other birds, fill up the animated scene; but we do not read much of the boundless race of parrots, or of those supernaturally exquisite little creatures, the race of birds of paradise (which do indeed seem like drops of heaven), that abound in the tropical regions of America; birds, some of them hardly larger than a bee, but with those dazzling breasts, that seem by their brightness to atone for size, like a bright electric light, so far outshining the large dull flame of an inferior order.

Of insects, we have already incidentally alluded to the vigorous omnipresent ant, and the pestilential tsetse; spiders also abound of alarming size and peculiar properties. One kind have discovered, without having recourse to Birmingham manufactures, the use of hinges to their doors; while others have the good-nature to erect tents over those sleeping frogs, which

have buried themselves in the sand to escape the heat. When, however, a sudden shower of rain descends, these tents are suddenly evacuated, and a chorus of frogs is heard as if just arrived from heaven in company with the rain. The universality of insect life is thus well described by our author:—

'In the quietest parts of the forest there is heard a faint but distinct hum, which tells of insect joy. One may see many whisking about in the clear sunshine in patches among the green glancing leaves; but there are invisible myriads working with never-tiring mandibles on leaves, and stalks, and beneath the soil. They are all brimful of enjoyment. Indeed, the universality of organic life may be called a mantle of happy existence encircling the world, and imparts the idea of its being caused by the consciousness of our benignant Father's smile on all the works of His hands.' —P. 609.

From the animal world we now further ascend to the African *man*—that oppressed stock of the race of Ham, so fearfully, yet we may almost say poetically, noted as the sad victims of slavery. That the African has thus for so long been sought for, by fair or foul means, at any cost, at any risk, is sufficient testimony to his powers of work, and his docility of character. In the centre of the continent, where slave-traders have not penetrated, there is much simplicity and genuineness of character. Those who accompanied Dr. Livingstone were most faithful during the greatest trials, and showed real truth and perseverance of character. The annoyance he met with was on approaching the Portuguese settlements upon the West Coast, where they were suspicious of each other and of everybody, their whole character having obviously been degraded by the operation of the slave-trade; by a covetous desire on the one hand to obtain slaves for the market, and a fear, on the other hand, lest themselves should be the victims. The chief of the Bakwains, named Sechele, excited Dr. Livingstone's interest to a very high degree. The man readily became a Christian, and even betook himself so diligently to the study of the Scriptures, that, having been formerly accustomed to the violent exercise of hunting, he now became exceedingly corpulent from his sedentary life. Sechele had three wives, residing, as is the custom, in tents circling his own. To part with these at once was too heavy a trial; but meanwhile he endeavoured to propagandize among his tribe. He met, however, with the too common result of all who preach good things. He had to regret that whereas he had hitherto found his subjects ever ready to follow his own turn of mind, yet that, in becoming Christian, they were not equally submissive:—

'"In former times," said he, "when a chief was fond of hunting, all his people got dogs and became fond of hunting too. If he was fond of

dancing or music, all showed a liking to these amusements too. If the chief loved beer, they all rejoiced in strong drink. But in this case it is different. I love the Word of God, and not one of my brethren will join me."'—P. 17.

They would not attend his services with any great avidity, and even his principal wife rebelled against ecclesiastical discipline, on the point of wearing clothes in public worship. She was what our author calls 'a greasy disciple of the old school;' and when sent out of church by her husband, to put her gown on, she went away 'with her lips shot out, the very picture of unutterable disgust at his new-fangled notions.' At length he put away his superfluous wives, making them handsome presents, and was baptized. At a subsequent period, 'black Sechele' fell into trouble among the Boers, who killed his people, and stole all his cattle, burning also Dr. Livingstone's own house. This he graphically narrated in a letter beginning, 'Friend of my heart's love, and of all the confidence of my heart.' This misfortune prompted in him an ardent desire to visit the Queen of England. He proceeded as far as the Cape, dined with the English officers, but not having sufficient resources for his passage, he was compelled to return home. He is described as very dark, with great intelligenee, reading well, and speaking fluently.

The dress of the African races is subject to considerable variation, though generally very small in extent, and sometimes so beautifully less, as to forget even the traditionary fig-leaf. There is nevertheless much personal vanity, though not a conviction of possessing beauty. One man looked at himself in a glass for a long time, and exclaimed, 'People say I am ugly, and how very ugly I am indeed!' Women also, looking at themselves in a glass, made very true and impartial remarks: 'Is that me?' 'What a big mouth I have!' 'My ears are as big as pumpkin leaves!' It is the fashion among some to wear heavy rings round their ankles, which compel them to walk in a mincing way; and conceited young men, though they possess not the coveted rings, yet adopt the gait of those who have them, in order to appear fine. These, however, are vanities common to all mankind in their different habits, even as our author says, to our dragoons. The hair is often dressed in most fantastical ways; and upon one occasion, there was an odd scene of competition for an advantageous young lady as a wife. There were five candidates, who were summoned to appear in a row before the object of their love. Two refused the chance of defeat; while the lady unhesitatingly selected from the other three the best and most promising in good looks.

Women in Central Africa are by no means in that slavish

position we often find in savage life. They are often appointed as chiefs of a tribe; and men, if asked to do anything, will say most properly, 'Well, I shall go and ask my wife.' One lady chief, of masculine nerves, severely tested both our traveller's muscular powers, and his gallantry, by her determination to guide them in person to a far more remote village than they were disposed to reach in one day. The traces of religion in the African race are wonderfully small. The nearest approach to a priesthood met with, was that certain persons in one place kept charge of the relics of a dead chief, and received offerings. They said 'Santuru' refused to let them part with any of the relics, meaning some invisible deity. There is no stated day of rest, except after the appearance of the new moon, for which they eagerly watch, and utter some prayer, which they suppose then to have peculiar efficacy. An alligator represents *sin* to their minds, and the sight of it is imagined to produce inflammation of the eyes. Again, if a zebra bites a man, he is compelled to take his wife and family to Kalahari. These instances seem to be remains of animal worship. They have forms of exclamation which seem to be derived both from the Mahometan and the Christian faith, though no other traces of either religion are found. When surprised, they exclaim 'Allah,' and they greet each other 'Ave-rie' (Ave Marie). There is a very strong belief in witchcraft and charms. Witches are often submitted to the ordeal of swallowing poison; and many thus miserably perish in the valley of Cassange. Some good, however, results even from charms, or supposed medical incantations. The powerful are thus held in awe by the weak, and much violence is restrained. Some tribes also believe strongly in departed spirits, whom they propitiate by offerings. One curious relic our traveller came across, for which it is difficult to account; and which shows that some time or other Christians have penetrated these regions. At the junction of the Loangwa and the Zambesi, about 500 miles from the East Coast, he discovered the ruins of a church, built of stone, on one side of which lay a broken bell, with the letters I. H. S. and a cross, but no date.

Such being the blank state of these people's minds, it remains to consider how to treat them for missionary purposes. They are intelligent, tractable, and capable in many ways of civilisation; and it would be grievous to let slip such an opening as Providence has now put in our way, by any neglect of means of our part at once to convert them. Dr. Livingstone is well qualified to advise, though not a member of our own Church. He travelled with an inquiring and impartial spirit. He has

opportunities of testing the effects produced by previous teaching of various kinds, and of observing the heathen mind in its complete native obscurity. He is never enthusiastic, sanguine, or liable to be swayed by hollow profession. He is, moreover, singularly unprejudiced by party-spirit. Through parts of Southern Africa Mr. Moffat had preceded him, who for forty years has laboured in this work, during which he has completed a translation of the Bible in the language of the Bechuanas,—one of singular use for this purpose, from its simplicity and copiousness. On this work our author is hopeful, but not over-sanguine:—

'The fact of the complete translation of the Bible at a station seven hundred miles inland from the Cape naturally suggests the question, whether it is likely to be permanently useful, and whether Christianity, as planted by modern missions, is likely to retain its vitality without constant supplies of foreign teaching? It would certainly be no cause for congratulation if the Bechuana Bible seemed at all likely to meet the fate of Elliot's Choctaw version, a specimen of which may be seen in the library of one of the American colleges—as God's Word in a language which no living tongue can articulate, nor living mortal understand; but a better destiny seems in store for this, for the Sichuana language has been introduced into the new country beyond Lake Ngami. There it is the court language, and will take a stranger anywhere through a district larger than France. The Bechuanas, moreover, in all probability possess that imperishability which forms so remarkable a feature in the entire African race.'—P. 115.

Dr. Livingstone does not disguise that he was at first much disappointed at the effects which missionary labour often left behind them. He expected *character* in the new converts, but found it not; yet when he travelled further on, into regions which had never heard of Christ, he then saw the difference, and could trace the good which even very imperfect views of the Christian religion had wrought, though in a general and diffused manner. He deprecates the idea of missionaries confining their attention to the young,—thinking to make them model Christians. 'To begin with,' he says, 'missionaries 'themselves are not models, and therefore must not hope to 'make others so.' He would trust rather to energetic missionaries working their own way through fresh ground; either carrying with them the teaching of civilisation, or acting as pioneers, persuading to a civilised life. Mere occasional preaching he has no confidence in.

'When converts are made from heathenism by modern missionaries, it becomes an interesting question whether their faith possesses the elements of permanence, or is only an exotic too tender for self-propagation when the fostering care of the foreign cultivators is withdrawn. If neither habits of self-reliance are cultivated, nor opportunities given for the exercise of that virtue, the most promising converts are apt to become like spoiled children.'—P. 115.

He ventures even to quote examples in support of his own theories, which may offend some few of his friends. Speaking of the successful station of Kuruman:—

'This place has been what the monasteries of Europe are said to have been when pure. The monks did not disdain to hold the plough. They introduced fruit-trees, flowers, and vegetables, in addition to teaching and emancipating the serfs. Their monasteries were mission stations, which resembled ours in being dispensaries for the sick, almshouses for the poor, and nurseries of learning. Can we learn nothing from them in their prosperity as the schools of Europe, and see nought in their history but the pollution and laziness of their decay? Can our wise men tell us why the former mission stations (primitive monasteries) were self-supporting, rich, and flourishing as pioneers of civilisation and agriculture, from which we even now reap benefits; and modern mission stations are mere pauper establishments, without that permanence or ability to be self-supporting which they possessed?'—P. 117.

The connexion between missionary labour and the encouragement of trade he considers indispensable. Wherever a missionary lives, traders are sure to come. It is not, indeed, expedient that missionaries should themselves be traders, though he does not think this combination in itself morally wrong. The present result he thinks unfair, towards the missionaries and the cause also. Traders follow their work and profit by it, without in any way aiding it.

'The Jesuits, in Africa at least, were wiser in their generation than we; theirs were large influential communities, proceeding on the system of turning the abilities of every brother into that channel in which he was most likely to excel; one, fond of natural history, was allowed to follow his bent; another, fond of literature, found leisure to pursue his studies; and he who was great in barter was sent in search of ivory and gold-dust; so that, while in the course of performing the religious acts of his mission to distant tribes, he found the means of aiding effectually the brethren whom he had left at the central settlement. We Protestants, with the comfortable conviction of superiority, have sent out missionaries with a bare subsistence only, and are unsparing in our laudations of some for not being worldly-minded whom our niggardliness made to live as did the prodigal son. I do not speak for myself, nor need I to do so, but for that very reason I feel at liberty to interpose a word in behalf of others.'—P. 34.

There is much practical wisdom in all this. We want system to make religion and civilisation co-operate together in the first teaching of a heathen country. How often is it that traders spoil the Gospel work by at once introducing the evils to counteract the good of Christian teaching. If bodies of men united together by Christian ties, yet following their several vocations as Christian laymen or clerics, were to be established in central positions, instead of the isolated wandering preacher with nobody to fall back on, we might surely hope that the necessary witness to the truths of revelation, which is required

in the facts of civilisation, would be more easily obtained. Each then would strengthen the other. Let the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel take hints from this, and establish such corporate bodies in connexion with the mercantile world. England would bear a more Christian reputation over countries thus influenced, than the mere isolated missionary could ever manage to infuse as the mark of that country which sent him forth.

Mere teaching at first produces, according to Dr. Livingstone's experience, wonderfully little effect. Minds so sunk in barbarism cannot comprehend it. Kneeling down or singing often makes them burst out into incontrollable laughter, though listening with respect and attention. The following is a specimen of what might occur:—

'Long after we had settled at Mabotsa, when preaching on the most solemn subjects, a woman might be observed to look round, and, seeing a neighbour seated on her dress, give her a hunch with the elbow to make her move off; the other would return it with interest, and perhaps the remark, "Take the nasty thing away, will you?" Then three or four would begin to hustle the first offenders, and the men to swear at them all, by way of enforcing silence.'—P. 187.

Yet long afterwards it might be found that habits of prayer had been steadily maintained, perhaps secretly, but disclosed on a bed of sickness. Intelligent men among the Bakwains seemed moreover to recognise in Christian teaching the realization of their own dim notions of right and wrong; and would declare, that their own previous knowledge of good and evil, of right and wrong, and of the providence of God, were just the same as taught by Christians, with the exception of the Christian law forbidding more wives than one. To promote reverence and concentration, it was always found necessary to have places of worship as soon as possible. To require attention and decorum in a building, which half an hour afterwards would be used for dancing or such amusements, was found to be too great an assertion of authority, which hurt their feelings of independence. In a special religious building this was attained with far more the appearance of free-will. Are we above these influences ourselves? This is a question we should have been tempted to ask of their author, if sitting by him the other day, when on the platform of an Exeter-hall service.

Missionary schemes are just now occupying a large share of public attention; not only as separate works and duties to be done, either in person or by substitute, but as part of our connexion with all those heathen people whom commerce brings in our way, or whom the ties of a common empire unite with

us. The subject is at the present moment assuming a forcible character with reference to India. We see there our former mistakes and shortcomings; and may therefore turn to a new country like Central Africa with a hope that we shall have profited. We doubt not that vast extents of this country will before long be colonized by, or in some way dependent on, the English people. Whatever system is adopted, let Christianity be its handmaid; and let us have no more either of that timid profession of the Cross which has been such a failure elsewhere, or of that wretched divided way of teaching and preaching the Gospel, which Dr. Livingstone so justly laments, and the true remedy for which we hope, before long, he will have acquired as part of his religious faith. We admire his *independent* heart and mind, but we do not think that independence, rightly understood, is inconsistent with being (in the Church's sense of the words) knit together in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of Christ our Lord.

Having thus far fulfilled our intention to do full and ample justice to Dr. Livingstone, as a most useful and persevering traveller, something yet remains. There are other points in the work before us, which we feel bound to notice, if our readers wish for an impartial review. As we have before hinted, he was more of a traveller than a writer; and it is much to be regretted that so long a period as fifteen years, spent in this new field of adventure, should not have been more fully and systematically described. It is difficult to find out how so long a time was spent; and interesting as many of the details are, yet there is a total want, throughout the whole book, of any clear arguments of a serious and practical nature, which may prove to commercial men that Central Africa is a profitable field for speculation. He appears to think so himself, and we are disposed to agree with him; but the present volume does not offer sufficient data for so great a work as he contemplates. His notices on natural history show an observant eye, but even these are very imperfect, and will be of very partial use as a contribution to science. The absence, however, of any practical suggestion for trade, is still more striking, especially as the country has been kept waiting a whole year for this authentic narrative of his travels. If the expedition is to be of use, about which we can hardly doubt, we presume that the river Zambesi must be the great and almost the only means of access into the interior. The commercial advantages, then, of this river, is the great point of interest. We could sincerely wish that a more complete analysis had been given of the many local circumstances which must inevitably be considered, before men of capital will risk their fortunes in the concern. This

river, for instance, finds its way to the sea, much in the same way as the Nile, through a delta of low marshy land, in a great number of separate streams. After this difficulty is surmounted, about which we have little guidance, we require next some practical suggestions as to the most appropriate sites for commercial depôts or towns. For this purpose, we require accurate surveys of the most likely districts for cultivation, with the nature of the produce that each will yield. The navigation, also, of this all-important river, is only imperfectly noticed. Small river-steamers are mentioned as likely to afford uninterrupted passage for several hundred miles, but would this be sufficient for any extended commerce? Where should be the port for sea-going vessels; and how, again, are the rapids and falls to be surmounted higher up? We do not say that all these things have escaped Dr. Livingstone's consideration, or that they do not admit of explanation; all we mean is, that the present work hardly satisfies our expectations, in affording practical solutions of apparent difficulties. It is announced, however, that Parliament is to be called upon to sanction a grant for the exploration of the Zambesi, under Dr. Livingstone's—no longer professional—superintendence.

But it may be said that Dr. Livingstone was a missionary, and not a commercial man. We hardly think this ground will stand; for, as we have said before, he did not bind himself to the routine of missionary work which other missionaries, be they right or wrong, commonly adopt. He sighed even for more perfect independence than he enjoyed; and did not scruple to acknowledge that the salary he received from the Missionary Society was a clog to the free pursuit of his own plans and wishes. We may in fact almost say that he *cut* his Missionary Society as far as was possible even when in their service; and, we doubt not, intends to do so wholly for the future. He probably designs to come out more boldly on his return, as trader and settler; at which, indeed, we do not complain; but, for his own sake, we think that such being his intention, the present work ought to have been a more systematic treatise on the commercial prospects of such an undertaking, than we feel assured practical men of business will judge it to be.

We have made these concluding remarks in perfect consistency with all that we have said before; for our admiration for Dr. Livingstone, as a traveller, is hearty and sincere. A splendid field was still open to the world, and his has been the fortune to penetrate its secrets. North, South, East, and West, had been ransacked; every corner of the ocean, every field of ice, had been searched; yet Central Africa remained enwrapt in

mystery. Such a chance can never again occur. To understand the vastness of his explorations, we may picture to ourselves what a Roman citizen, of the time of the republic, might have done; and what we should think of him, taking Europe as his field instead of Africa. Starting from Rome, he might have worked his way to the highlands of Scotland, back again to Central Europe, and eastward to Moscow, without traversing a greater extent of unknown country than that in Dr. Livingstone's case. If an ancient MS. was discovered narrating the travels of such a man, we should indeed highly value it; but the craving we should have, in its perusal, for a distinct consecutive narrative, may in some degree express what we acknowledge to be our feeling of disappointment at the work before us. Our consolation is, that we are not beyond remedy. With far less an amount of practical observation, books have often been written that form text-books for the world; and, in the present case, with careful selection of material, and its judicious arrangement, with professional literary assistance, and with time devoted to so worthy an object, we do not see why something should not be given to the public, which may last, as a useful book of reference, in times when Central Africa is inhabited by civilised men, and takes its part in the politics of the world.

ART. VI.—1. *A Statement Respecting an Association for the Spiritual Aid of English Churchmen emigrating to the United States of America.* Rivingtons. 1855.

2. *Occasional Paper of the Anglo-American Church Emigrants' Aid Society.* [Continued from the Statement.] February, 1855. Rivingtons.

3. *Occasional Paper of the Anglo-American Church Emigrants' Aid Society.* No. II. [Continued from No. I.] September, 1857. Rivingtons.

4. *Millie's Journal; or the Emigrant's Letters.* Edited by the Author of *Amy's Trials.* Masters.

5. *Colonial Church Chronicle.* December, 1857.

THE occupation of the continent of North America by the English race is a great event in history, greater indeed than many among ourselves are ready to admit. When we survey the map of that continent and contemplate its vast extent (the United States alone occupying nearly three millions of square miles, or twenty-five times the area of Great Britain and Ireland); when we consider the fertility of its soil, the magnitude of its rivers, and the generally temperate character of its climate, we can form some estimate of the population which it is destined at no distant period to support. Even now, the United States contain a larger English-speaking population than England itself; a population too, which, though widely diffused, is rendered compact by the late development of railroads and telegraphs. Our language will yet find its chief home in that country, where, in the course of little more than half a century, it will probably be spoken by a hundred millions of mankind.

Other nations recount their *past* glories, but the American is fully justified in looking forward to a splendid *future*. There can be no doubt that the moral and physical power of the Anglo-Saxon race in the West, will become tremendous either for good or for evil. Authors will arise, whose works will be read by millions instead of hundreds and thousands; and the curse of Babel will be in a great measure removed. Arts, manufactures, and commerce will be diffused on a scale of corresponding magnitude; and naval and military operations may be conducted with a force and energy hitherto unknown. The British Isles themselves, though great in historic importance, may be distanced in the long race; and from North America will issue

forth influences which will act upon the entire family of man. We need not say how much of human happiness and virtue must depend on the character of those influences.

Certain it is that we have already felt in this country, and that we shall feel hereafter with increased force, the effect of opinions and habits originating with our transatlantic offspring. The good and the evil which we infused into the character of our infant colonies return to us with accumulated interest. What English Churchman does not rejoice in receiving the visits of the earnest-minded bishops, clergymen, and laity of the American Church? On the other hand, who does not deplore the pestiferous teaching of the heretical impostors who have come to us from Nauvoo, or from the Valley of the Salt Lake? Let it be borne in mind also, that the intercourse between this country and America will hereafter be greatly increased; and that, ere long, a score of 'Leviathans,' may be engaged in transporting cheaply and speedily five or ten thousand persons each from shore to shore. A flood of new-country ideas will rush in upon us, not only in the shape of books, but in the more portentous forms of living orators, divines, and philosophers, the teachers of truth,—and the intelligent and irreverent emissaries of schism, infidelity, and imposture. Events have yet to show whether, in this instance, community of language will prove to us a great blessing or a great curse.

Should the latter be averted, we must thank the good providence of God, not our own wisdom or foresight. The history of the country now forming the United States, and once our own, is not such as would, *à priori*, afford much ground for encouragement. Bold, unscrupulous adventurers, and disaffected or criminal refugees, constituted, with few exceptions, the earliest elements of its population. The Puritans, from whom the present Americans have traditionally derived no small portion of their religious character, were bitter enemies of the ecclesiastical order and discipline established in the mother-country. Then followed Dutch and Scotch Presbyterians, German Lutherans, English convicts transported to the plantations, and Irish Papists, virulent in their animosity against the Church and State of England. This heterogeneous population settling in a new country, and casting off many old habits and reminiscences, felt the secularizing effects of emigration in all their power; and in the eager search for wealth, became, in a great measure, lost to reverential ideas of duty and religion. The Church of England, though established by law in some of the southern colonies, and aided by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, New York, and elsewhere, existed in a state of much feebleness; and, moreover, being kept without

bishops, through the timid policy of the Home Government, was unable to extend itself or to develop its internal resources. Emigrants from the old country, even though attached to the 'establishment,' found such a destitution of churches and clergymen that they generally felt or fancied themselves compelled to attach themselves to sectarian bodies, if any religious fellowship were to be maintained. The Revolution of 1776 broke out; the Churchmen generally sided with the King, and ultimately experienced the unpopularity which, in such a contest, must always attach itself to the losing party. Many of the clergy and laity left the country, the Society for Propagating the Gospel withdrew its aid, churches were left desolate, were destroyed, or were appropriated by sectarians, and the little Church property which existed was in many cases confiscated.

Under these circumstances the American Church found itself placed, when it acquired the rights of self-government and of the free election of its bishops. Those who contend that our Reformed Church is but a 'function' of the English State, must find it difficult to account for the existence of our Church in America, after its separation from the mother-country, and still more, for its rapid advancement to prosperity. The Royal Supremacy had been utterly swept away; Acts of Parliament had become a dead letter; and the new government of America, in consequence of the divided state of the people, repudiated the idea of connecting itself with any existing system of religion. The remnant of Churchmen, however, felt as conscious of their continued ecclesiastical existence as of their personal identity. Their baptismal vows were as obligatory upon them as in the old times of British ascendancy; and it was as evident to *them*, as to the compilers of our Prayer-book, 'that 'from the Apostles' times there had been these orders of mini-'sters in Christ's Church; Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' The general truths and order of the Catholic Church were felt to be independent of political changes. Consequently, American Churchmen continued to believe the Church to be 'a witness and keeper of Holy Writ,' possessing 'power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith.' Having now become a 'particular' church, they believed that in conformity with the 34th Article, they had authority to ordain, 'change and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained 'only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edify-'ing.' Whether Henry VIII. and the Reformers contemplated the possibility of such an event or not, they found the Church actually surviving, where Royal Supremacy and Acts of Parliament had passed away and vanished like a vapour.

Upon these principles the Church of England, in America, perpetuated itself, under the somewhat prolix, and indeed unhappy, title of the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.' Its continued corporate identity was admitted not only by the King, Lords, and Commons of England, who passed an Act enabling the English prelates to consecrate its first bishops, but by the English bishops themselves, who engaged in those consecrations. A similar admission was made by the several State governments in America, which confirmed the Church in the possession of certain endowments bestowed upon it in the Colonial period, and even restored a portion of what had been confiscated during the revolutionary troubles. It thus became plain that the Royal Supremacy is not an *essential*, but merely an *accident* of a portion, of our Reformed Church.

It is not necessary to vindicate all the doings of the early synodical assemblies of the Church in America. Those were dark days; and, while we cannot but deplore the objectionable character of much that was changed in the authorized formularies, we must, considering the tendencies of the eighteenth century, be grateful that so much of what is good was retained, and even re-introduced. The admission of a lay-element into ecclesiastical assemblies was vindicated by Bishop White of Pennsylvania, on the ground of its being a natural consequence of the principle of following the Church of England. 'We could not,' he says, 'in any other way, have had a substitute for the parliamentary sanction to legislative acts of power.'[1] Certain it is that, after the establishment of its episcopacy, and of its mixed synods of clergy and laity, the American Church began to rise from its extreme depression, and that during the present century it has increased its clergy from 200 (in the year 1800) to nearly 2,000 (in 1857), while its communicants have advanced in the same period from ten thousand to one hundred and thirty-five thousand, and its regular worshippers from sixty thousand to more than a million. Great and satisfactory as is this progress, it began too late; and the Church, although gaining upon even the rapid increase of the population, is still outnumbered by sectarian bodies nearly in the proportion of twenty to one. It has within itself also several elements of weakness; among which may be reckoned the religious divisions and the pew-system, which it has inherited from ourselves.

We have seen that, previously to the Revolution, emigration contributed far more to the strength of sectarian bodies than to the numerical importance of the Church. Since that period, while

[1] Memoirs of the Episcopal Church, p. 78.

the Romish community has gained important accessions in the multitudes who have flocked to America from Ireland and from several countries of Continental Europe, emigration from England has contributed but little to the 'Protestant Episcopal Church.' From what source then has it derived its more than tenfold multiplication? We answer, without hesitation, that the greater part of this increase has been obtained from the various sectarian bodies.[1] In other words, the American Church is of indigenous rather than foreign growth. The descendants of Englishmen, having become intelligent and educated Americans, with a sense of respectability, and with some appreciation of historical and moral truth, have thus, to a great extent, come forth from the ranks of schism and arranged themselves under that Episcopacy which their immediate fathers either knew not, or else wilfully deserted.

It is certainly satisfactory to know that, while the Church of Rome in America consists chiefly of foreigners, with a foreign priesthood and foreign bishops, our Reformed Church in the same country is principally of home-growth. Still it is a great question what becomes of the thousands and tens of thousands who annually remove from England to the great Republic of the West. Do they in any degree remain faithful to the Church at whose fonts the greater part of them were baptized? or do they chiefly contribute, as in the old Colonial times, to swell the existing amount of schism and irreligion in America? The valuable publications of the 'Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society' enable us to throw considerable light on this important and interesting question.

There can be no doubt that the United States, on account of their comparative vicinity to the Old World, will continue for ages to absorb the greater portion of European emigration. During the year 1854 alone, 413,583 emigrants landed in the United States, of whom more than three-quarters (327,076) disembarked at New York. Forty-seven thousand of the whole number were natives of England; and the remainder consisted chiefly of Irish, together with Scotch, Germans, Swiss, Hungarians, Norwegians, and persons belonging to miscellaneous European States.

The forty-seven thousand English, like the swarms of their fellow-countrymen who preceded them, consisted chiefly of the class which constitutes the main strength of nations. There were agricultural labourers in great proportion, small farmers, and a few professional men and gentlemen of property. There were many miners, engineers, weavers, shoe-

[1] See the work of the Rev. Mr. Mines, entitled 'Presbyterian Clergymen looking for the Church, by One of Three Hundred.'

makers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, and masons. Besides these there was a sprinkling of butchers, bakers, saddlers, printers, shipwrights, and gun-makers, not to speak of a mixed multitude of mere adventurers. Many of the emigrants were accompanied by their wives and families, and carried with them no inconsiderable amount of capital.

As to their religious character, though, as we have said, generally baptized in the Church of England, we have no reason to doubt that Bishop Kemper's statement,[1] as to the English in his own diocese (Wisconsin), will apply too truly to them:—'Many had become dissatisfied with both Church and State 'before they left their native land. Some were Socialists, and 'a vast proportion careless of their spiritual interests.' The Emigrant Chaplain, stationed at Liverpool, testifies that the character of those who proceed to the United States is decidedly inferior to that of the emigrants to Canada. In regard to the former, he says:[2]—

'In my last report, I alluded to the large number of *Mormons* emigrating hence to Utah. Some check has been given to the movement of late, as only 500 or 600 of these people have sailed from this port during the past quarter (1856). They were, however, about the most degraded specimens of their class I have ever fallen in with. But if the number of such fanatics is on the decline, there is another class of persons on the move, holding principles equally pernicious. I allude to infidels—downright, avowed infidels. With several of these I have lately come in contact, in visiting ships about to sail from the Mersey. They all seem to be mechanics, and come chiefly from Manchester, Rochdale, and London. It is surprising to observe with what zeal these men endeavour to spread the poison of infidelity amongst the unsophisticated class of emigrants who come from our rural districts. They read books and tracts to them of the most blasphemous character, and ridicule their simple faith in the Gospel. I lately found a man on board a ship, reading to a group of farm-labourers and their families, from a book which seemed to be a sort of burlesque on the Bible. I asked him to let me see the book; but he refused, and put it in his pocket, saying, he intended to preach from it on the voyage.'

Besides being exposed to contact with Mormons and Infidels, it is to be feared that the emigrants are witnesses of great profligacy on board some of the vessels bound for New York. Without crediting all the stories which have been published on this subject (one of which, in particular, seems as incredible as the narrative of 'Railways and Revolvers,' which appeared in the *Times*), there still remains good reason to believe that many of the younger voyagers land on the shores of America far worse, in a moral point of view, than when they left England.

Having disembarked at New York, our emigrants find that city, with its population of 700,000, too densely crowded to allow of its absorbing any considerable portion of their number.

[1] Statement, p. 5.

[2] Mission Field, p. 137, vol. ii.

Part of them, however, choose to remain either in New York or in some other of the cities on the Atlantic. Bishop Southgate, of Boston, described the condition of many of these poor people in his sermon preached in 1853, at the consecration of the Fredericton Cathedral,[1] in the British Colony of New Brunswick:—

'During the last winter, I explored a small portion of Boston, immediately adjacent to my parish church. I sent through the district a deacon, who is himself an Englishman, but has lately been admitted to orders in the American Church. He visited every house, and every family. The result was, that, in this single section, embracing probably not more than one-tenth of the city, he found one hundred and seven families, comprising doubtless more than five hundred souls, who were members of the Church (most of them of the Church of England and Ireland), who were living in utter destitution of the means of grace, or were unconnected with any *parish* [*i. e.* congregation], most of them never going to church, and all destitute of pastoral care; their children unbaptized, and untaught; the parents, in many cases, alienated in their affections from the Church. This estimate does not include another portion, who, having been baptized in the Church of England, have emigrated to the United States, and, after a time, have connected themselves with some Protestant sect. These are now lost to the Church, many of them irrecoverably.

'In my own parish [congregation], probably nine-tenths of our pensioners [*i. e.* those who receive the Communion alms] were baptized in the Church of England; and more than nine-tenths of our charities are devoted to such. Besides this, the *occasional* applicants for aid are, with rare exceptions, Englishmen.'

The question may occur, Why do not the English residents (at least, in the American cities where churches are numerous[2]) more generally seek out the clergy? Bishop Southgate replies: 'They have been allowed, almost without exception, to come to 'the United States from England, Ireland and the British 'American Colonies, without so much as a commendatory letter 'from their pastors at home, without a certificate, or any other 'written evidence of their membership in the Church.' We may add, from our personal knowledge, that the greater part of them are wholly ignorant of the existence of a branch of the Church of England in America. If they chance to hear of it, it is probable that sectarians will endeavour to prejudice them against it. Bishop Williams, of Connecticut, says:[3]—

'Every kind of direct influence—where certainly the *indirect* ones are enough for evil—is brought to bear on English emigrants, to draw them away from the Church of their fathers. I remember once, while I was a parish priest, finding a family who had been told, that if they went to the Episcopal Church, they would have to pay *tithes*, and to be subject to all sorts of pecuniary impositions. And this, I doubt not, is a fair specimen of the way in which their ignorance is practised upon.'

The ordinary language of America favours the pretensions of

[1] Statement, p. 11.

[2] There are now about *seventy* Episcopal Churches in the city of New York and its suburb city of Brooklyn.

[3] Ibid. p. 4.

the sectarians. *Every* place of worship in America, even a Mormon meeting-house, is called a *Church*. Judge Huntington, of Connecticut, remarks[1] that the first impression on the emigrant's mind is that all these places are alike, and that in America the meeting-house is as really a church as the parish-church in England. It is in regard to the English in the American towns and cities, that the Rev. Dr. Coit, of Troy, New York, writes:[2]—

'It is a thousand pities that English people should slide off into the sects here. I know not how or why it is, that, even if communicants at home, they do not consider themselves so here. I tell them it is the *same Church*. But they know it is not the same *country*, and suppose they have severed their ecclesiastical connexions.'

Should the poor emigrant, notwithstanding these discouragements, straggle into an Episcopal Church, in one of the large cities, the chances are that he will find it to be one of those genteel affairs described in Caswall's 'American Church.'[3]

'There are churches which rather resemble splendid drawing-rooms than houses of worship, and in which the poor man could hardly feel himself at home. Handsome carpets cover every part of the floor; the pews are luxuriously cushioned, in a manner calculated to invite repose; while splendidly embroidered pulpit-hangings, and a profusion of silk and velvet, of gilding and of painting, excite the curiosity of the stranger more than his devotion.'

In such a church, he will, of course, find all the pews strictly appropriated, with the exception of a few inconvenient free seats, almost out of sight and hearing, where he may be allowed to take his seat, in the neighbourhood perhaps of half-a-dozen negroes. It is right, however, to add in this connexion, that much has been done of late years, in America, towards the establishment of churches with free and open seats; and that some of the clergy, like Bishop Southgate, bestow extra pains on the emigrant and the stranger.

The great mass of our emigrants, however, wisely avoid the older and more crowded cities. Engineers, weavers, and those highly skilled in mechanical arts, very generally settle in the manufacturing districts of the New England States. Agricultural labourers, small farmers and blacksmiths, proceed to the country parts. Miners expect to find abundant employment in the vast copper and lead districts near Lake Superior, or among the coal and iron of Pennsylvania. Engineers seek engagements on the new railroads, and other public works. Shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, butchers, and bakers, are generally aware of the openings presented to them wherever new towns or villages are rising into existence. The Mormon portion of our English move off to Utah, according to the

[1] Statement, p. 7. [2] Occasional Paper, p. 28. [3] Page 288, first edition.

directions of their false prophet.[1] After every deduction is made, more than half of the whole number, avoiding the Slave States, proceed to the North-Western districts.[2] Having passed through a period of great bewilderment and confusion at New York; having been plundered by land-sharks, and misdirected and imposed upon in a variety of ways; they manage at length to reach the railway-station or the North-River steamer, and find themselves once more on the move. Of the forty-seven thousand English, whom we have mentioned as landing in the United States in a single year, twenty-five thousand thus began their journey to the North-West—the very threshold of which was still, by the shortest route, a thousand miles distant. Some of them, blessed with less scanty means than others, proceeded by the Erie Railway to the lake of the same name, then by railway along the lake-coast, and so across the peninsula of Michigan to Chicago. Others, on the deck of a steamer, ascended the North River (or Hudson) to Albany, travelled a weary week by canal to Buffalo, and then undertook a long voyage of eight or nine hundred miles across the length of three lakes (Erie, Huron, and Michigan), until they landed at either Milwaukee in Wisconsin, or Chicago in Illinois. Twelve thousand of them went ashore at Milwaukee, where they found a settled population of *sixty* thousand, and about the same number found themselves in Chicago, a city of not less than *eighty* thousand inhabitants.

In these two cities, described as the great gateways of the North-West, the emigrants pause awhile, and consider their future prospects. The Mormons who accompanied them on

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[1] See the 'Prophet of the Nineteenth Century. Rivingtons.

[2] The following is the number of natives of England inhabiting the United States, by the census of 1850:—

Free States.	Maine	1,949	Slave States.	Mississippi	593
	New Hampshire	1,469		Louisiana	3,550
	Vermont	1,546		Texas	1,002
	Massachusetts	16,635		Arkansas	166
	Rhode Island	4,490		Tennessee	706
	Connecticut	5,091		Kentucky	2,805
	New York	84,820		Ohio	25,660
	New Jersey	11,377	Free States.	Michigan	10,620
	Pennsylvania	38,048		Indiana	5,550
	Delaware	952		Illinois	18,628
Slave States.	Maryland	3,467		Missouri	8,379
	District of Columbia	682		Iowa	3,785
	Virginia	2,998		Wisconsin	18,972
	North Carolina	394		California	3,050
	South Carolina	921		Minnesota	84
	Georgia	670		Oregon	209
	Florida	300		Utah	1,056
	Alabama	941		New Mexico	43
			Total		281,608.

their voyage, are now far on their way in a different direction; and the infidel mechanics who tried to upset their faith, are probably hard at work in some factory or foundry in New England. The bewilderment and perplexity of their long journey is ended, and they are not only willing but anxious to receive friendly counsel. Two clergymen, the Rev. Messrs. Keene and Clarkson (the former an Englishman), have exerted themselves in Milwaukee and Chicago, with some effect, in giving these poor people good advice, and in directing them to places where the ministrations of the Church are to be had. The Rev. Dr. Van Ingen, too, while residing in Chicago, put forth an excellent little tract designed expressly for the spiritual benefit of English emigrants. Greatly increased exertions at these two points are highly desirable; and here, at least, the American Church has a strong claim upon us for our sympathy and assistance. Mr. Keene estimated that, in 1855, four thousand English were residing in Milwaukee, 'as sheep without a shepherd, perishing for lack of care.'[1] Mr. Clarkson says, respecting Chicago:—

'I know that I speak within bounds, when I say that there are at this time 300 English families in this city, brought up in the Church at home, who are now destitute, to a great extent, of its ministrations, and living in practical heathenism. Our pew-system, their own pride, and the inability of our ministers (who have all large and increasing congregations) to hunt them up, and watch over them, are the three main causes of this deplorable state of things.'

Comparatively few of our emigrants remain in Milwaukee and Chicago. From these places they diffuse themselves over Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin, and generally without regard to the advantages which the Church at this time offers in many of the towns and villages of those immense districts. Those of the agricultural class, who possess a little capital, seek out situations where they expect to make advantageous purchases of land. The very poor become labourers or servants wherever they can find employment.

It is a great mistake to suppose that these agricultural emigrants immediately find their circumstances changed for the better. Some of them continue objects of charity to the end of their days, either from sickness, or from inability to do the work of a backwoodsman. We recollect an English labourer, who, notwithstanding the possession of good health, was constantly dependent on the kindness of his American neighbours. The poor fellow had been a hedger and ditcher in England, and nothing more. Finding himself in a country without either hedges or ditches, and being unable to learn to plough, cut down trees, and

[1] Statement, p. 8.

build log-houses, he was, of course, a pauper, and that too without the benefit of the English poor-laws. The Rev. W. Adams, of Nashotah College, Wisconsin, lays it down as a general rule that, whatever may be his industry and diligence, 'for the first ten or twelve years in America, the English emigrant is poor.'[1]

From causes originating in his poverty, ignorance, and want of forethought, together with the neglect of some and the inability of others to help him, the English emigrant, in nine cases out of ten, does not consider himself a Churchman, and too often becomes dead to all religion. If the latter calamity is in a measure averted, the probability is that (unless previously a dissenter in England) he will attach himself to the first Protestant sect which may happen to come in his way. All this will be readily understood by those who know how easily, from the most trivial causes, the poorer members of our congregations in England are led to quit the Church for the meeting-house. The spiritual and moral condition of our labourers who inhabit remote heaths and downs, distant from a place of worship, is also an index of the state of too many of our settlers in the woods and prairies of America. The Rev. W. Adams gives the following painful testimony:[2]—

'English Churchmen who come here, have no sufficient training in Church doctrines. Dissenters from the English Establishment consider themselves bound, from the very fact that they dissent, to know the reasons assigned, or supposed to be assignable, for their dissent. Methodists have their defence of Methodism, their glorifications of Wesley, their strong reasons why they are Methodists, and not Church of England people. Baptists have their arguments for baptism by immersion, and against "baby-sprinkling." Independents and Unitarians all have their reasons put on their tongues'-ends for their notions; but the English peasant-Churchman seems to have few reasons for and against to give. He is dumb and uninstructed, and ignorant of any distinct reason why he is a Churchman. An American child of the Church knows, in truth, more of the reasons for his faith and practice, than the mass of ordinary English adults that come out here. The English Church does in general great wrong to her people by a teaching that brings about so sad a result.'

The Rev. W. Keene, writing from Milwaukee, in 1855, says:[3]—

'I may safely say that the census to be taken this year will show twenty thousand English residents in Wisconsin. In the Convention of the Diocese of Wisconsin, held last June, there were reported, all told, 1,172 communicants. Now, calculating that the number of attendants upon our services is in the proportion of twenty to one communicant, this would give us not quite 22,000 worshippers—but little, if any, over the number of English residents alone. That not a tithe of the attendants upon Church services are English, I know every clergyman in our Diocese would bear me out in saying. Supposing that a third of the English residents (and this is a liberal estimate) belong to the different religious denominations, and that

[1] Occasional Paper, No. II. p. 65. [2] Ibid. p. 62. [3] Statement, p. 7.

2,000 are attendants upon the services of the Church, this would leave us *upwards of twelve thousand* unaccounted for; concerning whom, we must in sorrow say that they are scattered as sheep without a shepherd, and perishing for lack of care.'

The Rev. Mr. Adams makes an estimate in 1856, not very different from that of Mr. Keene. He writes:[1]—

'When I came to Wisconsin, in 1841, there were 30,000 inhabitants of this State. Now, by census of 1856, there are 600,000; of these there are of English birth, by the United States census of 1850, 18,972. Now, what number has the Church in Wisconsin of these English? The Church in Wisconsin has a Bishop and Clergy, certainly not inferior to those of any Western State in zeal, piety, and learning, and yet the number of her communicants is only 1,400. The number of her laity, including all attached to her worship and attending upon her services, may be 15,000; that is to say, we have, allowing for the increase since the census of 1850, 20,000 English in the State, and the Church only 15,000 in all. But are not *some* of these English emigrants in connexion with the Church? Of course there are some; but I question, from my knowledge of the diocese (and Bishop Kemper, also, is of the same opinion), whether there are 1,500 in all, out of the 20,000, attached to us. That is to say, here, in the State of Wisconsin, of 20,000 English emigrants, by the fault of some one or other, eighteen thousand [nine-tenths] are lost to the Church.'

A very great proportion of this loss is unquestionably owing to a cause already adverted to, and which must always operate in new countries, viz., the scattered condition of the emigrants and the sparseness of the churches and clergy. Wisconsin is nearly the size of England and Wales, containing 53,000[2] square miles. Throughout this extent of country there are perhaps fifty or sixty Episcopal clergymen, or about one for every thousand square miles, a district equal to an English county. But Mr. Adams gives a further reason:[3]—

'The Church in England is established by law. The burden of its support is upon the land. To the mere labourer the expense is actually nothing in England. He goes to church; the edifice has cost him nothing; its revenues are no burden upon him; clerical superintendence and the expense of the ministrations of religion are not paid out of his pocket. Now, the English emigrants here are for the most part of the very class who in England are at no expense for the services of the church—agricultural labourers. They find that here the expenses of religion are wholly cast upon the congregation; that if a man has the spiritual services of a clergyman, and the use of a Church edifice and Church instruments, he must pay for them; be a member of the congregation, and defray his part of the cost, whether poor or rich: nay, owing to the pew system, he finds that the poorer he is, the more he has to pay proportionably to his means. Again, on the other hand, he finds that, so far as legal compulsion is concerned, he is entirely free; that if he do not go to church, he has nothing to pay. He actually saves money, or thinks he saves it, by *not* going to church! If he goes to any church, or meeting-house, he must pay five to ten dollars a-year for a pew; staying at home, he saves so much per

[1] Occasional Paper, No. II. p. 65.
[2] England contains 50,387, and Wales 7,425 square miles.
[3] Occasional Paper, p. 60.

annum. It seems to him that there is a gain in staying away. It takes a training in American traditions, a teaching of years, to teach the individual man,—especially the man of the labouring classes,—that religion is worth paying for; that the family cannot exist without it; that ruin, dissolution, and destruction to morality, to character, and to prospects, are the consequence of this saving of five or ten dollars a-year, by going to no church or place of worship weekly, but living as a heathen without God in the world. It is a great principle, an undoubted matter of fact, that no foreigner of the labouring classes, transferred from any country in Europe to the United States, can be convinced of the necessity of supporting the clergy, even those who minister to himself.'

The above description of the agricultural English in the single diocese of Wisconsin will apply to our countrymen in other parts of the United States. We find that, by the census of 1850, the number of native-born English in the entire Union was 281,608. Add to these the increase during the last seven years (allowing for deaths), and the amount at present cannot be less than 400,000. The entire number of communicants in the whole American Church is about 135,000, of whom probably not more than 4000 are natives of England. Allowing *forty thousand*, or a tenth of the English, to be in the habit of attending the Episcopal Churches, there will remain 360,000 who have swelled the amount of schism and irreligion, and consequently have increased the number of the enemies of our communion beyond the Atlantic.

We are now prepared to admit the conclusion expressed in the 'Colonial Church Chronicle' (p. 446), that the apostacy of nine-tenths of the English in America may be traced to some of the following causes:—

1st. Irreligious habits acquired at home (or on the voyage).

2d. The want of such Church principles as are capable of binding the conscience.

3d. The neglect of the Church of England in providing the means of grace for emigrants after their departure.

4th. The want of credentials addressed to the American Church.

5th. The secularizing tendency of emigration.

6th. The change of country and of associations in general.

7th. The misrepresentations of the Church by American sectarians.

8th. The change from an establishment to the voluntary system.

9th. The comparative fewness of clergy and churches in America.

10th. The pew system in the American Church.

And now we are led to ask the question, Is this great evil utterly without remedy? The answer must certainly be given in the negative. True it is that, in regard to large classes of

the English in America, there is no reasonable hope of their speedy recovery. The Mormons for example, nine-tenths of whom are English, must for the present be allowed to take their own perverse course. Most of those who have connected themselves with the ordinary dissenting sects in America, are also lost to us for the present generation. But a large proportion of those who have not yet committed themselves to any sectarian party, may be reclaimed by the Church, and a still larger proportion may, by proper means, and with the blessing of God, be retained.

The emigrant has within himself much upon which a good superstructure may be erected. He has his old recollections of his youth in England, of the church-bells, of the graves of his fathers, of the associations of his native village. In thinking and speaking of these things, the female emigrant, in particular, will often weep passionately and lament the days which can never return. And besides, the solitude of the western forests and prairies often awakens deep thoughts of God and eternity; sickness and the deaths of children and neighbours show the necessity of looking beyond this world; and even those who are immersed in secularism and practical unbelief are often driven to wish for a house of worship and a spiritual guide. Thus God prepares the way for His own ordinance—the Church; and upon this field, great and laborious as it is, the Church in America and England, separately and unitedly, is bound to enter.

Before, however, we proceed to show what the American Church can, or ought to do, it is well to remark what, in this respect, she has actually done. True it is that in her present state of weakness, with only 135,000 communicants, she cannot be expected to take the entire charge of 400,000 strangers. What avails against such a multitude a clergy maintained by the precarious offerings of the voluntary system, which, as Mr. Adams reminds us, is no system at all?

'We have' (says the same authority) 'but one Church clergyman to fifteen Dissenting ministers;[1] one Church communicant for twenty that belong

[1] The following table from the United States' census of 1850, shows the number of ministers and houses of worship of all denominations:—

	Ministers.	Houses of Worship.
Protestant Episcopal Church	1,650	1,300
Regular Baptists	5,500	8,872
Methodist Episcopal (North)	3,934	—
„ (South)	—	—
Presbyterian (Old School)	2,027	2,675
„ (New School)	1,439	1,579
Congregationalists (Orthodox)	1,687	1,971
Free-Will Baptists	1,082	1,252

to the sects. We have no means for the purpose,—indeed, no endowments for almost any purpose; we are working up hill all the time,—struggling for existence against a majority of twenty to one. To expect, then, that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, under these circumstances, can put forth peculiar efforts in favour of the English emigrants here, is out of the question: she has not the means in men or money. Nay, in our present feebleness, we lose multitudes of American Churchmen moving westward, and our utmost efforts are needed for them. How can we, then, undertake the spiritual care of 400,000 English emigrants, whom the Church of England, their spiritual mother, wholly neglects, and for whose spiritual interests in their destitution, she does not expend one shilling?'

We remark then, that notwithstanding the feebleness of the American Church, she has not been unmindful of her duty to the English who have come into her wide-spread dioceses.

We give a few instances out of many. Bishop Southgate, well-known in past years as an efficient missionary in Turkey, has met with considerable success among our countrymen in Boston, of whom about one hundred were communicants in his church (the Church of the Advent), in 1855. The reader has already seen that, in this work, the Bishop had the assistance of an English deacon.

The Rev. B. B. Leacock (son of the late devoted missionary to Africa) writes from Mobile:—

'We have a free church [*i.e.* one in which the seats are free] in this city, which is sustained through the Christian liberality of three gentlemen. This Church numbers among its fold many Church of England emigrants. Its pastor, Mr. Ingraham, is a zealous and faithful labourer among them;

	Ministers.	Houses of Worship.
Roman Catholics	1,081	1,073
Anti-Mission Baptists	897	2,023
Campbellite Baptists	843	1,848
Methodist Protestants	740	—
Universalists	700	1,184
Evangelical Lutherans	663	1,604
Wesleyan Methodists	600	—
United Brethren	500	1,800
Christian Baptist Unitarian	498	607
Quakers	—	715
Cumberland Presbyterians	350	480
Dutch Reformed	299	282
Presbyterians of various sects	293	530
German Reformed	273	261
Evangelical Association	250	600
Mennonists	250	400
Unitarian Congregationalists	250	245
Church of God Baptists	128	97
Reformed Methodists	75	—
Seventh Day Baptists	43	52
Swedenborgians	30	42
Six Principle Baptists	25	21
Moravians	24	22

looking them up and bringing them back to their duty. I regret to say that our first acquaintance with them is in the time of their distress. They *never* report themselves to the clergy till poverty or sickness compels them to seek our aid.'

In New York, the church of St. George the Martyr was designed expressly for the benefit of emigrants. Trinity Church, in the same city,[1] has put forth special efforts in behalf of British emigrants; and at one time, though we are not aware that the effort has been persevered in, endeavoured to have one of her clergy meet every emigrant who landed in New York, and, if from the Church of England, to give him such advice and assistance as might be needed. The energetic provisional Bishop of New York, Dr. Potter, has recently issued a Pastoral to 'those persons recently come from foreign countries, 'or residing in the interior of the diocese of New York, who 'desire to keep up their connexion with the Church.' In this useful circular the Bishop advises them to lose no time in making themselves known to a clergyman; and points out to them how, even though residing at a distance from a church, arrangements may be made for their receiving the visits of a pastor from time to time.[2]

In Boston, the Rev. Dr. Wells has shown himself a warm-hearted friend of the emigrant, and as the rector of St. Stephen's Church and House, has administered temporal and spiritual relief to multitudes of our poor people arriving in that city.[3] We have adverted to the tract put forth by Dr. Van Ingen, at Chicago, and to the labours of the Rev. Messrs. Keene and Clarkson.

The Bishop of Indiana (Dr. Upfold), himself an Englishman, has shown great solicitude for the benefit of his countrymen, but states that 'from the limited means at his disposal and the 'scarcity of suitable clergymen, the service which he can per-'form is of necessity imperfectly rendered.'[4] He receives frequent applications from English people, desiring the ministrations of the Church, of which the following is a specimen:[5]—

'"Right Rev. Sir,—We are greatly in need of Episcopal Service in this county (Lake), as well as in Porter county. To-day I have been at our county-seat, and learnt from my friend, Charles Woodbridge, Esq., that our holy religion would be supported in that town, provided a minister could be sent. It is two years since I came into this country from my native land—England; and in this space of time I have not been privileged with once attending the ministry of a Church which I believe follows the doctrines of Christ and his apostles. In this locality there are quite a large

[1] Occasional Paper, p. 37.
[2] See the New York 'Churchman,' for October 8, 1857.
[3] See a most interesting account of his doings in the Occasional Paper, No. II. p. 66.
[4] Occasional Paper, p. 26.
[5] Ibid. No. II. p. 74.

number of English people, who, with myself, were brought up in that blessed Church at home, being communicants; but now are as sheep having no shepherd.

'"Praying that your Reverence will take such into your consideration,

'"I remain yours,

'"ROBERT TREWARTHA."'

Bishop Kemper of Wisconsin, aided by the clergy at the Nashotah Theological Seminary, has met with some success among the English in his diocese—sufficient to show how much more could have been obtained with further help. Mr. Adams gives the following striking narrative,[1] showing the vast importance of such help:—

'Within seventy miles, or less, of where I write, there are two settlements of English, each about the same number,—say eighty families, or 400 people. The one has run through all grades of sectarianism, until finally it has ended in Socialism and Spiritual Rapperism. That settlement I know personally; and looking upon things with the eye of a man, I say, if a clergyman could have been sent in, these people, fourteen years ago, were willing to be trained and taught, and abide by the Church and Gospel. But they were poor settlers. The American Church, having then only five or six clergy in Wisconsin, was utterly unable even to supply her own native-born children, and the English Church was utterly careless of them, and the result is what I tell you. I know of *another* settlement of English agricultural labourers, of about the same number of families. In the year 1842, a parish was organized among them. Owing to particular circumstances,—the proximity of Nashotah and the pastoral work of the clergy from there,—they were enabled to have the Church services habitually, until they got above their original poverty. And now, although unable *wholly* to support a clergyman, still, by Missionary aid, they have a resident clergyman and regular Church services. There are 350 people and 90 communicants at the present time. The difference between these two cases is the supply of pastoral service to the one settlement, and the impossibility of a supply in the other. What is the result? A pious, moral, religious community in the one case; Socialism, Atheism, Rapperism —all kinds of irreligion—in the other.'

That the American Church is possessed of kindly feelings towards emigrants, we know indeed by many evidences which cannot be mistaken. The genial letters of Drs. Coxe, Wells, Van Ingen, and many more,[2] supply ample proof that the American clergy would rejoice to be associated with their English brethren in the work of missionary labour among our poor people. Still we cannot but think that the American Church, by well-directed and systematic exertions, might accomplish far more than she has done hitherto in this particular line.

And first we cannot but allude to the pew-system. We know the importance of this mode of obtaining a revenue in a Church without tithes or rent-charges, and with only a few endowments here and there. Perhaps it is almost too much to expect that

[1] Occasional Paper, p. 64.

[2] See the Statement and Occasional Papers.

the system should be altogether abolished. Yet, by the establishment in the United States of Church Societies, similar to that so admirably worked by Bishop Tyrrell in the Australian diocese of Newcastle, the evils of the pew system, as well as of the voluntary system, may be almost, if not entirely removed. Nothing is more Christian than that the people of the Church, who are benefited by her ordinances, should willingly offer for her support. On the other hand, nothing can be more unchristian than that the poor and the stranger should be made to feel themselves unwelcome intruders in the house of God. We believe that considerations of this kind are more than ever felt by American Churchmen, and that the idea of the Episcopal Church, as designed merely for 'ladies and gentlemen,' is already mentioned with the things that were.

In the next place, the American Church may be expected to enlarge greatly her domestic missionary operations, and to improve the method on which they are conducted. She has already partaken considerably in the benefits of that great ecclesiastical movement which has been going forward among ourselves during the last twenty years. The funds of her Domestic Missionary Committee, raised under the authority of the General Convention, have certainly more than doubled even during the last *four* years, as may be seen by the following table, taken from the 'New York Church Journal:'—

	$		£
1853	23,856	=	4,771
1854	38,404	=	7,681
1855	42,107	=	8,221
1856	47,245	=	9,449
1857	55,586	=	11,117

While, in 1853, but 506 of her congregations contributed to this fund, in 1857 the number of contributing parishes had risen to 842. During the same period the number of Missionaries employed in Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, and other new States and dioceses, had more than doubled itself. Yet, owing to peculiar circumstances, the greater part of these Missionaries act as settled pastors in towns and villages. We certainly think that an itinerating class of missionaries is greatly required among the scattered habitations of the settlers in the West. Hitherto the Missionary Bishops have been almost the only itinerants of this description in the American Church. The venerable Bishop Kemper, in this capacity, has accomplished great things. In some of our Colonial dioceses, itinerant priests and deacons have been found exceedingly serviceable; and their monthly, or even quarterly visits have been the means of keeping many dispersed families within the fold of the Church.

We shall be glad also to hear that the design of Trinity Church, New York, in regard to searching out all Church of England emigrants arriving in that port, has been carried into execution, and efficiently maintained. The same might be done in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and other sea-port towns.

But, after considering the above-mentioned facts, the injustice of leaving the whole work to the Church in America, will be more than ever apparent to the reader. A great duty devolves on the Church of England in regard to those who leave their native land, not so much from choice as from necessities originating in our social state at home. And she has been less slow to acknowledge this duty than probably Mr. Adams and other good Churchmen are aware. The late Bishop Chase, of Ohio, and afterwards of Illinois, collected not less than 12,000*l.* in this country for the establishment of theological institutions, —his appeal being mainly grounded on the fact of numerous British emigrants residing within his diocese. Bishop McIlvaine and a few others followed in the same line; and in a more private way, we know that benefactions to a considerable amount have flowed from this country to the new regions of the West. Mrs. Hannah More bequeathed a portion of her property to the Church in Ohio, with the express object of advancing Missions among the scattered emigrants. The liberality of the late venerable Countess Dowager of Rosse, took a similar direction, not to mention many other names of well-known philanthropic and Christian-minded persons. It is but recently too that the Society for Propagating the Gospel voted the munificent grant of 500*l.* towards a hospital in New York, available for sick emigrants. The same Society also sent a deputation to New York, in 1853, consisting of Bishop Spencer, Archdeacon Sinclair, the Rev. E. Hawkins, and the Rev. H. Caswall. These gentlemen were commissioned[1] in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 'to strengthen and improve the 'intimate relations which already happily exist between the 'mother and daughter Churches,' and 'to receive and com-'municate information and suggestions on the best mode of 'conducting missionary operations.' After visiting many portions of the United States, and after much conference with American Churchmen, assembled at the General Convention, it appeared to these deputies that 'the multitude of emigrants 'from Great Britain, who annually seek the shores of the 'United States, afforded a field of missionary labour in which 'the two branches of our Reformed Church might co-operate

[1] Statement, p. 1. See also 'The Western World Revisited,' by the Rev. H. Caswall. J. H. Parker and Son.

'with good prospect of success.' In his opening speech at New York, Bishop Spencer said:—

'What a blessed view is here opened to the eye of the Christian, when he looks to the far west of this glorious land of America, and sees immortal souls coming hither by millions, for you, brethren,—you, the duly appointed ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church,—to watch over! I say, that there is a work given by God to the Church to do here in your own land, greater even than that which God has given to us in Africa and in Australia!'

In accordance with resolutions of the Board of Missions at New York, it was resolved at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 'That the Standing Committee be 'requested to consider and mature a plan whereby emigrant mem-'bers of the Church may be most readily and conveniently brought 'under the notice of the clergy of the United States, at the port of 'their debarkation, as well as at the settlements to which they 'may ultimately proceed.' Although, for reasons growing out of the constitution of the venerable Society just named, this resolution was not carried into execution, we have mentioned enough to show that Churchmen in England have by no means denied their obligations towards their emigrating countrymen.

The Roman Catholic Church loses about one-half of its emigrants to the United States. In consequence of this loss (small compared with our own), great efforts have been made by certain authorities of the Church of Rome to discourage emigration to that country. At the same time, as Mr. Adams informs us,[1] 'The Roman Catholics, in order to retain their people, put 'into the hands of the Roman Catholic Bishops here, a sum of '200,000 dollars (40,000*l.*) annually.' We consider it useless to attempt to alter the course of emigration; but at the same time we could wish our liberality to approach the Roman Catholic standard. It is not, however, merely in giving money that we can expect to perform our part in this great work. We must begin at the fountain-head.

We may hope that the great revival of religion now going forward in the mother country, will in a measure secure our people against the secularising tendencies of emigration. We may hope to see the time when 'Manchester, Rochdale, and London,' will no longer send forth active emissaries of the melancholy creed of infidelity. From certain indications also, we may anticipate the decline of the Mormon infatuation among our home population, and an increase of Christian principle among those who go forth from our country parishes. But much more is required. The English people, rich and poor, require far more clear and definite instruction in Church prin-

[1] Occasional Paper, p. 61.

ciples than they have yet received. They require to be grounded in those principles with a firmness which will remain unshaken either in the event of their own emigration, or in the very conceivable contingency of the disruption of Church and State at home. It were to be wished, perhaps, that a brief but perspicuous statement of these principles could be inserted in our Church Catechism. At all events, our bishops and clergy should make our people understand that their ecclesiastical relation does not properly depend on the country which they happen to inhabit; and that the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds have a meaning full of practical bearings, when they speak of 'One Catholic and Apostolic Church.' They should teach also that our present establishment is necessarily local, and possibly but temporary, while our Reformed Church in its essential principles has far outgrown the Royal Supremacy and the Acts of the British Parliament. That it is possible to engraft the above truths on the national mind, is plain from the great success with which we have in past years inculcated an abhorrence of popery. It is certain that whatever tendencies our emigrants may show to the different forms of Protestant dissent in America, they remain true to those traditions which keep them at a distance from the Church of Rome.

Those who contemplate emigration to America, should be further cautioned to settle in those places where a church is accessible, to seek out the clergy as their friends and advisers; and, if circumstances throw them in situations where churches and clergy are not to be had, to establish *lay-reading* for the benefit of their own families, and of their neighbours. In 'America and the American Church,' we read how a poor labouring man thus collected a congregation and kept it together for twenty-three years until a clergyman could be obtained.[1] In addition to this sort of advice, they should be supplied before their departure with American Prayer-books; they should be guarded against the misrepresentations of the Church which they will hear from American dissenters, and they should be made to comprehend that the 'Protestant Episcopal Church' in America is identical in its principles, as well as corporately, with the Church of England.

In the next place, following the example of the Roman Catholics, and of those Churchmen who assisted Bishop Chase, we should be willing to contribute for the spiritual good of our emigrants after their departure from their English homes. A Church Home in Liverpool, under good superintendence, would be of great benefit to them while awaiting the sailing of their

[1] America and the American Church, chap. IV. Second Edition.

respective vessels. Suitable chaplains on board the New York emigrant-ships would possess much influence in checking profligacy and profanity, and in keeping up early religious impressions. Every Church emigrant ought also to carry credentials, or letters of introduction, addressed to the bishop and clergy of that diocese in which he intends to settle. The importance of these credentials is incalculable, and may be illustrated by the following narrative from the pen of Bishop Southgate:[1]—

'I have seen a young woman, one of your daughters, a young mother, baptized and nurtured in the Church of England, who, with her child, was left alone in a garret, in one of the darkest alleys in one of our vilest streets —left alone, with her child sick, her means exhausted, her time occupied with attending to her dying infant,—no work to be found, even if she had been in a condition to do it,—her furniture sold, excepting the miserable bed on which the child lay, and a little table which stood by its side,—while, as if all this were not enough to fill up the cup of her sorrow, her hard-hearted landlord (and yet, why call him "hard-hearted," for he was a poor man, and was obliged to live himself?) was threatening to eject her from his premises for non-payment of rent. I found her in this condition one bleak night in winter. She was without fire, for she had no money wherewith to purchase fuel. Her child was lying on the bed, in the agonies of death. "Oh, if he may only be christened," she said, "before he dies! I cannot bear that he should die without baptism." I baptized the child; and on inquiring into her circumstances, I found, and afterwards more fully learned, that she was of respectable parentage in her own country; that her husband was away in a foreign land; that she had shrunk from making her condition known because she had no recommendation; and that for two months she had been struggling with her evil fortune, without a word of sympathy from any Christian soul. Brethren, beloved in the Lord, these things, I again say, ought not so to be. That young woman told me who her pastor at home was. A single line from him would have enabled her, and would have encouraged her, on her arrival in Boston, to become connected with some one of our congregations. Her wants would have been relieved; her sick child would have been nursed—perhaps (for he died a few hours after his baptism) his life would have been saved; work would have been found for her: an honest livelihood would have been gained; and all this needless misery would have been spared. I need not say, after depicting such a scene as this (one out of many instances), that I deem it an imperative duty of our Churches to establish some system of communication, by which our members, passing from one to the other, may never need to lose the pastoral care of the Church.'

In addition to introductions, it would be well if the personal friends of emigrants, besides instructing them, were to keep up a Christian correspondence with them after their settlement in America. The following letter written to Bishop Kemper, from a settlement of English, at St. Alban's, in Wisconsin, illustrates the benefit of such correspondence:—[2]

'Thinking that it may be of service to those engaged in raising up friends to our cause, I here subjoin a brief history of the rise of this little

[1] Statement, p. 31. [2] Occasional Paper, No. I. p. 41.

colony. I am moved to this more particularly, as I hear that there are now residing at Canterbury, the immediate descendants of those who, while living, always took the deepest interest in our people.

'The parent stock of our principal families was William Weaver, who, with his family, was thirty years in the service of Major Mascall, formerly of Ashford, Kent; afterwards of Peasmarsh. After the death of this gentleman, Mr. Weaver and his family continued in the service of his lady, Mrs. Mascall, for many years. By this pious lady, James, John, and William Weaver, jun., now our vestrymen, were regularly catechised in her own house, and taught the necessary doctrines of the Christian faith; and from her they received their earliest and most lasting impressions of devotion and attachment to the Church. In the year 1830, they emigrated to an obscure part of Oneida county (New York), where they were wholly deprived of their accustomed form of public worship, and where they received repeated letters from the good lady, exhorting them to constancy in the faith. After a residence of five or six years in Oneida county, by industry and economy, they had saved some little earnings, and determined to seek a home for themselves, and their little ones, in the Western wilderness. At Buffalo, they embarked on board a vessel bound for Chicago. Milwaukee, the metropolis of our thriving State, was then of so little importance as to be wholly unknown to the commander of their vessel. They succeeded, however, by means of a flat boat, in landing themselves and their effects. An old log hovel was the best accommodation the place afforded; and this was only sufficient for the more delicate and feeble ones; while others sheltered themselves by turning up their flat boat, and making their beds on the ground under it. Thus they spent the winter. The next spring, they penetrated the wilderness for twenty miles, and made a squatter's claim to the land they now occupy. Having built log cabins, with bark roofs, they set to work to make a planting for the ensuing winter. All their provisions, except a little venison obtained by traffic with the Indians, had to be transported upon their shoulders from Milwaukee, where it could only be obtained at exorbitant prices. They sought eagerly for the acorns under the trees, thankful if they could make even a scanty meal from such unwholesome food. Providence smiled on their labour, and their first planting produced a bountiful increase, but not enough to last till the returning harvest. A single coffee-mill served to grind corn to make the bread for several families. Our senior warden, Mr. James Weaver, says he felt thankful when his family of thirteen gathered round his board to make their evening meal upon only one small pigeon. Their sufferings were great; but in the midst of their poverty and toil, we have one thing to be thankful for above all others—they never forgot their God, and His Church. To preserve themselves and their families in the faith, they immediately established lay-service in their log-houses and barns. In 1839, the Rev. Mr. Hull began his labours of love in Milwaukee. They immediately reported themselves to him, and obtained occasional clerical services. In 1840, the Professors at Nashotah took this settlement under their charge. The settlement increased rapidly, and the Church prospered. On the 2d of October, 1842, St. Alban's parish was organized, and a humble but comfortable church was erected by the piety and zeal of the people. Three hundred souls belonging to the Church make this their place of worship.

'In our vicinity, there are, I suppose, about twenty families, baptized and confirmed in the Church of England, who have lived for some years in the Eastern States, so prolific with schism and sects of every kind, without the privileges of the Church, that they have been drawn away, chiefly to the Methodist denomination. We hope, by Divine grace, that they may not be utterly lost to the Church. Some have already returned to her bosom.'

Another way in which the Church of England may help our emigrants is, by sending out clergymen among them. No long expatriation is required. Many a clergyman, with leisure on his hands, might, usefully to others and profitably to himself, spend a summer in a tour through Wisconsin or Iowa, visiting (with the sanction of the Bishop) the English settlers in their log-huts and reviving or awakening their attachment to the Church. We have many young men among us, who, for want of means, are unable to bear even the small expense of theological education at St. Augustine's. Such as these might be assisted to proceed to Nashotah, where, by the munificence of American or English benefactors, they would be aided in their preparation for holy orders, and for usefulness among their emigrant countrymen. A young man, thus aided by the Emigrants' Aid Society, was lately received with open arms at Nashotah, and is now supported upon a scholarship given by a gentleman living on the Gulf of Mexico. Dr. Van Ingen says:[1]—

'How many I met, while in England, of whom I felt that they could work happily and blessedly if transplanted to our fields. Single men, of good qualifications and a hearty Missionary spirit, to work with those who would share all their sacrifices,—by these you could aid us. If such a brother could come to us by your aid, casting in his lot for better for worse, there would be little difficulty in finding the means for his support.'

Lastly, we can aid the American Church by contributing to the maintenance of Missionaries among our emigrants. Dr. Van Ingen says, in the same letter with the above:—

'You can aid us by money, if that be at your disposal, to be divided among the Missionaries, helping on their support in the ratio of the labour they are providentially called to give to emigrants from you. Our excellent Missionary Bishop, Dr. Kemper, who will still for some time continue to be our head, is the legitimate channel and agency for all such aid.'

The main facts of the case are now before the reader, and we think it will plainly appear that our responsibility for our own people does not end with their departure for a foreign land. The foreign and heathen nations of China, Burmah, and the Pacific Isles, are justly the objects of our solicitude. How much more then ought we to regard our own kindred in the United States! They have left us, it is true, and have gone to reside among those of a different civil constitution. But they are still far more accessible to us than the heathen, they speak our language, they are bound to Old England by many tender ties and associations. It seems indeed a melancholy thing, that while we are making converts from heathenism by hundreds and thousands, we are losing our own people by thousands and hundreds of thousands.

[1] Occasional Paper, p. 55.

The Anglo-American Emigrants' Aid Society grew out of the deputation to America already alluded to. It was found, as we have remarked, that the constitution of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel precluded that body from following up the recommendations of the deputation. The only alternative was the formation of a new Society, having in view the same objects which had already been agreed upon in New York. The Society was accordingly established in June, 1855, under the patronage of the late Bishop of London, who accepted the post of President, and wrote a letter to the American Bishops, explaining to them the plan of the Association, and commending it to their favourable regards. The plan is simple, and the Association declares[1] that it hopes to effect its object by encouraging emigrants to America to avail themselves of the privileges afforded by the Protestant Episcopal Church, 'a body identical in its principles with the Church of England.' The principal means by which it proposes to supply such encouragement and assistance, are introductions to Churchmen in America, and temporary grants to aid in supporting pastors and teachers. It desires to act in connexion with the ecclesiastical authorities in America, and the American Bishops are *ex officio* corresponding members. The Association is also willing to receive donations for special purposes.

Among those who are in the habit of regarding the Church in a catholic point of view, the Society has met with considerable favour. We find, among its committee, subscribers and correspondents, the names of the Bishops of Oxford, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Illinois, Salisbury, Maryland, Massachusetts, California, Llandaff, Indiana, Wisconsin, and St. Asaph. We perceive that it has the sympathy and good-will of the Secretaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Bishops Spencer and Southgate; Archdeacons Sinclair, Bartholomew, Grant, Denison, and Churton, the Rev. Messrs. Hobhouse, Horner, Massingberd, Oxenden, Pinder, Meyrick, Wordsworth, Greswell, Messrs. A. J. B. Hope, H. Hoare, and many others, including the Rev. Drs. Coit, Cleveland Coxe, and Van Ingen, of America. Its Secretaries are the Rev. H. Caswall, D.D., Vicar of Figheldean, Wilts, and F. H. Dickinson, Esq., of 8, Upper Harley Street, London. Mr. Henry Hoare (37, Fleet-street) has accepted the office of Treasurer.

Hitherto the means and opportunities of the Society have been very limited, its very existence being generally unknown. Yet it has done enough to show that it has entered on the right track, and that time alone is wanting to establish it in the

[1] Occasional Paper, p. 49.

favourable regards of Churchmen generally. It has introduced between one and two hundred well-recommended emigrants to the American clergy, and has made special donations to S. Stephen's House, in Boston, and S. Luke's Hospital, in New York. The appropriation of the grant in aid of S. Stephen's House, forms an interesting item in the last 'Occasional Paper.' It has granted small sums of 20*l.* or 25*l.*, in aid of missionary labours at Chicago in Illinois, Milwaukee and S. Alban's in Wisconsin. It has assisted the Bishop of Indiana to support a Missionary among some English in his diocese, as requested by Mr. Trewartha. In correspondence with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, it has enabled the Bishop of California to supply the British ships of war in the harbour of San Francisco with Prayer-books, Bibles, and other religious works. It has furnished a student with the means of going to Nashotah, and of acting as a chaplain to his fellow-passengers while on the voyage.[1]

In America, the establishment of this Society has been viewed with hearty satisfaction. Mr. Adams, somewhat too strongly, speaks of it as 'the only gleam of light, the only spark 'of warmth kindled in the body of the Church of England 'towards those poor and desolate souls,'—the emigrants. Dr. Van Ingen writes from Minnesota:—[2]

'It is no slight aid that by the very existence, constitution, and working of your Society, you have enabled us to give a living proof to Church of England emigrants that ecclesiastically we have one body and one soul. That is a great help. For a realization of unity and communion—organic, visible, and vital—is, in our day, what, more than all, feeds faith, and so cheers and warms the fountain of Christian love and zeal. God be praised for these "joints and bands," the instruments of a common life, and surely by influence from a common Head.'

Bishop Williams,[3] of Connecticut, says:—'I really do look on 'this movement as of vast importance, and involving issues so 'good and great, that one's heart swells at thinking of them.'

The Bishop of Maryland thinks that 'if the objects of this 'Society are steadily and faithfully prosecuted, it cannot but 'be of great service to the interests of the Church in both 'hemispheres.'[4]

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[1] We may add, that an interesting little book (Millie's Letters'), by the author of 'Amy's Trials,' has been published by Masters, detailing the adventures of a young woman who emigrated to a remote part of America, in connexion with this Society. The Rev. H. Caswall furnished her with letters to the Rev. Dr. Leacock, of New Orleans, where she landed; to the Rev. Mr. Clerc, of St. Louis, 1,200 miles up the Mississippi; and again, to the Rev. Mr. Giddinge, at Quincy, in Illinois. These gentlemen received her with the utmost kindness, and Mrs. Giddinge found her employment as a dressmaker. She was afterwards confirmed by the Bishop of Illinois.

[2] Occasional Paper, p. 55. [3] Ib. No. I., p. 21. [4] Ibid.

The Bishop of Massachusetts[1] believes it 'calculated to do 'great good in preserving from infidelity and ruin, and keeping 'within the pale of our Church, many of those who emigrate to 'the American shores.' The Bishops of California, Indiana, and Wisconsin all write to the same effect.

The Society will, of course, extend its plans in proportion to the growth of its resources. At present the Secretaries are ready to give introductions to all Church-people recommended to them by their parish ministers, and to apply to the purposes of the Association whatever contributions may be entrusted to them. They hope to be enabled to furnish every Church-emigrant, applying for an introduction, with a copy of the American Prayer-book and a Tract (now preparing by one of the Secretaries) containing such information on Church matters, &c., as is necessary to him. Ultimately, they desire to assist in effecting those two very important objects,—a Church Home for emigrants at Liverpool, and the appointment (in concurrence with the American Church) of regular chaplains in the New York emigrant-ships. Although it may be impossible to accomplish all that is wished, much remains which is decidedly practicable. We know of no better agency for effecting objects which must be dear to the heart of the true Churchman, than is presented by the Emigrants' Aid Society. And, to use the words of its first Report, 'May He, who is the Head of the Church, bless every effort tending to comfort those who are strangers in a strange land, to exhibit practically the parental character of the Church, and to advance a substantial unity and a habit of co-operation throughout all the branches of our Reformed Communion.'

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[1] Occasional Paper, p. 22.

ART. VII.—*Introduction à la Théologie Orthodoxe de Macaire, Docteur en Théologie, Evêque de Vinnitza, Recteur de l'Académie Ecclésiastique de Saint-Petersbourg.* Traduite par un Russe. Paris: Librairie de Joel Cherbuliez. 1857.

MICHAEL BOULGAKOFF, the son of a priest in the diocese of Koursk, began his theological studies in the seminary of his diocese, and completed them in the Ecclesiastical Academy at Kieff. Here he had the advantage of two of the best instructors in the Russian Church—Innocent, one of the first preachers of his day, and at present Archbishop of Odessa; and Dmitri, now Bishop of Toula. After taking the degree of Bachelor in Theology, he took holy orders, assuming the name of Macarius; and was shortly summoned to S. Petersburg by the Holy Governing Synod. Here he distinguished himself by his 'Historical Memoirs of the Academy of Kieff,' remarkable in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for its resolute opposition to the Latinism then threatening to engulf Russia. His next publication was his history of Christianity in Russia until the time of Vladimir; an introduction to a general history of the Russian Church, which is still in progress. The work, the title of which we have just quoted, is founded on the lectures delivered by the author in the Academy of S. Petersburg, and was rewarded by the degree of Doctor in Divinity. It was followed by a similar work on dogmatic theology.

The treatise which we are considering may be regarded as a work on the evidences of religion in general, and of the Catholic Church in particular. The first part, under the title of The Object of Orthodox Theology, treats, in its first chapter, of religion generally: in its second, of revelation; then of Christianity as a religion; next of Christianity as the only true revelation. This, it is evident, is the old, and, to an English reader, the trite ground, which the evidence-writers of the last century rejoice to occupy, and to re-occupy. The second part treats of the sources of orthodox theology: Holy Scripture; holy tradition; the Church as the interpreter of both. The third part is occupied by a system of orthodox theology, its objects and its sources.

We will quote one or two passages which are likely to be the most interesting to our readers. And first, here is an Oriental view of the grand epochs in the history of the Church.

'Period 1.—The exterior organization and consolidation of the Church of Christ.

'1.—In the time of the Apostles (34—101).

'2.—In the time of their successors, till the conversion of the Emperor Constantine the Great (100—318).

'Period 2.—The interior organization and consolidation of the Church of Christ.

'1.—In the time of the first five Œcumenical Councils (325—503), when the doctrine of the Church was confirmed, fixed and defended against innumerable heresies, especially as regards our Lord and the Holy Ghost, whether by councils or by individual doctors.

'2.—The period of the two last Œcumenical Councils till the epoch in which the Roman patriarchate detached itself from the Universal Church (553—885). In this epoch it was that the administration of the Church or Canon law was organized and fixed: (more especially by the Nomo-canon of John the Scholiast, the Council in Trullo, and the Nomo-canon of Photius). Then also the celebration of Divine worship was vigorously defended and invested with all its pomp (notice especially the contest of individual ecclesiastics and entire councils against the Iconoclasts; the sacred hymns of John Damascene, Cosmas of Maiuma, &c.).

'Period 3.—That of the conservation and constant defence of the organization of the Catholic Church, by the orthodox Church of the East; and of the gradual alteration of that organization by the Church of the West, (885—1848).

'1.—The history of the orthodox Eastern Church may be divided into two sections:

'The first, from the epoch in which the Roman patriarchate detached itself from the Universal Church, and when the orthodox religion began to be planted in Russia; and till the establishment of the Russian patriarchate, which appears to have replaced that of Rome (885—1588).

'And the second, from the establishment of the Russian patriarchate till our days.

'2. The history of the Schismatical Western Church may equally be divided into two sections:

'The first, embracing the time during which this Church went further and further from orthodoxy, till the era of the Reformation (885—1517).

'The second, comprising the whole interval between the Reformation and the present time, during which Western Christendom has still further separated itself from orthodoxy.

'That the predominating character of the orthodox Eastern Church has been really and exclusively, during this whole period, the conservation and defence of the ancient organization of the Universal Church, constantly taking for its basis the seven Œcumenical Councils, and the doctrine of the Holy Fathers; and that, on the contrary, during the whole of this time, the predominating character of the Western Church has been gradually to alter the ancient doctrine, by means of numerous innovations, introduced in every part; we have only to refer to history to prove with all imaginable clearness.'

The following section, on the symbols of faith, may also have its interest:—

'If the orthodox Church only merits this name because it has remained faithful in all points to the ancient Œcumenical Church, it follows that the expositions of faith maintained by her, whether brief or of some length, can be divided into two classes: 1. The expositions which she holds of the ancient Œcumenical, infallible Church, which have an absolute merit. 2.

Her own expositions which appeared at a later period, and which only derive their merit from their conformity with the first-mentioned, as the orthodox Church itself only derives its importance from its perfect conformity with the ancient Œcumenical Church.'

It will be seen how carefully our author declines to attribute to the Eastern Church the authority of the whole Catholic Church;—that is, to ascribe to it greater power than naturally belongs to the most venerable branch of the now divided Christian communion.

'To the expositions of the first class belong,

'1.—On one side the professions of faith drawn up in the Œcumenical Councils (*a*) The symbols of faith' (the English reader will notice how the Apostles' Creed is omitted, as unknown to the Eastern Church, in whose judgment it has been replaced by the Nicene), 'that of the 318 Fathers of the first Œcumenical Council; that of the 150 Fathers in the second Œcumenical Council; the dogma of the 630 Fathers of the fourth Œcumenical Council, regarding the two natures united in the one person of our Lord Jesus Christ; the dogma of the 170 Fathers of the sixth Œcumenical Council, concerning the twofold will and the twofold action in our Lord Jesus Christ; the dogma of the 377 Fathers of the seventh Œcumenical Council on the worship of images. And (*b*) in general, the decisions on matters of faith contained in the Apostolic constitutions; in the decrees of Œcumenical and Provincial Councils; and in the decrees of the Fathers mentioned by the Council *in Trullo*.

'2.—And, on the other hand, those expositions of faith which, without having been expressly examined and confirmed by Councils, are nevertheless received by the whole Œcumenical Church as the symbol of S. Gregory the Wonder-worker, and that known under the name of Athanasius of Alexandria.

'Expositions of the second class.

'Among the Expositions of Faith which have appeared in the orthodox Church of the East, some are common to the whole Church, and others only belong properly to the Russian Church. Of the best-known general Expositions we may mention—

'1.—Two Confessions of the Orthodox Faith. The first, that which appeared at Kieff in 1640, having for its object the defence of the purity of orthodoxy against the opinions of the Lutherans and Calvinists, and yet more against those of Roman Catholics and Uniats. This is *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East*. It was first examined at the Council of Kieff, and soon afterwards, in 1643, in that of Jassy. It was then reviewed and proved by the four patriarchs of the East, and unanimously admitted by the whole Greek Church. Lastly, it was approved and confirmed for all the Russian Church, by the Patriarchs Joachim, 1685, and Adrian in 1696. This latter went so far as to call it *inspired*, but not in the rigorous sense of the word. After this, it was received by the Holy Governing Synod. That body, not content with having reprinted it many times (there was an edition of 30,000 copies in 1837), confirmed, in 1840, a special ordinance of the Commission for the management of Ecclesiastical Schools; rendering its teaching obligatory in the inferior classes of all seminaries. It decreed, in 1845, that there should be a weekly special class for the study of the work in detail.

'The second Confession, mentioned above, appeared in 1672, at the Council of Jerusalem; its intention was to preserve orthodox purity from the errors of the Calvinists; and it was published with this title, *Exposition*

of the Orthodox Faith of the Eastern Church. All the holy patriarchs, and all the other prelates of the Eastern Church, confirmed the truth and the purity of this exposition, in 1723, when they sent it to the Christians of Great Britain as the true exposition and philosophy of the orthodox faith; and communicated it at the same time, and with the same intention, to our Holy Synod. The Holy Synod of all the Russias itself accepted and confirmed this Confession, by publishing it in the Russian language with this title: *Letter from the Patriarchs of the Orthodox and Catholic Church on the Orthodox Faith;* to serve as a guide for all the orthodox. Finally, in 1845, they commanded that it should be distributed gratuitously to all ecclesiastical scholars, for their ordinary use, both while in the seminaries and after they had left them.

'Besides these two general Confessions of the Orthodox Faith, there are some particular Confessions, which have been drawn up and are maintained by the *Church*, in the office-books for certain particular cases, as—

'1.—*The Oath of Bishops.* . . .

'2.—*Dogmatic Questions*, addressed to Jews and Saracens on entering the Church, and which clearly explain that which distinguishes the Christian from the Judaic and Mahometan Faith.

'3.—*The Profession of Faith*, pronounced by members of other Christian Communions, on entering the Orthodox Church; and in which are set down the distinctive marks which separate orthodoxy from heterodoxy.

'4.—*The Formula of Excommunication*, composed of twelve Articles, and recited in Orthodoxy-week.

'There are further certain Professions of Faith, composed properly for the Russian Church.

'1.—The positive Expositions of Christian doctrine which have been published in the name of the Holy Synod, for the instruction of the Christian in faith and piety; that is to say,—the Catechisms. The principal of these manuals is the great Christian Catechism, written by Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, examined and approved by the Holy Governing Synod.

'2.—We may also cite certain polemical writings, published by order of the Holy Governing Synod, as against Romanists, "Dialogues between a seeker for truth and one well convinced of the orthodoxy of the Eastern Church;" against the Reformed, "The Rock of Faith;" against Dissenters, "The Spiritual Exhortation," &c.'

We will quote one more passage, and it shall be on the subject of the Apocryphal books.

'The Christian Church has always held, and still holds, the non-canonical books in great esteem. In fact, since the time that she first received them till now, she has constantly preserved them in one sacred volume with the Canonical writings. She proposed them from the beginning for the edification of the Catechumens and the faithful, who were to read them, not only at home, but in places of public worship; whence they obtained the name of Books of the Church. Sometimes in this point of view she ranked them, by her Constitution and Canons, among the Canonical books; as, for example, in the eighty-fifth Canon or Article of the Apostolic Constitutions, and in the thirty-third Canon of the Council of Carthage.

'Let us add, that the ancient Doctors of the Church often mention these books in a general manner. S. Athanasius says, that they were designed by the Fathers to serve for the perusal of the new converts, and of those who were desirous of religious instruction. S. Epiphanius calls them useful and profitable; S. John Damascene, good and instructive. Lastly, the

Doctors of the Church themselves have made use of these books, and have cited them with the addition of these words:—*according to Holy Scripture.* Thus Clement of Alexandria, S. Cyprian, Origen, S. Ambrose, S. Basil, S. Augustine, quote the book of Tobias; S. Clement of Rome, Tertullian, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and others, that of Judith; Irenæus, S. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, S. Cyprian, S. Basil, S. Epiphanius, that of the Wisdom of Solomon. To conclude: whatever esteem the Church has always professed for the non-Canonical, we must carefully remember that she has never ceased to distinguish them from the Canonical, writings. This distinction consists, in her judgment, in this; that the latter were written by the inspiration of the HOLY GHOST, and compose, in the most strict sense, the inspired writings; while the former form only an appendix to those writings, though excellent, and instructive, and sacred books.'

We have said enough to show the value and importance of the work to which we have introduced the reader; and we shall await with interest the appearance of a companion volume, on 'Dogmatic Theology,' which we see announced by the same writer.

ART. VIII.—*A Portion of the Journal kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq. from* 1831 *to* 1847. London: Longman & Co. 1856.

WE are sometimes disposed to wonder that more people do not keep journals, with a view to their subsequent publication, as a humble and tolerably obvious mode of securing a little posthumous fame, or, at least, of preserving their memory from the instant oblivion which swallows up most names when the grave closes over their owners. So few things seem requisite to fulfil the task creditably. A man need not be a doer nor a writer of great things, nor a deep thinker; he need not have office or personal distinction to make a good journalist: indeed, to judge by all who have excelled in the art, eminence of any kind would merely stand in the way of success. It needs a subordinate position to put the mind in a fitting deferential attitude for the work, which is, simply, noting down, with fidelity, what other people do, and say, and think, who come in contact with the writer, or who in any way fall under his observation. His task is to make a chronicle of his own personal connexion and intercourse with the society in which he moves; which, if faithfully recorded, must surely furnish the next generation with an interesting and useful history. Why then, if it is such a matter-of-fact, straightforward work, are we not all journalists, securing for ourselves, at this easy rate, a second life in the hearts, or, at least, the knowledge, of our posterity? We believe, because journal-keeping is an affair of temperament rather than of intellect. It requires an exact balance of opposite qualities; a combination—so to say—of industry and idleness, of habits of application and punctuality with a love of leisure, very rarely to be met with.

Persons of settled stated employments, which fill up their day, have no inclination, when the day is over, to go over the ground again; and, moreover, what have they to tell? Busy lives, though it seems a paradox, are generally least productive of daily records. We all know that it is our holiday-time, our moments of relaxation, our intercourse with friends or acquaintance, which supply our topics of conversation; not our *work*. And so it is with journals: a simple record of plodding work or duty-talk nobody wants to read. People must come in contact with others; and that not in the way of business,—not with a sense of a day's work before them, to which every interruption is a hindrance—but with the easy feeling of leisure which welcomes and brings the powers of the mind to bear upon every casual encounter, as food for thought, amusement,

or curiosity, to produce a good page at the end of the day. It is certainly not difficult to find men who depend on chance for their business, their interests, their ideas; who wake every morning without any other plan for the day than to make one of some concourse, to follow in somebody's wake; to be first to hear whatever is to be heard, foremost to see whatever is to be seen; eager only to trace out the news of each day, and then spread the grateful stream of intelligence far and wide. These men every town, every street, every club, every news-room furnishes in abundance; and they have their uses, as circulating mediums, as keeping up a certain freshening current, which preserves the plodders of the community from stagnation. But such men are not generally disposed to sit down alone every evening at their desks, and commit the history of these desultory days to posterity,—to indite sentence after sentence beginning 'Met so and so, who said,'—'Saw such an one at the 'club, who reports'—'Dined at Brown's, where Jones said 'this good thing,'—'Sat by Mrs. Smith, who whispered to me '*that* marriage on the *tapis*,'—'Heard of one old friend taken 'in a fit; of another acquaintance given over; of such a 'hostile meeting yesterday,'—however curious or illustrative of the times, and therefore deserving of record, the matter thus introduced really is. Talkers and writers are generally distinct classes; and it would be hard work to the loungers and gossippers to recapitulate it all on paper;—so hard that they would very soon pronounce it waste of time, as all work seems to idle people; though if they did, we think they could not help producing a work of some value.

But there is one condition which will both save these details from the charge of triviality and supply the stimulus necessary to keep up a continuous labour. The class of men we have described, as dependent on others for their estimate of every event or circumstance, are peculiar lovers of rank. No *habitué* of places of public resort can help being influenced by the one standard of distinction and wealth. Not as a slavish sentiment, but on merely personal interested grounds. He finds himself better listened to and more considered if he tells what the great man thinks, than the small: the same ideas and expressions are of vastly more value and importance to others from titled lips, than from those of the commonalty. He therefore seeks and courts these noble confidences; the pursuit becomes pleasant for its own sake; and the dear satisfaction grows upon him, of dwelling on great names, till the notion creeps in of prolonging the agreeable sensation by noting down and giving a permanence to these privileged communications, as a double duty,—to self, and to the world.

These remarks apply mainly to one form of journal,—the most instructive of the whole class as an historical record,—that which describes society. For the gossip, anecdote, and small talk of a past generation—harmonised into a general colouring by distance, removed from all the fret and jealousy of personal collision, and dispassionately considered—constitute a valuable branch of its history. Great principles can be proved—great social, political, and religious questions can be elucidated—by a faithful picture of the every-day life of any period; and thus interests, which are really trivial, really petty, really narrowing if allowed to absorb the thoughts as they transpire, may enlarge the mind and extend the sphere of observation when removed to a sufficient distance to be viewed in their general bearings. For the reason above suggested, and for others as obvious, such records are too generally of the higher circles of society; the middle classes—with their steady virtues, homely trials, and less brilliant career—do not offer the same temptation to the annalist. It would also need more literary skill, more tenderness, more pathos, more heart, to excite the interest of the reader; but the task, successfully accomplished, would be of indefinitely more value.

It should always be remembered, that every journal, however faithfully it reflects the time, more faithfully reflects the writer. Modern thinkers are fond of saying, that the eye does not see all that passes before it, but only that which it has the power to see; and a man's observation is certainly mainly confined to those subjects and objects that interest him, so that the society he describes will pretty surely be a reflection of himself; but this matters little to the reader, for he still has before him an epitome of one aspect of the life of a given period—one of its characteristic creations which could not have been, but for a certain general condition of morals, habits, and modes of thought. All men in Charles the Second's time were not engrossed with their fine clothes; but Pepys could not have lived but in a gaudy, dressy, frivolous, pleasure-seeking, dissipated age. So Horace Walpole is at once the portrait and the painter of his own time. There were good Christians amongst his acquaintances, but himself, keen, cold, heartless, trifling, he shows the sneering sceptical animus which pervaded the fashionable world of England, especially before the French revolution. Boswell, anomaly as he is, was yet a production of his own age, when great men and great intellects had their followers, satellites, clients, hanging on their steps, catching the words that dropped from their lips, maintaining an attitude of subservience, implicit deference and attention, which simply could not be in our days. In our own early recollection, such memorials as Leigh Hunt's,

while they show a malignant and envious temper in the man, betray a habit of petty malice and suspicious jealousy in the school of which Byron was the head, and of the society in which they were teachers; and no doubt whatever records are being kept of this present current time will show to our children or grandchildren just as clearly what were the leading errors of this very year and day. Points on which no one can decide accurately now will be clear then; and more especially will the *meannesses*, the inferior, low, unworthy motives and impulses which actuate the society of which we form a part, of which we are either ignorant or only faintly suspicious, stand out clear against us: for in this we suspect the diaries of every age are unanimous—in showing the *worst* features of the period they commemorate; not at all by design, but unconsciously. Unintentionally all the bad comes out—rises, as it were, to the surface. Every social sore is uncovered, and made to occupy a much more prominent place in our eyes than it did while the evil was actively at work, and infecting the mass. All the heroism, all the patriotism, all the sentiment, and too often all the respectability of an age, is eliminated in this invidious process of peeping behind the scenes, and showing up the actors; so that it needs to be on our guard, and, by drawing a running analogy with our own experience, to temper the severity of the representation.

These reflections are suggested by the four volumes of the Journal of Thomas Raikes, Esq., which lie before us. In the portrait which graces the outer leaf, we recognise one of the men we have attempted to describe as the received circulators of intelligence. Stiff, well-dressed, portly, closely-shaven, hatted and gloved, we see him as the privileged world was, no doubt, in the habit of seeing him, as he set forth each day on the business of his life,—to see his friends and talk; to hear the news; to spread it; to win the coveted reputation of being *au courant* of everything worth hearing, in the only circle worth knowing. And certainly he must have been beyond most men fortunate in the sources of his information; for whereas innumerable noblemen, dukes, princes of the blood, ambassadors, and courtiers received their intelligence of what was going on from plain Mr. Raikes, he never seems to have gained his own impressions or knowledge of facts from any but titled lips,—and these not new creations, law lords, and such questionable and debateable greatness, but the true, ancient nobility of the land, men of large estates, historical names, and hereditary statesmanship; who clearly, one and all, found something very attractive in his society, held him in their confidence, and enjoyed a gossip with him. The secret of this

attraction is not revealed by the Journal; though we fully believe in its existence, and give Mr. Raikes credit for perfect accuracy and good faith in every conversation he records. But there is nothing in his style to lead the reader to suppose any charm of conversation or grace of manner. Nothing can well be drier than his tone of narrative. Our impressions, as we first read, are decidedly unfavourable both to head and heart. We feel to be poring over a file of old newspapers; the politics, the news, the casualties,—all have the same party, unsympathising character. We look on a mind, certainly honest in its way, but warped from early life; seeing only as the world sees; judging strictly as the world judges; a slave of fashion, who never has a moment's misgiving of the bondage; a politician without patriotism, and whose sympathies are wholly confined to party. We discern a nature free from generous impulses, with no bursts of feeling, no gleam of fancy, no kindling of poetry, romance, devotion; no refined curiosity; no felicity of thought or expression; no independent pursuit or view of life; no peculiar tastes or habits of thought; no characteristics that we can see; a mere type of the man of the world,—the man of the clubs,—whose highest aspiration is to know everybody worth knowing, to be familiar with the great, to make himself acceptable to them, to share their interests, to dine with the best company, and to be able always to play his part with ease and credit. We have no doubt that his success in all these points was due to his simple devotion to them. His worship of rank was heartfelt, and in a manner disinterested; and this would impart a genuineness to his adulation—if, indeed, we need use so invidious a word—that would, no doubt, make his society acceptable to its possessors. He had, besides, a head for a particular class of politics—the intrigues of courts, the working of parties, the machinery by which men win power: all quite separate pursuits from the true science of government, which implies a range of knowledge over which his vision never for one instant soared; but which needs a good share of sharpness and experience of men. In all the chicanery of politics, he finds himself at home; in dodging Louis Philippe through all his manœuvring, he shows intelligence, and expresses quite well what he means. His pen gets along with ease, if not with grace, in anecdote and narrative; so that we can believe, under the stimulus of society, he might relate them with success, and know the right thing to tell at the right moment. But it is quite curious to observe how his genius deserts him under the new weight and difficulty of an abstract idea. In every attempt at uncongenial speculation he flounders and blunders: he has not language to express a noble thought or religious sentiment;

he uses wrong words, like an uneducated person; and shows altogether, in these occasional flights, an obtuseness and ignorance, and want of cultivation of the intellect, at which we can only marvel.

There is nothing to make us suppose that Mr. Raikes was otherwise than most respectable in conduct. His wide toleration of other men's failings need not arise from sympathy in their vices, beyond that indulgence which he had always ready for the practices of fashionable people. We have, indeed, a good deal of moralizing on the crimes of society,—especially over their consequences: and considerable severity towards those errors which did not fall in with the habits of the day, or of his own set. But in these things there is no exercise of a private judgment,—no appeal to his own conscience from the world's decision. His code is precisely regulated by the formula of society: his contempt, respect, approbation, are in strict obedience to its rules: so much so, that we do not remember any censure so heartily expressed as on Mr. Hume, for refusing a challenge, while he yet allowed himself perfect liberty of censure and vituperation. A man of fashion may break every law of the Decalogue; may be atheist, duellist, profligate; may systematically prey on others for a living; be gambler, detractor, covetous: and yet, if he have social qualities—if his vices are fashionable vices, only a little in advance of his set—if they are not committed upon this same select circle, but upon the outer and inferior world, he glosses them over: they are not his affair; they do not prevent the man being extremely well bred, and excellent company; and it is ten to one that the balance of praise is on his side. But while he is thus moderate in tone towards what ought to excite indignation and contempt; while these dark hues are softened and paled under his lenient pencil, we observe, on the other hand, that whatever Mr. Raikes, in principle, ought to extol and value,—what it was the object of his life, so far as it had one, to maintain,—has, by his peculiar mode of handling, all the glory, prestige, and *shine* taken out of it. His Toryism is without loyalty, his kings without majesty, his princes without dignity, his courts without polish, his fashion without elegance. He upholds the aristocracy, but proves its members selfish; he worships grace of manner, yet shows it compatible with a vulgar and sordid soul; he contends for old institutions, yet betrays their rottenness. This, we need not say, is done wholly unconsciously and without design. It is partly owing to the want of imagination,—that faculty which sees the idea of a grand thought or institution clear and unimpaired beneath the disfigurements of time or abuse,—and partly from the reason

already touched on, that this mode of composition shows things piecemeal, and with all their blots and rents exposed. For whatever reason, the book ought to act as a disenchantment to all who have unnatural cravings after mere fashion and what is called, pre-eminently, society. The early volumes especially recall to our recollection the frenzy that once prevailed after style and fashion—the mere frippery appendage to solid rank and influence. The world has taken up other fancies since then, which have modified this insane *furore*, and we must rejoice at the change; for really it was the lowest form of imitation,—the weakest of ambitions; as it admired and aimed at a distinction which was without the pretence of virtue, or worth, or superiority of any kind, except in the merest externals.

Mr. Raikes's Journal gives us a peep into that society which used to be the forbidden, unattainable paradise of so many foolish imaginations; and thus furnishes ample food for moralizing. The manners, the habits, the amusements of exclusive fashionable society, are, like fashions themselves, only admirable the instant they are in vogue. It is curious to observe how those airs and graces which do attract at the time when they are in the ascendant and masters of the hour, and which induce a sense of failure,—of a certain deficiency,—in those who have not acquired the trick of them; which have then a brilliancy, a point, a charm, a finish, which realize our notion of an accomplishment;—how these fade into vapidness;—how mean, trifling, and puerile they look when their day is over, when we contemplate them as a past ephemeral affectation, as shown up by some hand which attempts to arrest a passing conceit, to give permanence to a freak of the day, to write down a mode. We do not, of course, touch here upon the manners of really good society—manners which approve themselves to our judgment as good at all times, from the Patriarchs' to our own, because they indicate that natural elevation which education, rank, and position give to the best natures, investing them with dignity and graciousness, and a constant sense of the claims of others. But what fatuity we see now in the superciliousness which certainly had power to wound at the time,—what flatness in the insolence which sounded like wit when it was spoken or quoted,—what reckless, besotted contempt of the true purposes of existence, we trace now in the more prominent leaders of *ton*, which then did not strike so forcibly, while gilded with the little equivalent of present success,—what narrow range in those powers which were thought highly of once,—what servile dependence on the will and opinion of others, in those who assumed, in their day, to be the sources of influence:—what cowardice lurked under the mask of that impertinence

which brow-beat the world,—what infinite smallnesses transpire in those pretenders who were allowed to look down on all the world in their brief reign,—in short, what gew-gaw, and sham, and vulgar assumption, the whole artificial system of a school of manners looks when its day is over! After all, there is this excuse for men's different modes of viewing these fantastic doings, when in and out of fashion—that they cannot believe influence may be won without some foundation of solid qualities: they will suppose there is a background of real powers, or worth, or refinement, till time shows them their mistake; that the idol is, like all other idols, all outside: the farther you penetrate, the more worthless what you find.

When we read in Mr. Raikes' of 'Beau Brummell' and the society he ruled, it seems to us that we must have learnt a little wisdom since then. But we are probably mistaken. It is more likely that each age has its own peculiar folly, that is not seen in its true light till recorded for the benefit of posterity by some painstaking biographer, possessed with the worth of his subject, and sympathising in a certain degree even where he is obliged to condemn. We see this in the past. We can point out, ever since society had its historians, what were the eccentricities of each age, and can hardly pronounce one better than another; therefore we must be humble for ourselves, and not trust to a fancied immunity from popular delusions.

But, to enter more closely on our subject. It is no good fortune to any party to have such men as Mr. Raikes for its exponents: men engaged in its workings rather than its principles,—who take all the inferior motives as a matter of course. He happened to be a Tory; we therefore see Toryism denuded of all its poetry, and not a little of its patriotism. All we can say is, that had he been a Whig, we should then have seen Whiggery at its lowest. The Journal begins in 1832, with the passing of the Reform Bill, which his party sincerely regarded as the setting of England's sun. 'From this day,' he says, 'dates a new era in England;' the past from that time assumed to him a tenderer aspect; a broad line separated its glories from present degeneracy. He never gives his opponents credit for a sentiment of patriotism. The whole change 'was caused by an unprincipled set of men to keep themselves in place.' He declares the country on the eve of a revolution, and 'will go to 'his grave with the conviction that a virulent party spirit, and 'not one iota of patriotism or public feeling, has produced the 'change.' Talleyrand is quoted on all hands for pronouncing that the country will gradually go to ruin. Croker foretells national bankruptcy. These were the current Tory sentiments of the time. We do not wonder that Mr. Raikes

shares them. But we think that such men show where the error of these predictions lay—in a real ignorance of the British character. Mr. Raikes always regards the popular outbreaks in some crisis of affairs as the normal temper of the nation. He calls the people, as such, hard names. When he speaks of England's greatness, he means simply its aristocracy, and quotes with satisfaction the words of a friend, that the aristocratic element lies at the root of all its excellence. All sympathy with the masses is with him the merest clap-trap and humbug. But, while he sets the Whigs down in this summary fashion, he exhibits his own party as influenced by no higher motives than the very natural, but not distinctively patriotic ones, of holding their own. They are so much the people in their own—or, rather, in Mr. Raikes's eyes—that the interests of the community meet with little consideration.

'*Tuesday*, 12*th*.—I do not think that in all my experience I ever remember such a season in London as this has been; so little gaiety, so few dinners, balls, and *fêtes*. The political dissensions have undermined society, and produced coolnesses between so many of the highest families; and between even near relations, who have taken opposite views of the question. Independent of this feeling, the Tory party,—whose apprehensions for the future are most desponding, who think that a complete revolution is near at hand, and that property must every day become less secure,—are glad to retrench their usual expenses, and are beginning by economy to lay by a *poire pour la soif*. Those who have money at command are buying funds in America or in Denmark, which they think less exposed to political changes. Those who have only income are reduced to retrench; but all seem impressed with the idea that they cannot long depend on their present prosperity; and these very means of precaution may tend to accelerate the crisis, if such there is.'—Vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

A note adds, that the Marquis of Hertford invested £300,000 or £400,000 in American Stock, which was all repudiated. We gather that it is he, too, who secured for himself a 'clean shirt and a valet' in the Funds of every country in Europe. The Duke of Bedford on his death-bed earnestly exhorts his son to bring up the heir to the title with '*care and attention*.' 'We now 'live,' said he, 'in times when his brilliant prospects may be 'changed, and no one knows how soon he may be reduced to live 'by his own exertions.' The *naïve* simplicity of this dying counsel does not seem to strike Mr. Raikes; he writes it as a valuable comment on the evil times which give birth to such precautions, as if our hereditary legislators might be brought up anyhow, and care and attention only bestowed on those who had to look after private interests. Of course the new House of Commons was very little to Mr. Raikes's mind. He quotes with satisfaction an ill-bred and not very brilliant joke of 'Holmes:'—

'When Mr. Morrison, the member for Leicester, who, being a haberdasher, had made himself conspicuous by a speech on the foreign glove

question, came up to him, and asked him if he could get him a *pair* for the evening: "Of what," said Holmes, "gloves or stockings?"'—Vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

The reader can neither see the absurdity of Mr. Morrison speaking on a subject he understood, nor yet the danger to the nation of there being some members in the House conversant with details which must be brought before its consideration.

The fears of the defeated party began, however, to subside with time. We do not wonder at nor blame them for their panic; only experience can show how absolutely the character of a people influences its laws. They did not do justice to the stamina of the nation, and certainly they did not sympathise with the nation as a whole. The notion of keeping down a certain portion of it as necessary to the safety of the whole, was too much a part of their system; but they had high aims and a patriotic spirit, which it was not in Mr. Raikes to give expression to. As a sign of returning spirit, the Carlton Club is founded, and Mr. Raikes invited to join it. He describes successful dinners, and soon records the valuable acquisition of a French cook, glorious in all the laurels his art could bestow.

'They have hired a French cook for the Carlton Club from Paris, who lived formerly with the Duc d'Escars, *premier maître d'hôtel* of Louis XVIII., and who probably made that famous *paté de saucissons* which killed his master. It was served at breakfast at the Tuileries to the king, who with the duke partook so voraciously of it, that the former was attacked with a dangerous fit of indigestion, from which he with difficulty recovered, and the latter absolutely died from the excess on the following day. One of the French journals, remarkable for its *facéties*, announced the event in the following terms: "Hier sa Majesté très Chrétienne, a été attaquée d'une indigestion, dont M. le Duc d'Escars est mort le lendemain."'—Vol. i. p. 141.

Lord Hertford, too, in spite of his forebodings, gives dinners; but nearer dangers interfered with their success. The cholera was raging. *Entrées* and champagne, ices and fruit, were all discarded for simpler fare. This new apprehension for the time drove out the old: it was shared by all classes alike. The set at Crockford's were startled and electrified as one distinguished name after another fell victim. Rothschild refused to advance money, not knowing, as he told his applicant, but he might be dead to-morrow; and, whether stricken by the evil prognostic or not, the poor man was dead the following day.

With the new régime, *parvenus* begin to show themselves—that class so odious to those who find themselves, more by good fortune than by right, within the privileged circle. He complains of 'our new levelling system;' quotes with complacency a letter from D'Orsay, satirising the new aspect of

London,—the new fortunes which do not know how to spend, the new faces filling the windows of the Clubs and seen in public assemblies, belonging to people of no discernment, who inflict on him the *desolation*, if by chance he says a *bêtise*, of commending it amongst his most spiritual efforts; fondly contrasting these blunders with the refined appreciation of his friend, 'to whom he had always done justice.' In connexion with this subject, Mr. Raikes thus theorises on vulgarity as a quality not inherent in any nature, but developed by collision of classes; it follows a comparison of English and French manners.

'In England vulgarity is a modern monster, full grown, full fed, and dressed, and therefore more hideous than in its native deformity; it is a miasma, a plague, a pestilence: it has its colours, classes, and odours, like aristocracies, and our nice sense of difference and distinction in the one corresponds pretty nearly with those of the other. Of old, our strainings for gentility were few; we gave it up to our neighbours, battled and brawled about our liberties, and called them courtiers and slaves.

'This would do no longer, when we met them after peace; they had got our liberties and laws, and we thought we must get their manners. It, however, was not so much an affair of rivalry with them, as of self-defence for ourselves. New glories and wealth had been showered down upon us. The wheel of fortune had taken such jerks, that dirt was flinging up as dignity was flinging down, and therefore a new school of manners became necessary. Here gentility and vulgarity got their distinct tickets and labels, and in calling our friend a "gentlemanly man," we summed up his entire character. This, however, had nothing to do with Chesterfield. Politeness is of two kinds, moral and mechanical; the one mere friction externally, the other an internal sentiment. True politeness partakes of both, and seeks to make others as easy as itself. How could this be, when circles were all clashing, when each sought its own exclusiveness, and when the art of ingeniously cutting was the art of ingeniously tormenting?'—Vol. ii. pp. 160, 161.

No wonder that he fondly recalls the days of refinement till we could almost share his regrets, but that all his models of manners do seem to have been so singularly wanting in the proper feelings of a gentleman, that our faith in the whole thing vanishes. Take, for example, Lord Cholmondeley, friend of George the Fourth,—held up as a sample of that high-bred politeness which vanished with the passing of the Reform Bill,—the feudal state of whose dinners is dwelt on with such tender regret. He was a sordid gambler, and won three or four hundred thousand pounds by systematic successful play; and, besides, had such a knack of self-appropriation as to be always making out a claim on other people's estates, so that Mr. Coke, of Holkham, wrote to him 'that, wishing to feel easy as to his own property, 'which he had inherited from a long train of ancestors, but 'knowing the various claims which his lordship possessed upon 'that of others, he begged leave to inquire what sum he would 'be contented to receive as an indemnity.' Talleyrand we find described as one of the last of that great school of politeness

and social eminence, which is now nearly if not quite extinct. One 'high-bred' gentleman, whose loss he will long deplore —'one of the few remaining with a tincture of the old school, which is almost extinct'—is a determined atheist, and dies in his unbelief. Another friend, by his high sense of honour and religious principle, is brought into the following delicate dilemma:—

'I have lost an old and intimate friend this week in poor Charles H. Bouverie, who died of a paralytic affection. He was the son of Mr. and Lady Bridget Bouverie, by whom he was left a large fortune and the property of Betchworth in Surrey. It all melted like snow before the sun at the gaming-table, and for the last ten years he has had little more than a pittance of 300*l.* a year to live on. With the exception of this one fatal propensity, for which he so dearly paid in his lifetime, never was there a more sterling, honourable, and high-minded character: of him it might be said, that his word was better than his bond. In the course of his pecuniary distresses at one time, he wished to sell some property in Kent, which, though he was unmarried, was still entailed on any lawful issue he might have. He found a purchaser for it in Mr. Thornhill, who took no other security than his verbal promise that he would never marry. He was also a man of strong religious feelings, though weak in practice, like many others; and well do I know the subsequent pain which this bond entailed upon him when serious scruples urged him to legalise his long-standing connexion with the mother of his children. To me he has often confessed, with bitter anguish, how more severely than any other he lamented this last consequence of past imprudences.'—Vol. ii. pp. 372, 373.

Then, not to dwell on 'the refinement' of that fop, Beau Lascelles, we have Brummell described at great length: 'the 'most gentleman-like and agreeable of companions, with his well-'bred tincture of the old school, which has since declined, who 'gave a tone to the manners of the young men of his day.' The favourite of the men,—the idol of the ladies,—the absolute leader of fashion. We are not left to mere description in his case, but are allowed to judge for ourselves of his peculiar charm. Take the following extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Raikes:—

'At times he would write in better spirits, and the following later extract will very much remind his old friends of his usual style of conversation in society:—

'"I hear you meditate a *petite domicile* at Paris for your children; you cannot do better. English education may be all very well to instruct the hemming of handkerchiefs and the ungainly romp of a country dance, but nothing else; and it would be a poor consolation to your declining years to see your daughters come into the room upon their elbows, and to find their accomplishments limited to broad native phraseology in conversation, or to thumping the 'Woodpecker' upon a discordant spinet. You will do well, then, to provide in time against natural deficiencies by a good French formation of manners as well as talents; and you will not have to complain hereafter of your gouty limbs being excruciated by the uncouth movements of a hoyden, or of your ears being distracted by indigenous vulgarisms."'—Vol. ii. pp. 214, 215.

Very indifferent wit and feeling this sounds in our ears; surely

we have mended in refinement of style since this coarse strain of disparagement was thought the best taste. We are shown, too, the Prince of Wales, the cynosure of the betting ground:—

'In those days, the Prince made Brighton and Lewes Races the gayest scene of the year in England. The Pavilion was full of guests; the Steyne was crowded with all the rank and fashion from London during that week; the best horses were brought from Newmarket and the North to run at these races, on which immense sums were depending; and the course was graced by the handsomest equipages. The "legs" and betters, who had arrived in shoals, used all to assemble on the Steyne at an early hour to commence their operations on the first day, and the buzz was tremendous, till Lord Foley and Mellish, the two great confederates of that day, would approach the ring, and then a sudden silence ensued, to await the opening of their betting books. They would come on perhaps smiling, but mysterious, without making any demonstration; at last Mr. Jerry Cloves would say, "Come, Mr. Mellish, will you light the candle, and set us a-going?" Then, if the Master of Buckle would say, "I'll take three to one about 'Sir Solomon,'" the whole pack opened, and the air resounded with every shade of odds and betting. About half an hour before the signal of departure for the hill, the Prince himself would make his appearance in the crowd:—I think I see him now in a green jacket, a white hat, and tight nankeen pantaloons and shoes, distinguished by his high-bred manner and handsome person.'—Vol. ii. pp. 379, 380.

The gambling of that day is one of its most distinctive features, and therefore these pages teem with anecdotes of its fatal fascination. There is the Watier Club, over which Brummell presided, and where our author himself owns to have sometimes played till five in the morning. Watier was 'a superlative cook,' hired to be master of the revels. His dinners became so *recherchés* that all the world of fashion became members.

'The most luxurious dinners were furnished at any price, as the deep play at night rendered all charges a matter of indifference. Macao was the constant game, and thousands passed from one to another with as much facility as marbles.

'Brummell was the supreme dictator, "their club's perpetual president," laying down the law in dress, in manners, and in those magnificent snuff-boxes, for which there was a rage; he fomented the excesses, ridiculed the scruples, patronised the novices, and exercised paramount dominion over all. He had, as I have before said, great success at Macao, winning in two or three years a large sum, which went no one knew how, for he never lost back more than a fourth of it before he levanted to Calais. During the height of his prosperity, I remember him coming in one night after the opera to Watier's, and finding the Macao table full, one place at which was occupied by Tom Sheridan, who was never in the habits of play, but having dined freely had dropped into the Club, and was trying to catch the smiles of Fortune by risking a few pounds which he could ill afford to lose. Brummell proposed to him to give up his place, and go shares in his deal; and adding to the 10*l.* in counters which Tom had before him 200*l.* for himself, took the cards. He dealt with his usual success, and in less than ten minutes won 1,500*l.* He then stopped, made a fair division, and giving 750*l.* to Sheridan, said to him, "There, Tom, go home and give your wife and brats a supper, and never play again." I mention the anecdote as characteristic of the times, the set, and of a spirit of liberality in Brummell,

which with all his faults he possessed, and which was shown towards an old friend in a way that left no pretext for refusal.'—Vol. iii. pp. 85, 86.

Few of the members reached the average age of man; most were irretrievably ruined; not one but looked back to it as the source of life-long embarrassment: but all this wanton recklessness of extravagance and mere desperation is partly redeemed in our journalist's eyes by being acted out in the spirit he sighs after, if acted out with perfect good breeding, good humour, and a high sense of honour. In spite of himself, however, his book is admonitory, and leaves perhaps a stronger impression than any formal treatise against gambling as a vice. We are told that the best whist-player, and also deepest gambler of his day, died in needy circumstances, after having retrieved his affairs several times, and once made a fortune from 5*l.* of borrowed money. We hear of the Duc de T——, no doubt brother of Prince Talleyrand (for these mysterious blanks are interspersed with very little real concealment and no judgment throughout the volumes), who nightly frequented the hazard table, and invariably retired to the fireplace, before he began to play, to say a little prayer for success behind his hand. We read of another victim of this passion, who lived steadily to the age of forty-five, and took good care of his fortune of 80,000*l.*, till passing through Paris on his way to Italy, after the peace, he was induced one night to go to the *salon* (frequented, it is consolatory to think, by the best society), and there sat down to play. He lost and won, and lost again; and stayed on so for years, never quitting that table till he had lost every shilling; indeed, not then; for he haunted the scene of his folly like a spectre, when supported by a small maintenance from his brother. We are told of the infatuation of Charles Fox, who could appreciate worthier excitements, and yet pronounced this the highest; and was often heard to say that the 'greatest pleasure in life 'was winning at hazard, and the next approaching to it was 'losing at hazard.' It ought to satisfy those whose lot is compulsory exercise of head or hand in some fixed vocation, that such delusion as this is so constantly the consequence of leisure and easy circumstances. Indeed, it is as a record of wasted privileges, and what we are accustomed to consider advantages of every sort recklessly thrown away or misapplied, that the main value of these volumes consists. The thoughtful reader, of another class, must rest satisfied, after their perusal, that it is after all better to find troubles inherent in our lot than to *make* them for ourselves; and, strange to say, people will have them almost by an act of volition, if they do not come of themselves.

One of Mr. Raikes's fondest and proudest recollections is his intimacy with the Duke and Duchess of York. Oatlands was

the *court* of this reckless, dissipated, high-bred set. When times go ill with him, and the current day offers little pleasant or well-sounding to note down, his mind returns to these halcyon days:—

'Having nothing for my diary, I fall back on my recollections of the past; and no subject recurs to my mind so readily as that of his late Royal Highness the Duke of York, who died about this time six years ago. What reminiscences are attached to that name! His agreeable dinners in the Stable-yard, St. James's, and constant hospitality at Oatlands, must always be recollected with pleasure, though past and never to return. The *entourage* of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York was indeed a little court, but blended with all the ease and comfort of private life. It was perhaps a rare circumstance to see, on one hand, the uniform kindness and condescension of this amiable prince and princess to all around them, and, on the other, the unceasing respect, and I may say affectionate deference, which even in the gayest moments (and no house was more gay) constantly pervaded the manners and conduct of every individual in that society; more particularly as the men who composed it, generally speaking, were at that time rather spoiled by the world, living on terms of the greatest familiarity with each other, and perhaps distinguished by a more *bruyant ton* among themselves than the young men of the present day. There were many visitors at Oatlands while the family was established there; but in my time those generally invited to go down from Saturday till Monday were Alvanley, Brummell, Cooke, Foley, Yarmouth (now Lord Hertford), Worcester, Craven, Armstrong, A. Upton, W. Spencer, Berkeley, Page, C. Greville, De Ros, Anson, &c.: and at times the elder set, of Lords Lauderdale and Erskine, Sir Herbert Taylor, Duke of Dorset, Warwick Lake, Torrens, &c. The hour for leaving London was generally about five o'clock; and so many chaises often started from White's, that post-horses were not always to be obtained on the road, and I have often gone by Hounslow to avoid the run. The Duchess seldom had any other ladies in the house but Lady Ann Culling Smith and her three daughters, the eldest of whom was afterwards married to Lord Worcester and cut off in the prime of youth and beauty—an untimely fate. When assembled under this hospitable roof every one did as he pleased, and if any exception could be made to such an agreeable existence, it was that sometimes we had rather too much whist. It was indeed the Duke's passion, and he never would get up as long as he could make an excuse for another rubber.

'Few characters in any situation of life could be placed in competition with the late Duchess of York; she was not only a *très-grande dame* in the fullest sense of the word, but a woman of the most admirable sound sense and accurate judgment, with a heart full of kindness, beneficence, and charity. The former was proved by the adroitness and tact with which she so successfully avoided any collision with the cabals and *tracasseries* which for so many years unfortunately ruled in various branches of the Royal Family; and the latter was attested by the constant attachment of her friends and dependents, the gratitude of her poor neighbours during her life, and the undisguised grief of all at her death. Whatever clouds (if indeed they ever existed) obscured the earlier period of her marriage were, in later times, completely dispersed, and nothing could equal the respect and attention with which she was treated by the Duke on all occasions. I have heard him myself express the highest opinion of her good sense, and I believe he rarely failed to consult her opinion on most questions of importance to himself.'—Vol. i. pp. 145—147.

He goes on to describe the Christmas festivities in this select circle. The Duchess first introduced the custom of 'the Christmas tree' into England. In return for her little gifts, this was made the occasion of proving the homage and devotion of her guests. Brummell, for example, offered a lace dress worth a hundred and fifty guineas, though this was thought hardly in right taste by those who had prepared humbler gifts. Mr. Raikes had the good fortune to please her by a musical workbox, which elicits a letter, in which she signs herself his *très affectionnée amie et servante.*

The Duke and Duchess of York form the one exception to the cold truthfulness of his colouring. Towards them he does observe decorous concealments, if we are to believe what Rogers is reputed to have said of these illustrious personages, who does not give quite so courtly or refined an impression of the doings at Oatlands. The Duke's weak point seems to have been whist. Rogers betrays that, late in life, he forgot his debts of honour; while he is throwing an air of unroyal precariousness and uncertainty over their jovial *ménage*. He, too, was a frequent visitor, and describes the guests as being perfectly aware of the shifts behind the scenes, and that their being invited to spend another day depended on the royal host and hostess being able to raise money for the entertainment. It is of the Duchess that the story is told against Monk Lewis. He was a favourite with her; and on leaving the dinner-table one day, she whispered something in his ear which filled his eyes with tears. On being asked what was the matter, he replied, 'Oh, the Duchess spoke so very kindly to me!' 'My dear fellow,' said one of the guests, 'don't cry; I dare say she did not mean it.'

The Prince Regent and the Duke of York are titles with a peculiar triteness about them. There is something old-fashioned, *passé*, and stale in them and in the circles of which they were the heroes; they are memorials of a tasteless age, like some fashion which has gone out of date too recently, to have become historical; too long ago to retain any hold on our indulgence.

We notice in Mr. Raikes and his friends—and probably the peculiarity belongs to *all* waiters upon fortune—a certain superstitious propensity, which must be akin to the gambling spirit, to penetrate by some means into the future. In some men, though not in Mr. Raikes, this curiosity is the religion of infidelity. It is the subjugation of the mind to an unseen power; a temporal power, and connected only with their temporal fate (for their interest does not extend beyond time), but still an influence which impresses and subdues their nature, which they cannot contest, and which they feel to be their master. These books contain many instances of successful fortune-telling,

second-sight, forebodings and verified predictions. As an example, here is one which happened to himself:—

'I was in Paris in October, 1820, and one morning, meeting John Warrender in the Rue St. Honoré, he urged me to accompany him to visit a fortune-teller who lived in that neighbourhood. She was an old woman in a garret, and not so much known as Lenormand, but had made some successful hits in that line which had gained her a certain celebrity. I have never forgotten the words which she spoke to me, whom she could never have heard of in her life.

'"1. Vous n'avez point de père.

'"2. Vous avez une mère; elle mourra dans un an.

'"3. Vous sérez arrété dans six mois par un huissier, pour cause de dette.

'"4. Vous êtes riche, mais dans sept ans vous perdrez toute votre fortune, et puis après vous la regagnerez."

'The first was true; the second was fulfilled in about that period: the third was accomplished in rather a curious manner. I was then in very prosperous circumstances, living in Grosvenor Square; the repairs of that house had been performed by contract, the builder failed before his work was concluded, and the assignees claimed of me the whole amount of the agreement, which I would only pay as far as it had been fairly earned; the difference was only 150*l.*, but the assignees really did send a bailiff into my house, and arrested me, while my carriage was waiting at the door to convey me to dinner at York House, where the story caused considerable merriment at the time. The last has been fatally verified also, but the good fortune at the end alone turns out a complete fallacy.'—Vol. ii. p. 84, 85.

People can unconsciously dress up these things so much, suppressing what does not fit, and giving point to what does, that we do not quote this as really curious beyond an instance of a tendency to superstition in certain classes, and a feature in the desultory, dependent, pleasure-seeking character, which desires, above all things, a fortunate and worldly-prosperous lot as the one great good, and yet has not energy to carve one out for itself. Mr. Raikes is not himself without religious impressions, though his language on such subjects betrays a mind totally at a loss; or rather, the impressions themselves are too dim to clothe themselves in accurate wording. While at Venice, he is impressed by the splendour of the churches, and he labours to convey his ideas by means of such heavy terms as 'Respect for the Divinity,' 'Sensations of veneration;' 'of being no advocate for the Catholic religion, but,' &c. &c.; while he describes an expiatory chapel being 'instituted as a 'token of retribution to a man's soul,' with much more of such loose and vague phraseology. Once or twice we find him glancing at prophecy, with a notion of adapting it to politics of his time; and, by the way, he reports, the Duke of Wellington was at one time reading a book on the same subject. But all this is really quite out of his way. We merely touch upon them as traits of

the man. Whatever feeling he had for the mysterious, finds its real food in the study of crime and popular manias. This last feature is one of the curious points of the book. We suppose that any one, who notes down every murder, every duel, every remarkable crime that comes to his ears, will make out a catalogue which will surprise himself at the end of his task; but really such a list as Mr. Raikes's life, and especially his sojourn in Paris, furnishes, is something enormous and surely exceptional. It was clearly one of his hobbies to be well informed on these points; he must have had emissaries to acquaint him with the latest outrage. We find him always going to see any remarkable criminal in fashion, and taking pains to note down the interview. By this means are related many interesting particulars which throw light on crime,—as a study, as illustrating the eccentricities of the French character, and as bearing on some of our own recent *causes célèbres*. Take, for instance, the case of Madame Lafarge (supposed descendant, by the way, of Madame de Genlis), who poisoned her husband with arsenic. 'Never,' to translate the French report, 'never 'was witnessed such perfect *sang froid*. During the seven-'teen days that the trial lasted, she never once changed her 'position, nor the expression of her face. At the moment 'when the *avocat général* brutally apostrophised her as a thief 'and a poisoner, when he turned with fury towards her and re-'peated, "Yes, you are guilty, Marie Capelle," all eyes—the 'eyes of thousands—fixed on her, could not discern the slightest 'movement in the muscles of her face.' The same composure befriended her as she listened to the revolting details of her husband's death and disinterment. The papers of the time described her as *très seduisante;* every man who had ever known her had been more or less in love with her; such fascinations of voice and manner had she, that the counsel against her had to shut his ears to the sound of her voice. All these attractions, however, did not save the French poisoner. She was, as will be remembered, condemned to hard labour and exposure in the pillory; being only saved from death by those extenuating circumstances which French ingenuity could discover in the most barbarous and treacherous crimes.

The details of Fieschi's attempt, trial, and execution are given at length; and rouse the lively interest of our author; and not without reason. The *small* motives which actuate great criminals must always create surprise. We expect some parallel between the act and the stimulus which caused it. But it is not so. This Corsican bandit had no political inducement, as it seemed, for this 'gunpowder plot;' he seemed to have no strong motive of any kind; and at the last had half resolved to retract,

but he felt bound in honour to his associates, and, besides, owed twenty francs to one of them,—a debt which he could only discharge by keeping his word. There is revealed, too, in criminals of this class, an extraordinary craving for notoriety. We cannot but think, that in many cases, the sensation of being the object of general interest—all thoughts dwelling on them, all eyes eager to behold them—has, in itself, such intense satisfaction as, for the time being, to overrule every other consideration. The disgrace is nothing to their callous natures, if by *any* means they can excite universal observation. This whole class of criminals are egotists; the paramount and diseased love of self is the one appetite which renders them regardless of everything else, and a morbid vanity shows every circumstance and event to them in a false light. In the following description we see evident *enjoyment*. The future was nothing to this man,—exhibiting his full powers, conscious of the interest of his auditors, and flattering himself in the notion of making a very remarkable display.

'Fieschi is a short man, about forty years of age, stoutly built, all nerve and muscle; irritable to excess, but with great power over himself; easily affected, but mastering his emotions with a will of iron: prompt in reply, speaking in metaphors, and never at a loss for expressions; at times overflowing with ideas, but never losing sight of one, his principal object, which is to represent himself as a great malefactor, and not a low pitiful assassin. At present, that the plot which he himself styles horrible has failed, he has only one passion, which is to engross notoriety, and be the subject of general remark. Not inaccessible to repentance or remorse for the wide-spreading mischief which he has committed, he exhibits no weakness in his regrets, but has brought himself, and tries to induce his audience, to look upon the details of his scheme as a very natural recital. More at his ease than the president of the court, who during the examination is constantly recurring to notes before him which had been previously arranged for his use, he has during his long interrogatories constantly replied with the utmost readiness and precision to questions, even the most lengthy and embarrassing. He seems to preside over the discussions, and even to direct them. Having established himself in a manner *assistant* to the *accusation*, which he affects to consider as a plea in his own favour, he cannot help occasionally dropping casual expressions which would intimate that he had not quite abandoned all hope. This circumstance perhaps gives an interest beyond mere curiosity to everything that he says; so strong indeed, that, incredible as it may appear, it has at times excited cheers and bravos from the peers themselves.'—Vol. ii. pp. 316, 317.

So convinced are we of the love of notice in some minds, that we have no doubt the pillory was not without its attractions. Fieschi dwelt so greedily on his notoriety as actually to leave his *head* to his mistress, Nina Lassave, that a mould might be taken from it, and casts sold for her benefit. The provisions that were made for this woman were all of a

singular character. A café *hired* her to exhibit herself, after the execution of her lover; and our friend was not above going to see the show.

'*Wednesday, 24th.*—The Café de la Renaissance, in the Place de la Bourse, was for the last two days completely thronged, in consequence of the proprietor having engaged the too celebrated Nina Lassave to take her seat at the *comptoir* at a salary of 1000f. per month. She appeared in a satin flame-coloured gown, and her hair adorned with rich ornaments. At the entrance of the room two men were stationed, who demanded a franc from each visitor, giving them in return a ticket for refreshments to that amount. Nina is rather pretty, and unless approached close, the loss of one of her eyes is not apparent. She seemed overwhelmed by the notice she excited, and from time to time the most cruel sarcasms were thrown out against her. Some one having reproached her for daring to show herself in public four days after the execution of Fieschi, she fainted, and was carried out of the room. In half an hour she resumed her seat, and when any one seemed disposed to be severe in their censure, she entreated that sport might not be made of her misfortunes.

'Nina is a good-looking girl, with rather a vulgar expression of countenance. I observed that, besides one eye, she has lost two fingers on her right hand; it is said from a scrofulous humour.'—Vol. ii. pp. 330, 331.

Another singular criminal, described by Mr. Raikes, may have suggested the villain Blandois, in Mr. Dickens' last romance,—one of the few characters in that book who now and then recall to us the author's genius. This man, Lacenaire, when the journal brings him under our attention, had already made a cold-blooded confession of various revolting crimes, and excited the wonder of his many visitants by his absolute contempt of death, and the pleasure he could still derive from the exercise of a highly cultivated understanding. Mr. Raikes dwells on this as an argument against the universal diffusion of education, about which we always see he has his prejudices. Lacenaire had nothing of the ruffian in his appearance; his phrenological development showed a preponderance of the intellectual over the animal faculties. After his trial and condemnation, he delighted in conversation on general topics, on which he could bring the full powers of his mind to bear, regardless of his impending fate. With him too, it is evident, that vanity was a constantly actuating motive, confining his thoughts to the present so long as there was food for its gratification. He was confined to the Infirmary of his prison; here his friends—the men of science, who regarded this wretch simply in the light of a curious study—followed him, after having already held a long philosophical conversation with him elsewhere.

'"After an hour, we passed to his bedside, in the great room of the infirmary. He had for a neighbour a young man, a professed robber, ruined by the most disgraceful debauchery, devoured by a pulmonary

complaint, and having only a few hours to live. 'Lacenaire,' said the young man to him, 'I regret that I am not free to attend your execution, and see whether, on mounting the fatal scaffold, you have the same self-possession as you have here.' 'I can give you this assurance,' replied Lacenaire, without affectation; 'as the most guilty I should be executed last, and before dying, I could bear to see the heads of my fellow-culprits fall, if they should be condemned to death.' At these horrible words, I no longer hesitated to talk with him on his own affairs. 'Lacenaire,' said I to him, 'you are not a common man; you have a deplorable direction of mind. How is it that your intelligence has not protected you against yourself?' 'It happened,' said he, 'one day of my life, that I had no alternative but suicide or crime.' 'Why did you not commit suicide?' 'I then inquired of myself, whether I was the victim of myself or of society, and I imagined that I was the victim of society.' 'That is an argument common to all criminals.' Lacenaire made no reply. 'But even if it were true, that you were the victim of society, those whom you smote were innocent.' ''Tis true, and hence I pity those whom I smote, but I killed them because it was a resolution formed against all.' 'Thus you made a system of assassination?' 'Yes; and chose it as the means of my own preservation, and to secure my own subsistence.' 'It is more easy to conceive how a man, urged by imperious necessity, commits a crime, to satisfy it; but with you, it was to spend the blood in orgies. Say, Lacenaire, did you never experience some access of moral fever—a sort of frenzy for crime, and pleasure in executing it?' 'No.' 'Then you did this coolly as a commercial operation, by calculation, by combination?' 'Yes.' 'If you were not naturally cruel, how was it possible for you to succeed in stifling within your breast every sentiment of pity?' 'Man does whatever he wishes: I am not naturally cruel, but it was necessary for the means to be in harmony with the end; being a systematic assassin, it was requisite to lay aside all sensibility.' 'You never then felt any remorse?' 'Never.' 'Any fear?' 'No; my head was my stake; I never reckoned on impunity. There is one thing, in fact, in which one is forced to believe, and that is justice, because society is founded upon order.' 'But this sentiment of justice is conscience.' 'Without the remorse.' 'I do not comprehend the one without the other; does not the idea of death terrify you?' 'No, not at all; to die to-day or to-morrow of apoplexy or by the axe, what does it matter? I am thirty-five years old, but I have lived more than a life; and when I see old men dragging themselves along, and perishing in a slow or painful agony, I tell myself that it is better to die at a blow, and in the exercise of all my faculties.' 'If you could now commit suicide, to escape the ignominy of the scaffold, would you do it?' 'No: if I had the most active poison, I would not commit suicide. Besides, is not the guillotine the most active of all poisons? This is why I would not commit suicide; I could have killed myself before I shed any blood. As an assassin, I felt that I had established between the scaffold and myself a bond, a contract,—that my life was no longer my own, but belonged to the law, to the executioner.' 'This, then, in your view will be an expiation?' 'No: a consequence—the payment of a gambling debt.' 'What logic! Do you believe, Lacenaire, that all will be ended with life?' 'It is a subject upon which I have never been disposed to reflect.' 'Do you imagine that you shall continue to have the same confidence up to the last moment?' 'I believe that I shall look at the scaffold without fear; the punishment is less in the execution than in the expectation, and the moral agony that precedes it. Besides, I have such power over my imagination, that I create a world for myself. If I wished, I would not think of death till it was before me.' After a pause,

Lacenaire said, 'Do you think that I shall be despised?' 'A man such as you inspires nothing but horror.' 'Then it is hatred I am to expect. There is nothing which, according to me, is so insupportable as the contempt of another, or one's own contempt.' After having uttered these words, he filled a glass with wine, and added, smiing, 'This is not Falernian;' and quoting a line of Horace, 'this wine is not

"Nata mecum Consule Manlio!"

a citation of Horace at the foot of the scaffold!"'—Vol. ii. pp. 264, 267.

Lacenaire's more private recreations were writing his memoirs, in which he confessed to having committed nine murders. He looked forward to his work forming the subject of a melodrama. But when the time of his execution actually came, there was a change. He showed himself pale, aghast; all his courage failed him. He had designed an address to the crowd, but could not deliver it, and the words of his accomplice were fulfilled: 'If I am condemned to death, I shall go firmly; and you, blackguard, will act like the craven coward that you are.' A speech which did justice to the penetration of this M. François, in estimating the real groundwork of his friend's apparent indifference,—which lay in the ineffable satisfaction of showing off.

Mr. Raikes's experiences in this line are mainly French, because he lived in France during the greater portion of the period of his diary; but there can be no doubt that our neighbours have an eccentricity—a manner of their own—in these matters, very provocative of curiosity, and which produces a great impression on our less ephemeral natures.

His book is also a perfect chronicle of duels. Habit, and his familiarity with these affairs, invest his style in relating such as arise out of received causes of offence with a peculiar succinctness; the principals, the seconds, the weapons, the paces,—are all run off without a superfluous syllable or a word of comment; but now and then this terseness is varied by a few characteristic particulars. We have duels of every country; and all, where the story is given, are tinctured by some national peculiarity. There is Lord Alvanley's with Morgan O'Connell, which passed off without bloodshed; distinguished by his frank confession of satisfaction at having got out of the scrape safe.

'When Alvanley returned from his duel with Mr. O'Connell, he gave the hackney-coachman who had driven him to and from the ground a sovereign for his trouble: when the man observed that it was more than was his due for taking him that distance, Alvanley replied, "It is not for carrying me there, my good fellow, but for bringing me back."'—Vol. ii. p. 112.

Another Anglo-Irish encounter furnishes a grotesque example of the same appreciation of the life recklessly hazarded:

'I remember his fighting a duel with Humphry Howarth, M.P. for Evesham, who was a *farceur* like himself, that was treated more as an

object of ridicule than anything serious. It arose out of a quarrel after dinner at the Castle Inn, at Brighton, during the race week, and they adjourned to the course early in the morning to settle the difference. The seconds and a few friends who went to *see the show*, were soon convulsed with laughter when they saw Howarth, who was a fat old man, deliberately take off his clothes and present himself naked (except his drawers) to the murderous weapon of his adversary. The fact was, he had been a surgeon in the Company's army in India, and knowing professionally that gunshot wounds were often aggravated by parts of the clothing being driven by the ball into the orifice, he had determined to avoid at least this risk, by divesting himself of all incumbrances. The precaution, however, was needless, as no blood was spilt, and the matter arranged by a random shot from each party.'—Vol. iii. p. 203.

While a third, between the most celebrated duellist of each country, arising from a few words of dispute about a Newfoundland dog, ended most tragically. The American encounters show the most determined thirst for blood. Men there walk straight up to one another, firing at intervals till one or both are killed, rejoicing, in their last words, that their antagonist shares their fate. Probably, however, it is only those characterised by some peculiar ferocity which travelled across the Atlantic to enrich Mr. Raikes's catalogue. The French duel is often distinguished by an involved complicity of crime: as where a young lady deliberately gets her proposed father-in-law shot by her lover, to avoid a connexion she dislikes, and dances with the victor, that same evening, to show her sense of his services: or where we read—

'A duel took place on Wednesday near Paris, which was attended by singular circumstances. One of the combatants having had the first fire, placed himself in an attitude to receive that of his adversary, who took a long and deliberate aim—the ball passed through his skull, and he died immediately. A few seconds afterwards his adversary also fell and expired, for he had received a ball which traversed his lungs; he had nevertheless retained sufficient strength to execute his deadly purpose. The combatants went into the field to revenge a double and reciprocal adultery.'—Vol. i. p. 277.

Altogether duelling, like other things, loses its romance under Mr. Raikes's truthful pencil; and there is more of the simple spirit of murder, and less sense of honour in the system than its ordinary advocates would admit. It is of a piece with that principle of worldly friendship it so often breaks in upon, and which is thus estimated:—

'When I talk of friends, I talk perhaps of a society in which the word friendship may be supposed to be little understood and seldom practised. Fitzpatrick, the companion of Fox and Sheridan, and of all the wits of that day, described the London world in one sarcastic stanza,—

'"Whate'er they promised or professed
In disappointment ends—
In short, there's nothing I detest
So much as all my friends."

But in leagues of pleasure, and intimacies proceeding from similarity of disposition and pursuits, habits and associations are hard to break; and when these are supported by wealth and rank, it is a strong case indeed that can dissolve them.'—Vol. iii. p. 75.

The book, indeed, shows the world in ugly colours, so that we are sometimes disposed to think Mr. Raikes saw it at its worst, and mixed with its least creditable celebrities. This was the case, no doubt, in his youth, which furnishes the reminiscences so constantly woven into the daily narrative. There is one character which embodies the world's worst features in gigantic, almost heroic proportions, that makes a conspicuous figure in Mr. Raikes's pages. There was a fascination about Talleyrand. The curiosity about him never seems to have flagged amongst those who came in contact with him. This great picturesque example of successful sin,—this old iniquity,—this gentlemanly villain,—this hoary traitor,—with his polish, his heartless wit, his fox-like cunning, his narrow, subtle politics, his absorption in the world that was slipping away from him, his clinging anxiety—not for its good opinion, but for its consideration and interest,—does, in spite of ourselves, arrest our attention. A prosperous sinner living the full term of man's life, tasting all that the world can give to the utmost, is, after all, a more pitiable and melancholy spectacle (so we think, after reading Mr. Raikes) than the baffled, defeated, disappointed schemer; for he retains his ideal, and has not known satiety: but in the other we see the hollowness and mere sham of what he gave his soul for, and we know he must have felt this himself in his secret consciousness. Success is in itself terrible in an evil career. The sight of this man, who lifted himself up against God, feeble, old, sinking into the inevitable grave, which no care, no excessive caution could avert, is fearful; and it was felt so by those who would not willingly admit thoughts of awe and fear, and who respected that impassibility, that freedom from all disturbing influences, those *wants* in his nature which, as much as his powers, supply the secret of his success. 'There is no life,' says George Sands, 'more regular, no *régime* more strictly observed, no existence 'cherished with such miserly care, as that of this octogenarian 'fox. Ask him if he believes himself necessary to the preserva-'tion of the human race, that he watches over his own so 'ardently? Ask by what self-devotion, by what good actions his 'day is occupied? His people will tell you that he rises at eleven, 'and passes four hours at his toilet—time lost in endeavouring 'to give some appearance of life to that face of marble, which 'absence of soul has petrified much more than old age. Then 'follows a long and eloquent tirade describing his life and vices.)

'Men say his very approach was of ill omen—his look fascinated 'like a viper's—his word withered hope and candour in all who 'came near him. How many fresh natures did he sully,—how 'many sweet illusions, how many holy convictions did he tread 'underfoot,—how many cowards and traitors did he make, how 'many consciences did he pervert and destroy? And yet he had 'an immense intellect, and keen, delicate senses. The absence of 'that something unknown and divine, which makes us men, made 'him greater than the greatest of us, smaller than the least. 'Infirm, he trod on the healthy and robust; the most vigorous 'virtue, the happiest organization, was but a broken reed before 'him. He ruled over beings nobler than himself. What he 'wanted of their greatness made his own.'

We meet M. Talleyrand first in London, and Mr. Raikes gives facts and details of his well-known career, and also brings him before us in his person and his sayings, which were both eminently distinctive.

'I was rather amused to-day at White's with Sefton's description of his visit this morning to Prince Talleyrand. He is very intimate with him, and is received at all hours; a privilege which he avails himself of very frequently at present, to hear the latest intelligence from Paris and Antwerp, now so generally interesting.

'This morning he was ushered into the dressing-room of this celebrated octogenarian, who was under the hands of two *valets de chambre*, while a third, who was training for the mysteries of the toilette, stood looking on with attention to perfect himself in his future duties. The prince was in a loose flannel gown, his long locks (for it is no wig), which are rather scanty, as may be supposed, were twisted and *crépus* with the curling-iron, saturated with powder and pomatum, and then with great care arranged into those snowy ringlets which have been so much known and remarked all over Europe. His under attire was a flannel pantaloon, loose and undulating, except in those parts which were restrained by the bandages of the iron bar which supports the lame leg of this celebrated *cul-de-jatte*.'—Vol. i. pp. 121, 122.

Elsewhere we have his picture when this unique toilet is completed, with some details of his organization; Mr. Raikes extracts from a paper of the day:—

'"Talleyrand was born lame, and his limbs are fastened to his trunk by an iron apparatus, on which he strikes ever and anon his gigantic cane, to the great dismay of those who see him for the first time—an awe not diminished by the look of his piercing grey eyes, peering through his shaggy eyebrows, his unearthly face, marked with deep stains, covered partly by his shock of extraordinary hair, partly by his enormous muslin cravat, which supports a large protruding lip drawn over his upper lip, with a cynical expression no painting could render; add to this apparatus of terror, his dead silence, broken occasionally by the most sepulchral guttural monosyllables. Talleyrand's pulse, which rolls a stream of enormous volume, intermits and pauses at every sixth beat. This he constantly points out triumphantly as a *rest* of nature, giving him at once a superiority over other men. Thus he says, all the missing pulsations are added to the sum total of those of his whole life, and his longevity and strength

appear to support this extraordinary theory. He likewise asserts that it is this which enables him to do without sleep. Nature, says he, sleeps and recruits herself at every intermission of my pulse. And indeed you see him time after time rise at three o'clock in the morning from the whist table, then return home and often wake up one of his secretaries to keep him company or to talk of business.

' " At four he will go to bed, sitting nearly bolt upright in his bed, with innumerable nightcaps on his head to keep it warm, as he said, and feed his intellect with blood, but in fact to prevent his injuring the seat of knowledge if he tumbles on the ground; and he sits upright from his tendency to apoplexy, which would no doubt seize him if perfectly recumbent." '—Vol. iii. pp. 263, 264.

Finally, we are admitted into the *cuisine*, or rather laboratory, which supplied the subtle juices whereby this mysterious frame was kept in life:—

' Lord Willoughby having written to ask me to send him a cook from Paris, I have had various candidates for the office, and among them some who have served in the kitchen of the late M. de Talleyrand, which was always modelled upon that of the old French noblesse before the Revolution. Those who have not been initiated in those esculent mysteries, would be surprised at the expense and luxury which reigned in that department. There were four *chefs*,—the *rotisseur*, the *saucier*, the *patissier*, and the *officier*,—this latter superintending the dessert, the ices, and the confitures. In all, there were ten men regularly employed in producing the Prince's dinner, which was not only exquisite in its kind, but also adapted to his state of health, comprising the essence of everything nutritious in the garb most light and digestible for an infirm stomach. The Prince was always a great eater, but only once a day, and generally tasted of every dish, following each mouthful with a sip of wine to humour the palate. The expense of his table was unlimited, his cook had *carte blanche*, and he often remarked, " Why does not he spend more?" He was an epicure in the widest sense of the term, and those who were about him have assured me that the talents of his cook had assisted more in the prolongation of his lengthened existence, than the skill of the physician who always attended him. It was the only regular table of the old school kept up in France: fortunes are so diminished, that none of the nobility could bear the expense; and the *parvenus* of the day, though rolling in wealth, have neither the taste nor the refinement necessary to form such an establishment. Thus M. de Talleyrand, with his reminiscences of the old Court, and the enjoyment of an immense income, stood alone in society as the representative of the luxurious French noble of former days.'—Vol. iii. pp. 270, 271.

All this outlay of men and means simply to preserve vitality gives the impression of his being, after all, only some curious piece of mechanism of human contrivance,—a very ingenious automaton, but without the spontaneous powers of humanity. His intellect worked in much the same unnatural, mechanical fashion. His thoughts were not uttered spontaneously, but in a series of *bon-mots*, illuminating long silences. He was wholly without extempore powers of oratory. He was a listener; would be patient with dull men, and out of what he heard wove those cunning webs which caught other politicians. This habit, in

spite of his reputation for wit, prevented his being a companion. We read—

'Richelieu said a clever thing to Lord —— when he was in England. The subject of conversation was M. de Talleyrand, whom Lord —— cited as the most agreeable and amusing man he ever knew. "M. de Talleyrand has a great deal of wit," said the Duc de Richelieu, "but he cannot be called an amusing man; he will remain silent for a whole evening, listening to what passes, and will then perhaps make some very clever and pointed remark, which every one will afterwards repeat." "Oh," said Lord ——, "I can assure you that I was once for six whole hours alone in company with M. de Talleyrand, and found him the most amusing man I ever met." "I can account for it," replied Richelieu; "you talked yourself during the whole time."—Vol. iii. pp. 251, 252.

His sayings are especially characterised by heartlessness, and are wholly without good feeling; but they are genuine *bon-mots*, which last. The satire is pointed; the hits at character telling; the knowledge of human nature, such as he saw it, penetrating; the language precise, and showing a fine discrimination, apt at nice distinctions. An anecdote told by the Duke of Wellington illustrates this power, as also his deadness to natural feeling.

'I told him several anecdotes of Talleyrand and Montrond, to which he listened, and then continued: "Yes, he was a very agreeable companion, though not a talkative one: he would often remain for an hour in company without speaking, and then would come out with an epigram, which you never forgot. I was one day at Madame Crawford's house in Paris, when some one came in and announced the death of Napoleon. It made a sort of sensation in the room, and Madame Crawford exclaimed, 'Ah mon Dieu! quel événement!' Talleyrand was sitting in a corner near her, and very quietly replied, 'Ce n'est plus un événement, c'est une nouvelle.'"'—Vol. iv. p. 309.

On being asked to define the meaning of the word non-intervention,—

'His reply was, "C'est un mot métaphysique, et politique, qui signifie à peu près la même chose qu'intervention." His politics have proved it so.'—Vol. i. p. 106.

Talleyrand in his old age was Conservative. He paid Lord Palmerston the compliment of a particular aversion, and pronounced him without the talent of reasoning. When the Whigs came in, he

'Expressed himself very openly and satirically about the English Government, whom he considered very deficient both in talent and honesty. He said of Lord Holland: "C'est la bienveillance même, mais la bienveillance la plus perturbatrice, qu'on ait jamais vue." Of Lady Holland he observed: "Elle est toute assertion, mais quand on demande la preuve, c'est là son sécret."'—Vol. i. p. 300.

Some one told him that Chateaubriand complained he was growing deaf:

'Talleyrand replied, "Il se croit sourd, parce qu'il n'entend plus parler de lui."'—Vol. iii. p. 373.

Yet once or twice this man, who boasted that he could witness the utmost griefs and horrors without emotion, showed a moment's feeling. He was observed by his friend—if we may so profane the word—Montrond to feel the death of an old lady with whom he had once been in the habit of spending his evenings. It was the first time he had seen him shed tears. This drew a remark from Lord Alvanley, one of the company, that he too had witnessed a similar phenomenon. On one occasion Talleyrand's name had been injudiciously brought forward for censure in the House of Lords, and the Duke of Wellington had risen to repair the mischief, and paid some handsome compliments to his great talents, and the services he had performed on certain occasions.

'Alvanley went to visit the Prince on the following day, and found him perusing the debates of the preceding night, and, though much hurt at the attack of Lord L., still more affected by the friendly intervention of the Duke. He expressed his gratitude, in the warmest terms, while the tears ran down his cheeks, and then added: "J'en suis d'autant plus reconnoissant à M. le Duc, que c'est le seul homme d'état dans le monde qui ait jamais dit du bien de moi." The confession was rather ludicrous.'—Vol. i. p. 137.

This Montrond, who for fifty years had been his friend and companion, shows himself a kindred spirit. In their infirm old age we are told—

'*Ces deux grands débris se consolent entre eux.*'—Vol. iii. p. 233.

The secret of their *liaison* is to be found in the following *mots*:—

'"M. de Talleyrand disoit un soir dans les épanchements de l'intimité, 'Duchesse de Laval, savez-vous pourquoi j'aime assez Montrond? C'est parcequ'il n'a pas beaucoup de préjugés.' Montrond répliqua aussitôt: 'Duchesse de Luynes, savez-vous pourquoi j'aime M. de Talleyrand? C'est qu'il n'en a pas du tout.' "'—Vol. iii. pp. 233, 234.

What is the worth of such friendship, founded on a long companionship in evil, we may form some conception from the following ghastly jest:—

'Talleyrand's *bon-mots* always fly about. His friend Montrond has been subject of late to epileptic fits, one of which attacked him lately after dinner at Talleyrand's. While he lay on the floor in convulsions, scratching the carpet with his hands, his benign host remarked with a sneer, "*C'est qu'il me paraît, qu'il veut absolument descendre.*" '—Vol. i. p. 6.

The death of Talleyrand is in remarkable conformity with his life. It was distinguished by the terrible mockery of a recantation to which it is impossible for any effort of charity to attach a moment's credit. Urged by his family, who all acted the same part in this revolting drama, to spare them the scandal of dying unreconciled to the Church, which involved refusal of

Christian burial (an argument which had great weight with him), he yet put off an act so repugnant to him to the very last, and then, for the sake of appearances, ante-dated it. While he could flatter himself with the hope of life, he was withheld by his sensitiveness to popular opinion, the only influence which could touch him. He was indeed incapable of a thought beyond. We meet with no remorse, no misgiving in his last moments: these belong to less hardened sinners. But we must extract the scene at length so disgraceful to all concerned; not the least to the priest who lent himself to the flagrant imposition.

'*Thursday*, 17*th*.—This day, at four o'clock, Prince Talleyrand died. It would seem that the priest, who arrived on Tuesday morning, was sent for privately by Madlle. Pauline Perigord, the daughter of Madame de Dino, but the dying man would have no communication with him, and refused the consolations of religion. The priest therefore took up his post in the ante-room, awaiting a favourable turn in his sentiments. Last night the Duc de Poix and others of his relations represented to the Prince the scandal which would result to the family if he persisted in his resolutions, and that his corpse would be debarred by the clergy from Christian funeral. After some consideration, for he enjoyed his senses to the very last, he refused their overtures for that night, but fixed the hour of five o'clock this morning for his compliance with their wishes. At the appointed time he received the Abbé Dupanloup and other friends, in whose presence he made confession, and a formal recantation of his errors; after which he received the Holy Sacrament. He undersigned two letters, one to the Pope, the other to the Archbishop of Paris, professing his faith. His recantation was read aloud to the company by Madame de Dino.'—Vol. iii. pp. 253, 254.

His connexion with this lady is a story of involved and elaborate wickedness, which we need not go into.

'The end of M. de Talleyrand was not only attended with great pain, but the wound in his back, which had spread down his hip, prevented his lying down, or even keeping a reclining posture. He sat on the side of his bed for the last forty-eight hours, leaning forwards, and supported by two servants, who were relieved every two hours. In this attitude he was attended to the last by his family and various friends, while the numerous servants in his hotel gathered in the adjacent room. It was in miniature the scene of the death of the old kings of France. He died in public. The library adjoining the Prince's bedroom, and from which it was only separated by a *portière* or curtain, was constantly filled with servants and dependants. Frequently one of them would draw back the curtain when unobserved, saying to those in attendance, "Voyons a-t-il signé? Est-il mort?" His voice failed him at twelve o'clock in the day, and at a quarter before four o'clock, as Lady Sandwich called at the gate to inquire after him, a servant came down to the porter in his lodge to announce that he had just expired. M. de Talleyrand had been so often ill, and had so often recovered, that even at his age of eighty-four, he would not believe that his case was hopeless. On this account he so long persisted in refusing to sign his recantation, or to receive a priest, being determined not to make this public avowal of a religious feeling, little in tenor with his past life, till he was absolutely on the point of quitting it.

'It was a perseverance in the dread of public opinion to the last hour which was fearful. At the moment when he was summoned into the presence of his God he seemed more anxious to avoid the scoffs of the world in case of his recovery, which was impossible, than to make his peace with Heaven,—before that tribunal where his appearance must be immediate and inevitable. His acquiescence at last was only obtained by the entreaties of the little Pauline, who told him if he deferred his signature she should feel miserable for the rest of her life. The comments of the world on his death are, as may be supposed, various. The Legitimists say, "Il est mort en bon gentilhomme." A lady of the *vieille cour* said last night in my hearing, "Enfin il est mort en homme qui sait vivre." And M. de Blancmesnil said, "Après avoir roué tout le monde, il a voulu finir par rouer le bon Dieu." '—Vol. iii. pp. 255—257.

Of course his death was followed by all the honours of a magnificent funeral. As a French paper of the day said, 'In 'France, success absolves from every crime, from every infamy, 'and confers every virtue and every species of distinction. 'The man who so long served, mocked, deceived, and betrayed 'all governments, appears to us so great with the *cortége* of 'vices and misdeeds which signalized his career, that adulation 'is at a loss for terms in which to praise him.'

The device on his catafalque of *Rien que Dieu*, the motto of his family, was felt as a sarcasm on religion, and the mob, which was disappointed of a spectacle by an unexpected change in the route of the procession, cried out, 'Voyez donc, il nous trompe même en mourant.'

The 'retraction' had highly displeased Montrond; he had done what he could to dissuade him from it, and had subsequently turned it into ridicule. But when his own time came, much the same scene was enacted with more unction. At one period of his illness he had exclaimed, '*Comme c'est bête de mourir;*' but when his state became hopeless, his relations, with some more appearance of sincerity than the parallel case, took him in hand and set about the work of conversion in a business-like manner.

'I was curious to know the state of his feelings at such a crisis, because I had heard that his head was as clear and as collected as ever. Three days ago, when the physicians said to him, "Prenez bon courage, vous irez peut-être mieux, assez bien pour sortir en voiture," he replied, "Oui, je sais bien la voiture dans laquelle je sortirai."

'I now find, to my great surprise, that the Duc de Broglie has taken upon himself *le soin de son salut*, and has been unceasing in his efforts to convert him to a sense of religion, as well as Madame Hamelin, who is become *très dévote*.

'The same effort was made some years ago by that excellent woman the Duchess de Broglie, when he was also in a state of extreme danger. She came and prayed by his bed-side; but then it was without the slightest effect on his mind, because he felt convinced (as he told me) that he should recover.

'Now it is said that he has shown signs of religious feeling; at least, he has been *administré*, and has confessed three times. The Abbé Petitot is

constantly with him; and during his first interview said to him, "Vous avez sans doute dans votre temps fait beaucoup de plaisanteries contre la religion." "Non," replied Montrond, "j'ai toujours vécu en bonne compagnie." The declaration, whether true or not (and it certainly is not true), showed very good worldly taste in the old gentleman.'

* * * *

'*Wednesday*, 18*th*.—Montrond died this morning in what the Catholics call *odeur de sainteté*. He desired the crucifix to be placed at his bed's head, and would not suffer it to be removed. Peace to his manes!'—Vol. iv. pp. 321, 322.

Louis Philippe is the third Frenchman whose portrait is elaborately drawn in these volumes, in hardly better colours than the others. Indeed, he is a *fourbe* far less to Mr. Raikes's mind, with his citizen manners and business-like grasp of money, than the high-bred polished old sinner, courted in all societies, and in his late years of decidedly Conservative bearings. When, in 1833, affairs went wrong with Mr. Raikes, when the bank with which he was connected became embarrassed, and (probably) his fortune impaired by *private* imprudence, he retired from the London world and set himself down before Louis Philippe, as it seems, for the main purpose of watching the proceedings of that monarch. And being an intimate with the Legitimitist party, his subject makes a poor figure, and receives but bare justice at his hands. However, though his colouring may often be tinged by party feeling, we early learn to trust Mr. Raikes's facts. He is not only fairly honest by nature, but he evidently prides himself on the accuracy of his sources of information. As we have said before, he always went straight to the fountain-head. Subordinates were people he never wished to have anything to do with. His information was valued and trusted by his friends in office or opposition; and his judgment and anticipations on some main points proved to be correct, which is all that can be said of any political prophets, who are just the class of prophets we have most power of testing. Under his unsparing pen we are shown a king without moral courage or greatness of soul; without any principle except to keep his ground and make money; one who made his kingdom a good speculation, and turned every question into a job for the advancement of his family; who would adopt any watchword that would suit the time; who courted the mob till they despised him, and yet aimed at their liberties; who used all the arts of corruption in the grossest forms; who adopted low means to attain mean ends; who was absolutely without friends; who inspired no spark of loyalty; who had no one to love, no one to respect, no one to fear him; whose best qualities were only those of a shrewd *préfet de police* in keeping the peace by any means; and who, when he did public

good, did it only for private ends. This is Mr. Raikes's view, and that of the party with whom he associated, and it is so far confirmed by experience that no king has so lost ground in general estimation since there has been time for history to sit in judgment upon him. We find Mr. Raikes very early premising—

'There exists in no country in Europe a government so little respected abroad, or a king so little respected at home, as is the case in France at the present moment.'

* * * *

'At this present moment, under the reign of the Citizen-King, above 100,000 troops are occupied to keep in awe only three cities in this kingdom, Paris, Marseilles—and Lyons.

'Here indeed it seems the policy, when pretexts are wanting, to create artificial excuses for additional rigour. The town has been infested for the last six weeks with wretched itinerant vendors of the most disgusting trash, and abuse against the royal family,—the lowest species of caricatures. I have watched them in the street; no one noticed them, none purchased their wares: it seemed indeed a most unprofitable trade; but still it was continued, without check on the one side, or encouragement on the other. I at last expressed my surprise to a friend at their impunity. "Oh," said he, "it is an *attrape;* they are agents paid by the police, to sound the feelings of the multitude." In a week afterwards came out a bill of the most sweeping nature against the public criers, interdicting them from selling even the public journals.'—Vol. i. pp. 213, 214.

And again:—

'Louis Philippe, though no ways wanting in that physical courage which would confront personal danger, is not endowed with that moral courage which can preserve coolness in difficult moments, and take advantage of events which present a threatening aspect. His course has always been of a more tortuous nature; and to effect his plans, he will always prefer the byeways of wily cunning to the straight road of manly resolution. He is notoriously designated as *faux comme un jeton.*'—Vol. i. p. 314.

Later, he thus speaks of his private speculations taking precedence of the affairs of Government:—

'In the midst of personal danger which never before impended over a crowned head, Louis Philippe thinks of nothing but heaping treasure upon treasure, and augmenting millions for himself and family.

'The other day a *diplomate* of high rank went to the Tuileries to impart some important despatches just arrived from abroad; Louis Philippe treated the subject for about ten minutes, but he detained the visitor near three hours with a detail of the improvements he was making in his property; the canals he was forming, the price at which he sold his wood, and the whole economy of his management; all this with a dagger hanging over his head.'—Vol. iii. p. 153.

Of his petty acts for saving his own money we read:—

'A friend of mine told me that he had a beautiful portrait by Mignard, which he took an opportunity of offering to Louis Philippe, who is making a collection of that period, and for which he asked the moderate price of 500*l.* His majesty made great objection to the sum, but still expressed a wish to see and examine the painting. It was sent to the Tuileries, where it was detained a few days, during which interval it was copied by a female

artist, to whom the King gave 60f., and it was then returned to the owner.'—Vol. ii. pp. 2, 3.

Of his enormous system of bribery with the public funds:—

'At Madame de Girardin's, this evening, I had some conversation with M. Beugnot, a very intelligent and agreeable man. He describes to me the despicable state of the Chamber of Deputies under the present system, guided solely by petty private interests, and open to bribery in every shape. "The King," said he, "if he was not so chary of his money, might have a large majority on any question, if he pleased. The fact is, that those from the provinces are in such needy circumstances, that they can hardly afford the expense of a journey to Paris, or their stay during the meeting; such men are always on the watch to sell their votes. A sum of 500f. will very often decide them to support any measure; and when the case is urgent, the Government, with money, can always carry their point. You talk," said he, "of the profligate times of Sir Robert Walpole in England; but here the venality is more contemptible, because the times are more enlightened, the bribes are more insignificant, and the corruption more general. Casimir Perier, who squandered the public money in this way, when a deputy named his price, never offered him more than one half, and generally succeeded in his object. The primary object of Louis Philippe is to gain money, and his accession to the throne was a mere commercial speculation. In other monarchies, the private property of the sovereign is blended with his royal appanage, to support the splendour and dignity of his crown; but Louis Philippe was determined from the beginning to gain all he could, and give nothing in return. He was elected King of the French on the 7th August; on the previous day (the 6th), he made over by a deed, drawn up by Dupin the lawyer, all his private property as Duke of Orleans, being five millions per annum, to his children, reserving the usufruct to himself; he enjoys the income of the Duc d'Aumale, gained from the Prince de Condé, till his majority, and his Civil List is from twelve to fourteen millions per annum. With these colossal means, the whole study of his life is to throw, by every manœuvre, his own incidental expenses on the shoulders of the nation. It is then only that he is really magnificent.'—Vol. iv. pp. 128—130.

It is a melancholy history of desperate, unflagging efforts to keep a position; and conveys the idea, in spite of Mr. Raikes, of great talent and energy. He seems to have stood alone, without even a party interested in his success, except so far as it implied the maintenance of public order. He was unpopular, and the perpetual mark of assassins; but this does not impress us so much as the indifference which all classes manifested. He failed in all attempts to get up effects; he exhibited himself, and was not looked at; he condescended, and was laughed at for his pains. He schemed, and succeeded; and the plot recoiled upon him. But it is time to pass on.

Mr. Raikes's one hero is the Duke of Wellington; who, in return, was his very good friend, and would have got him some place or office if he could. His feelings, usually so absolutely under his control, assume an exaggerated tone when the Duke is his theme; and, with all his experience, we find him inditing

sentences of horror and despair for his country, when the mob upon some occasion greeted the hero of Waterloo with hootings and clamour. In the midst of the fine gentlemen, the idlers, the *dilletante* politicians,—the wary, cunning, selfish Frenchmen who people these pages,—we must say the Duke stands out to great advantage; failing, like the rest, in his prognostics, but always honest and patriotic in his views, and simple in his mode of life, and full of sound sense and wisdom in the frankly-spoken reminiscences of his busy career. He was evidently a very agreeable companion: liked to talk and to listen, without a thought of display or showing-off on his part. Mr. Raikes records visits to him, where he always seems to have been treated with confidence and distinction, and which gave rise to the following estimate of his character:

'The more I see of this extraordinary man, the more I am struck with his singularly quick apprehension, the facility with which he seizes the real gist of every subject, separates all the dross and extraneous matter from the real argument, and places his finger directly on the point which is fit to be considered. No rash speculations, no verbiage, no circumlocution; but truth and sagacity, emanating from a cool and quickly apprehensive judgment fortified by great experience and conversant with each and every subject, and delivered with a brevity, a frankness, a simplicity of manner, and a confidential kindness, which, without diminishing that profound respect which every man must feel for such a character, still places him at his ease in his society, and almost makes him think he is conversing with an intimate friend. His whole mind seems engrossed by the love of his country.'—Vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

Elsewhere we are told the impression he made on foreign diplomatists:—

'The Duke de Guiche told me this evening that Sebastiani was enchanted with our Duke of Wellington, whose frankness and activity in business were beyond all praise. His expression was, "If I have anything to communicate to his Grace, I write to ask at what hour he will receive me. The hour is instantly appointed; I find him punctual as the clock, and, in half an hour he has heard my report, he has placed his finger on the point which has reference to himself, decided on the line which he feels authorised to take, and gives me an answer without any ambiguity.

'"Thirty minutes with him suffice to transact what can never be accomplished in as many hours with our wavering ministers of France."'
—Vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

His notices of the Duke embrace a long period; from the current stories of his boyhood, when he was not particularly attentive to his studies, and was constantly occupied with his little terrier 'Vick,' to his own later experience. His descriptions of the Duke's habits are in pleasant contrast with some of his other pictures of old age. He describes his indifference to his own comfort and accommodation, carried to such an extent, that, when his house was once full of company, he contentedly gave

up his own bedroom to his son Charles (ignorant, of course, of the sacrifice), and had a bed put up for himself in his dressing-room. Then we have his meals, and see him at breakfast, 'eating 'heartily messes of rusks and bread sopped in his tea, but never 'meat or eggs;' and at dinner the same good appetite satisfying itself by the same simple diet,—meat, rice, and vegetables, mixed into a mess, filling his plate, and drinking very little wine. We find him subject to fits of testiness, but soon getting over them; very jealous of interference with his independent personal habits, but attentive to those of his guests, and especially courteous to ladies. When his party were only men, he dressed in boots; but the presence of a lady,—if only Mr. Raikes's young daughter,—made him assume the full state of shoes, silk stockings, star, and garter; when, as Mr. Raikes expresses it, he was *la vieille cour personnifiée.* He was full of anecdote, told well but simply; without any attempt, it should seem, at point. His recollections were more varied than most men, and his opinions formed on his own observation, not on the judgment of others. People under his hand seem to have assumed rather a new aspect to his hearers, because he had seen them under peculiar or more intimate circumstances. Thus he brings George IV. before us as a *sloven.* This *dandy,* so fastidious in his dress that every coat cost him 300*l.* before it was finished, and was then too tight for an unrestrained movement, indemnified himself in private by dirt and disorder. The Duke

'. . . found him in bed, dressed in a dirty silk jacket and a turban nightcap, one as greasy as the other; for, notwithstanding his coquetry about dress in public, he was extremely dirty and slovenly in private.'—Vol. iv. p. 292.

And, in like manner, this 'finest gentleman in Europe' lapses into a clever mimic,—the Duke uses the word buffoon,—whose talents were lost to the stage; who, in a political crisis, would send his attendants and visitors into fits of laughter by accurate mimicry of all his ministers, in the act of giving in their resignation; and, in a state dinner of crowned heads, would entertain kings and queens by a display of this same accomplishment. The Duke's estimate of Napoleon is rather strikingly given. He always considered his *presence* as equal to 40,000 men. The French army was all that more formidable by the simple fact of his being at its head. We have some curious remembrances of Napoleon's generals, especially Junot, a vulgar fellow, to whom the Duke undertook to teach manners. After beating him in a battle, in which Junot was himself wounded, the Duke sent next day to inquire after his health, and sent him a present of fruit, as *a lesson of the old school;*—a lesson which was needed, to judge from one story he related of him:—

'Amongst the eminent Portuguese who were cruelly treated by the French during this invasion, was the Count Sa. Bandiera; and he gave me dreadful accounts of the brutal excesses committed in his house by the French officers who were quartered upon him, and their continued drunkenness and pillage.

'Among these officers billeted upon him was the General Loison, who at one time was dangerously ill, and confined to his bed: Junot one morning sent for the unfortunate Bandiera, and asked him how the general was going on; as he could only answer that he was extremely ill, Junot knitted his brow, and said, 'Tenez, M. Bandiera, je vous conseille de bien prendre soin de lui; prenez bien garde qu'il se retablisse, car si le général vient à mourir dans votre maison, le diable m'emporte si je ne vous enterre pas tout vivant sous lui.' It may easily be supposed with what anxiety the poor Bandiera watched the recovery of General Loison, who fortunately at last was restored to health.'—Vol. iv. pp. 312, 313.

The Duke was a reader, studied English history in his old age, and seems to have made up his mind on difficult questions with great precision. Thus:—

'After dinner the conversation turned on the resemblance between the fate of the Stuarts and the Bourbons, though the circumstances which led to their fate were widely different, as no two men could be more dissimilar than Charles I. and the unfortunate Louis XVI. The Duke said, "I have very much altered my opinion of the character of Charles I. I once thought him a man of greater talent than he really was; but, since reading Sanderson and Clarendon for the second time, I am convinced that he was obstinate without judgment; he first acted unwisely, and then persisted in his fault like a headstrong man. Charles II. was much the cleverer man, but a very bad king. It has been the fashion to say, that he was a Roman Catholic, but the fact is, that he was a profligate debauchee, and had no religion at all; he might have shown a tendency to that creed on his deathbed, but that is easily accounted for. James II., when Duke of York, showed courage and talent; his beginning was better than his end. He was certainly a Roman Catholic, but his bigotry in the commencement was founded on the idea that Papistry, if once re-established in England, would better enable him to become a despotic monarch than Protestantism. That was the real object of his heart, in which he was also strengthened by the counsels of Louis XIV. But the nation took the alarm; their religious scruples were awakened, and when he was once driven from the throne, he found he had nothing left but to give himself up in reality to all those bigoted ideas, by which he was only partly actuated before. Hence came the saying, that he had lost three kingdoms for one mass; but what he wanted was, to be a despot.' "—Vol. iv. pp. 315—317.

Mr. Raikes, as usual, was possessed of the earliest facts about the battle of Waterloo, which was whispered about at dinners and balls before the truth was definitely known. It was in the aristocratic days before telegrams. He gives the account in connexion with his character of Sir R. W—— (Sir Robert Wilson), whom he describes as always the harbinger of bad news:—

'On the day of that evening, when we received the news of the great victory at Waterloo, I dined with the present Lord and Lady Willoughby

de Eresby in Piccadilly: there was a large party, among whom I remember Miss Mercer (now Madame de Flahault), Sir H. Cooke, and Sir R. W——, who entered the room with a grave portentous countenance, as if he knew more than he was willing to communicate. Every one at that time was in breathless impatience for the result, and as we proceeded to the dining-room Miss Mercer inquired of me in a whisper if I had heard any news, adding that she feared from Sir R. W——'s manner that some misfortune had occurred. I felt little alarm at his prognostics, as I had heard that Rothschild was purchasing stock largely, and that the funds had risen two per cent.

'When the ladies had retired and the wine had opened Sir R. W——'s heart, he condescended to inform the company, that he had received a private despatch from Brussels, announcing the total defeat of the Anglo-Prussian army by the French, with the additional circumstance that Napoleon, after his decided victory, had supped with the Prince d'Aremberg at his palace in that city. On doubts being expressed as to the correctness of his information, he offered readily to bet any sum on the strength of his despatches. We took him at his word: I betted with him 400*l.* or 500*l.*, and others did the same to the amount of above 1000*l.*

'There was a ball that night at Sir George Talbot's; and when I arrived there about eleven o'clock, I found the whole house in confusion and dismay; ladies calling for their carriages, and others fainting in the anteroom, particularly the Ladies Paget, who seemed in the utmost distress. The mystery, however, was soon cleared up: Lady Castlereagh had just made her appearance in the ball-room, with the official account of the battle, and a partial list of the killed and wounded, which had caused so much distress among the various relatives of the sufferers. She had been at a grand dinner given by Mrs. Boehm in St. James's Square, to the Prince Regent, during which Colonel Percy, having first driven to Carlton House, had arrived in a chase and four at the house, and presented to his royal highness, at table, the official despatches from the Duke of Wellington (recounting his victory), as well as the French eagles, which he had brought as trophies with him in the carriage.'—Vol. iii. pp. 46, 47.

News would not have been news to Mr. Raikes deprived of its exclusive character—the possession at the same moment of all classes,—and bestowing on no individual a peculiar distinction. In connexion with this feeling, we are rather amused with the summary judgment he passes on the proposed penny-postage:—

'This will increase the number of idle scribblers, be of little benefit to the lower classes, who seldom have occasion to write, and is likely only to advantage the commercial houses and bankers, who can well afford to pay the postage.'—Vol. iii. p. 355.

His mind could not entertain the idea now expressed by progress: change must be deterioration; and this, because of the narrow range of his sympathies—he could only feel for one class. England was London: the English people were the aristocracy. As Addison says, 'What so great a pedant as the mere man of the town?' Is not this a singular sentiment to come into an Englishman's mind, in witnessing antiquities abroad?—

'Italy is the only real sanctuary of the arts in Europe. In viewing the wonders scattered so profusely on her surface, how do all the other nations appear barbarous and devoid of classical knowledge? France may boast her Versailles, and a few monuments copied from her neighbours; England has really nothing. If both these countries were buried in their own ruins for 1000 years, the antiquary of futurity would not find anything worth the trouble of an excavation.'—Vol. iii. p. 405.

Something on a par with this estimate of the architectural monuments of his country, is his view of the manufacturing interests. In speaking of the death of Sir R. Arkwright:—

'His fortune, supposed to be five millions sterling, was entirely made by the spinning jennies, an invention which gave an immense impulse to the cotton manufactures; but which also caused distress among the weaving classes, which England now deplores.'—Vol. iv. p. 258.

But Paris and London are Mr. Raikes's world. We will not pursue him in any uncongenial region. Indeed, it is time to take leave of him altogether; which we will do with a few miscellaneous anecdotes, which, though admitting of no classification, all leave a kindred impression. To begin with the religion of the old Dowager:—

'The Dowager Duchess of Richmond is given over. I remember a story of her long ago which, at the time, was often repeated. She went one Sunday with her daughter to the Chapel Royal at St. James's, but being late, they could find no places; after looking about some time, and seeing the case was hopeless, she said to her daughter, "Come away, Louisa; at any rate we have done the *civil* thing." This was completely the idea of the *card-leaving* dowager of her day.'—Vol. iv. p. 201.

Or the glimpse we have given us of the hilarity of the same date in the following story. The inane comic songs of the last century are one of its phenomena: an unwholesome growth of long potations following upon early dinners:—

'In those days singing after dinner formed an essential part of conviviality, and Barrymore, who had a good voice, was always foremost in promoting this incentive to drinking. He had a famous song for this purpose, the chorus of which was "Chip-chow, cherry-chow, fol-lol de riddle-low," well known to all his associates. It had never reached the ears, however, of General Sir Alured Clarke, who was very proud of his campaigns in America, and very ready to dilate on the information he had gained concerning the tribes of savage Indians in some of the back settlements. Barrymore once attacked the old General unawares upon this his favourite subject, by an affected desire to obtain some knowledge about them. Thus he began:—"What is the tribe of the Chip Chows?" The old General, taken perhaps by the sound, and whose information might have been rather superficial, began to describe a tribe of savages in a particular district, remarkable for their cruelty and warlike propensites. Seeing that the bait was swallowed, the questioner proceeded, with much seeming interest, to inquire, "What were the Cherry Chows?" These also were described, with other particulars, in the same grave manner, and the addition that they always ate their prisoners. Upon this Barrymore,

throwing off the mask, burst into a loud horse-laugh, and said to the astonished General, with an oath, "And what do you think of the Fol-lol de riddle-lows?" There was then a general burst from the whole room; but Sir Alured, though evidently discomposed, rose from his seat with great dignity, and said to his merciless foe, "My lord, during all my travels, I have seen few savages so barbarous as yourself," and leaving the room at once, was never induced to speak to him again.'—Vol. iii. pp. 201—203.

Or the secret of political constancy we are favoured with, belonging to the same time:—

'The late Mr. Fergusson of Pitfour, who had served during a long succession of Parliaments, was wont to say that he had heard very many fine speeches in his time on *baith* sides of the question, and on coming down to the House he had *vary* often changed his opinion, but *naver* his vote.'—Vol. iii. pp. 207, 208.

Or the wit: the point of which consists in a delicate outrage on our sense of veneration, as in the *mot* on old Miss Berry, spoken just after the burning of the Houses of Parliament:—

'The other evening, Ischann, the Swiss Minister, said: "Il y a eu un petit Westminster ce soir chez les Berrys; la manche de Miss Agnès a pris feu à la bougie." "En a-t-elle reçu quelque mal?" was asked. He replied, "Non; dans les deux cas on a sauvé les parchemins."'—Vol. i. p. 300.

Altogether, we find ourselves so often in a clever world without heart, that we can sympathise with poor Lord Dudley, whose aberration of reason furnished so many good stories, in his address to his dog:—

'It was at a time when poor Dudley's mind was on the wane, when his caustic humour would still find vent through the cloud which was gradually overshading his masterly intellect; he was sitting in his room, unheeding those around him, and soliloquizing aloud, as was so often his custom. His favourite Newfoundland dog was at his side, who seemed to engross the whole of his attention. At length, patting his head, he exclaimed, "Fido mio, they say dogs have no souls. Humph! And *still* they say —— has a soul!"'—Vol. iii. p. 66.

It is hardly needful to say that we have not adduced instances of a selfish, worldly spirit as evidence against any particular period. It is only the mode of their manifestation which is characteristic. What is technically called Society must always have these features; not the individuals that compose it in their private capacity, but in their aggregate and in their external development:—just as Mr. Raikes always saw them. He was not a person for men to open their hearts to: in conversing with him, they felt they were conversing with the world; they recognised him as the type of mere ordinary social intercourse; they interchanged with him the received thoughts, sayings, and doings of the day. But of the nobler aspirations

or misgivings, which must with so many break in upon this cold surface, he was never the depository. A hope, a doubt, a sentiment of benevolence, of devotion, of self-sacrifice, would be confided to other ears. To him such confessions would have been unintelligible and embarrassing. Thus he shows us the men of his time: not in their families—not in their homes, and engaged in their duties, and so when their better feelings were at work—but as they formed *one* of the world, and that world in its most organized, most selfish, most callous aspect. There is always such a world: there are always men suited to be its biographers. The costume may vary with the times; but the form and features will remain ever the same.

ART. IX.—*On Eucharistical Adoration.* By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursley. Oxford: J. H. & J. Parker, 1857.

OUR readers will thank us for calling their attention, without loss of time, to the remarkable Essay, of which the title is given above. We venture to think it (with the exception, perhaps, of Dr. Pusey's work on the 'Real Presence') the most important contribution to theological science which the case of Archdeacon Denison has as yet elicited from the mind of the English Church. Mr. Grueber's valuable labours have, from the pressure of the case, at its successive stages, been mainly engrossed by the necessity of marshalling, analysing, and discussing the documents to which the Archdeacon appeals for his defence. They have consequently been more or less fragmentary, and have never quite risen to the level of an original investigation. Mr. Freeman's recent work[1] is independent alike in its aim and origin: and moreover advances positions, which we earnestly trust its accomplished author may think it right to reconsider. The limits of a charge, however able, do not permit the Bishop of Brechin to do much more than enunciate doctrine, and briefly review the authorities which immediately sustain it. For Dr. Pusey's great work, which we noticed in a recent number,[2] we cannot be sufficiently thankful; as, while following the tortuous course of Mr. Goode's objections to the Eucharistic doctrine, he incidentally proves the real value of the phrase 'under the form of Bread and Wine,' which occurs in the notice at the end of the First Book of Homilies, by an historical investigation, which, in all probability, could have been penned by no other English divine. Dr. Pusey, however, thus states the object of his work:—

'In the following pages I hope, first—to maintain the clear sense of those statements which I had especially adopted from our formularies: secondly—to clear away any objections which Mr. Goode has drawn from other statements of our formularies; thirdly—to explain my belief as to that which the wicked receive, and as to the worship of our Lord truly present in the Sacrament; fourthly—to vindicate my argument from Holy Scripture; fifthly—to clear away the objections which Mr. Goode raises to my argument from the Fathers.'—*Real Presence*, p. 4.

From this programme it will be easily understood that the writer is, in the main, engaged with vindicating and explaining the *documentary* evidence of the teaching of primitive antiquity and of the English Church as to the Holy Eucharist. Here and there,

[1] On the Principles of Divine Service. Introduction to Part II. Oxford and London: Parker.

[2] Christ. Rem., June, 1857.

indeed, there occur original statements of surpassing and characteristic beauty: and every conscientious English Churchman, who rejoices in the belief that the authorised formularies of his communion are one with themselves and with the voice of the early ages, will thank Dr. Pusey with all his heart for this masterly vindication of so cherished a conviction. But the 'Real Presence' is, however valuable, expository rather than original and constructive: and it leaves room for a treatise, which, besides proving our real inheritance of ancient doctrine, might, so far as such an attempt is reverent and possible, investigate and interpret its *rationale*, to ourselves.

And such a treatise, with respect to the single point of the adoration of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, is that of Mr. Keble. It assumes the Real Presence as proved; it does not touch upon the question of reception by the wicked. For this very reason—its unity of subject—we confess to a prepossession in its favour. The best theological treatises, like the best sermons, are surely those which endeavour to exhaust a single topic. Theology, among ourselves at present, would seem to lack the vigour and concentration of former days, because it is often so diffusive in its method and so ambitious in its separate efforts. And to succeed in unfolding the idea and developing the range and bearing of a single truth demands, we suppose, much more patient reflection than many men, who are willing to write books, are able to bestow upon them. Mr. Keble, therefore, has in this way done a good service. He has set the example of devoting a treatise, not even to a single doctrine, but to a practical corollary of a doctrine; but then he ranges from the remotest anticipations of his conclusion, in the instinctive promptings of natural religion, down through Scripture, Fathers, and Liturgies, to the questions which are most practical, and which, with many minds, press most urgently for instant solution in respect of duties in and towards the Church of England.

Dr. Pusey's remarks on the subject of Adoration ('Real Presence,' 311—336) do not anticipate the earlier and perhaps the more striking part of Mr. Keble's treatise, in which he inquires, 'what natural piety would suggest,' as to our duty in respect of Adoration.

'It is as impossible' (writes Mr. Keble), 'for devout faith contemplating Christ in the Sacrament not to adore Him, as it is for a loving mother looking earnestly at her child not to love it. The mother's consciousness of her love, and her outward manifestation of it, may vary; scruples, interruptions, bewilderments may occur; but there it is in her heart—you cannot suppress it. So must there be a special adoration and worship in the heart of every one seriously believing a special mysterious presence of Christ expressed by the words, "This is my Body."'—P. 2.

How instantly are we reminded that if we are in company with the editor of 'Hooker,' we are also listening to the utterances of the author of the 'Lyra Innocentium!' Indeed, one special charm of this Essay is its unrivalled union of argument and pathos. Thus, after showing that the greatness of the benefit offered in the Eucharist, and the fact that it is offered to us personally and individually, are separate grounds for Adoration, and that these grounds may be very fully illustrated from Scripture, our author proceeds to lay stress upon a consideration, which would have been overlooked by theologians who had less heart than intellect. It is that the peculiar condescension and self-abasement of our gracious Saviour in becoming the food of His creatures, by means of the Eucharistic Presence, is in fact a distinct argument for a loving worship—as due originally to His being and His awful nearness, and quickened by His self-sacrificing and ill-requited generosity. That He is forgotten or ignored by others, is but a fresh reason why He should be more loved and honoured by us. This is illustrated from the Old Testament, precisely after the manner of Hooker, by instances which, without being wholly parallel, involve the principle of the point under consideration.

'Caleb stilled the people before Moses when the spies were setting them against him. Joshua was jealous for Moses' sake when some appeared to be prophesying without commission from him. It is plain that their loyalty to him was quickened by the reproach they saw him enduring. So all the dark feelings and speeches of the unhappy Saul concerning David served but to settle Jonathan's heart in loving and honouring him more than ever. So Shimei's cursing David in his affliction kindled the zeal of his soldiers and servants.'—P. 9.

The principle in question is more directly illustrated by our Lord's encouragement of the sinful woman who washed His feet, when the Pharisee had neglected to do so; and of Peter, who had hailed as the words of eternal life that teaching about the Eucharist, at which many of the disciples were offended: and of the man born blind when he was cast out of the synagogue for confessing that Christ was his restorer, in spite of the scorn and hatred of the Pharisees. Mr. Keble proceeds to dwell upon a further instance of the recognition of this principle by the Gospels, in a passage combining so much matter for reflection, with so graceful and unusual a simplicity of expression, that our readers will thank us for quoting it at length:—

'And what shall we say of the thief on the Cross? It may appear by the tenor of the sacred history, that the providential instrument of his conversion was the revilings of the crowd and of his fellow malefactor—in which he himself at first ignorantly joined—so meekly and majestically borne by the Holy Jesus. When he saw that, he perceived at once that

"This man hath done nothing amiss," and he became the first to know and own Christ, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death" (Phil. iii. 10). The deep veneration he had conceived for our Lord, as for an innocent man receiving the due reward of such wicked deeds as his own, was rewarded with an adoring faith in Him as Lord and Judge of the whole world, and he became the first example of those who should be saved by the blessed Cross. And beholding his Lord's glory through the veil of His extreme humiliation, and taught from above to understand that for that very humiliation's sake, he was to surrender himself entirely to Christ —to worship Him with all the powers of his soul—he became also a pattern for all who would be worthy communicants. For what is that which we remember specially, and on which we fix our mind's eye in Holy Communion, but the same which he then saw with his bodily eyes? the Body and Blood of Christ, *i.e.* Christ Himself, offered up by Himself for that thief and for each one of us? And if he worshipped and was blessed, why not we?'—P. 10.

Mr. Keble's arguments, to be anything like convincing, make some considerable demands upon his readers. They presuppose an intimacy with the mind as distinct from the letter of Scripture, and a habit of looking for doctrine, not so much as 'proved' by one or two set texts, which are invariably quoted to prove it, according to the modern practice, as distributed among very various assertions and lines of thought and teaching, each of which may be separately insufficient to uphold the point in question, while they irresistibly imply it, if they are viewed in their combination. Nor is this an extreme or unwarrantable demand. Certainly it must, we think, be granted by any who have seriously endeavoured to grapple with the Scripture evidence for the doctrine of the Ever-blessed Trinity, that such evidence lies much less in the region of direct assertions, of which indeed there are very few—and it might be thought, precarious ones,—than in that of wide-spread phraseologies and converging lines of statement, all of which receive adequate and satisfactory recognition only in the Catholic formularies. And while the book before us is calculated, from its simplicity, to win its way into comparative popularity among Churchmen generally, it is evidently addressed in the first instance to those who, accepting the author's premises in their integrity, are disposed to demur at his conclusions. Thus, while Mr. Freeman, availing himself of a distinction which we can by no means accept, holds that the wicked do receive Christ's body, without receiving His person; he goes the length of earnestly protesting, 'with the utmost 'solemnity and in the name of the Christian Faith and of the 'whole undivided Church . . . against novelties so groundless 'and so fatal' as 'an intense act of worship consequent on 'the consecration of the elements, and directed towards a

'peculiar presence of Christ Himself supposed to be produced 'thereby.' (Int. to Pt. II., Pr. Divine Serv. pp. 185, 186.) And even Dr. Pusey's treatment of the question of Adoration, although his language is as explicit and decided as Mr. Keble's, yet, from its comparative brevity, might seem to imply that there was, even in his judgment, on the whole, much less to be said for this, than for the other features of the primitive doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist. Such a feeling has, undoubtedly, prevailed largely among even thoughtful Churchmen, while in some quarters it has found unhesitating and energetic expression.

To those who share it we would commend a perusal of the second, and, in our judgment, the most remarkable, chapter of Mr. Keble's work, on the 'Suggestions of Holy Scripture' as to the point under discussion. If we admit the reality of our Lord's presence in the Eucharist, the promptings of natural piety would suggest worship as the obvious correlative of that presence, unless such an impulse were checked by the intrusion of an adverse tradition or prejudice. The silence of Scripture can hardly be thought to imply its discountenancing what it does not in terms enjoin: and scriptural analogies lead us to the conclusion of Eucharistic Adoration, just as they led the early Church to that of infant baptism. In illustration of this, our author dwells, with great force and beauty, first, on the worship of our Lord's Manhood, as resulting from Its union with the Person of the everlasting Son; treading here again closely in the steps of Hooker. Next, he insists upon the reverence paid in Scripture to the name of Jesus, and to the inferences deduced by antiquity from Scripture statements as to the honour due to His cross, His gospels, and the holy places more immediately connected with the great mysteries of His earthly life. The principle of this homage in every such case,—that, namely, of offering an act of reparation to Christ for the humiliation to which He submitted Himself, by reverencing the tokens and associations of His humiliation,—points to a further and inevitable application in the Eucharist, where He is still Himself present, too often, alas! unrecognised and unhonoured. But we must beg our readers to study for themselves the author's commentary on the title 'Son of Man' (pp. 31—56). It is beyond question the most valuable portion of the Essay: and, as far as we know, exceeds in beauty any of the prose writings of the poet of the 'Christian Year.' It is, in fact, integral in itself, and while argumentative throughout, yet a poem of a very finished description. Even Mr. Williams' works do not convey the impression of the study of the Gospel, combining such exceeding accuracy and minuteness of observation with such a keen appre-

hension of the living and awful, and yet most gracious presence of our Holy Redeemer. We will not quote portions of those pages, for we trust that they will be read as a whole. Nor is the man to be envied who can read them untouched, or without gratitude to a writer who, in so short a compass, has given us a commentary on one feature of the Gospel narrative of such nervous, tender, and constraining power.

Mr. Freeman,[1] while admitting that there is no instance of our Lord's refusing worship addressed to Him in the days of His flesh, yet lays emphasis on the consideration that He never positively enjoined it. To Mr. Keble's mind the former fact is evidently more significant than the latter.

'Whatever the process may have been, whether it originated with S. John or no, we know for certain, that from the moment of His death, His true servants have never ceased to show, in all possible ways, their entire devotion and love to that blessed Body; enhanced beyond measure by all that they were permitted to see and know of Its mysterious agonies; and never was one word uttered from above to stay or check them, or imply that they were going too far. When S. John did the like to the angel who was showing him the heavenly vision, he was stopped by what among men would have been an exclamation of religious horror, "See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God." But nowhere in Holy Scripture will you find anything at all answering to this, in respect of the worship and reverence shown to Christ's Body, as if it were possible to exaggerate or carry it too far; not one syllable to interrupt or moderate the deep devotion of the Church for all these centuries that she has remained with the beloved disciple, standing by the Cross, and with adoring love and wonder contemplating the Blood and Water, as It flows from His pierced Side; seeing it, and bearing record,—and her record is true, and she knoweth that she saith true that we might all believe.'—P. 50.

The conclusion that Christ our Lord is to be worshipped in the Holy Eucharist, is thus forcibly stated by the Lutheran Chemnitz:—

'Christom, at all times and in all places, is to be adored. If, then, we believe that Christ, God and Man, is in a peculiar mode of presence and of grace present at the celebration of His supper, so that He there truly and substantially exhibits to communicants His own Body and Blood, by which He wills so to unite Himself with us, that to each who receives with faith, He by this most precious pledge applies and seals the gifts of the New Testament, which through the giving up of His Body and the shedding of His Blood, He obtained for His Church;—if, I say, we believe these things truly from our heart, it neither can nor ought to be but that faith should venerate and adore Christ, present in that action. So Jacob (Gen. xviii.), Moses (Ex. xxxiv.), Elijah (1 Kings xix.) had no special command to worship God in those places; but since they had a general command to worship God everywhere, and were certain that God was truly present under outward and visible symbols, and that He was revealing Himself there in a special and gracious manner, they assuredly worshipped God Himself there, whom they believed to be present there. Nor would their

[1] Principles of Divine Service. Introduction to Part II. p. 161.

faith have been true, if invocation or adoration, *i. e.* the honour due to God, had not followed.'[1]

Or, as Bishop Butler observes, generally, 'the office of our 'Lord being made known and the relation He stands in to us, 'the obligation of religious regards to Him is plainly moral as 'much as charity to mankind is: since this obligation arises, '*before external command*, immediately out of that His office 'and relation itself.' (Anal., pt. ii. c. i., p. 157: Oxf. 1844.) The worship of His Eucharistic Presence can only be declined by those who believe in His Divinity, either (i.) by denying the reality of that Presence, or (ii.) by endeavouring to show that It is vouchsafed under conditions which forbid worship, and cancel what else is surely of moral obligation upon a true believer. For a certain worship is due to Christ present in the soul of the Christian, though here an apprehension might legitimately be entertained lest the subjective creation of the mind were after all other than the Christ of Christendom. But the conscientious Calvinist would nevertheless yield the homage of an adoring love to his Saviour, present, as he conceives, in deference to the simple efficacy of an act of faith. Zwinglians and Socinians, denying *in toto* the inward and supernatural side of the Eucharist, are consistent in declining to offer any act of worship. But of those who, with the Church of England, believe in the reality of the act of Consecration, as effecting, through the power and promise of Christ, an Objective Presence of our Lord and Saviour, there are indeed some who endeavour to escape from the obvious inference by maintaining that the Presence is such as to make adoration improper. Thus Mr. Freeman distinguishes between the reverence due to God in His creatures as distinct from the worship which is to be yielded to Him in heaven, and infers analogously that Christ's Body truly present in the Eucharist is not an object of real worship, because this is to be addressed to Him only as He is throned in glory. But can we believe that He whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain is adequately conceived of as *only* 'in heaven;' or that the Body of Scripture language, which seems to localise the Omnipresent that He may be approached in prayer, is other than a condescension to the weakness of His creatures? or that God anywhere, whether in (although distinct from) His creatures, or without them, is other than an object of utter adoration? Mr. Freeman's position, however, obliges him still further to distinguish between Christ's Body and His Person;[2] and to hold that His

[1] Chemnitz, Examen Conc. Trid. P. 2, Less. 3, c. 5. Quoted by Dr. Pusey, 'Real Presence,' p. 335.

[2] Principles of Divine Service. Introduction to Part II. p. 189.

Body is present in the Holy Sacrament without His Person. Mr. Keble replies to this view without having seen Mr. Freeman's work; and, as we think, unanswerably, by alleging the language of our Lord Himself in S. John vi., which interchanges the first personal pronoun I, me, &c., with the phrases, This bread, My flesh, &c. 'I am the bread of life,'—'I am the bread which came down from heaven,'—'I am the living bread 'which came down (*καταβάς*) from heaven: if any man eat of 'this bread he shall live for ever, and the bread which I will 'give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.' Again, more forcibly, 'He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me.' Nor can we well understand how, according to the doctrines laid down in Hooker, E. P., v. 52. 4, the idea that Christ's Body can be actually separated from His Person is free from the imputation of Nestorian error.

But worship, although due to the Eucharistic Presence of our blessed Saviour, could not, without idolatry, be directed to the elements 'under the form of' which that Presence is enshrined, and which 'remain alike in their very natural substances.' This is insisted on at length by Mr. Keble, who points out with anxious precision the bearings of the error of Transubstantiation upon the question of worship, as addressed to the objective Presence. The presumed annihilation of the elements reduces the Roman practice to a worship of the Sacrament, as distinct from a worship of Christ in the Sacrament. Nothing is more observable than our author's dispassionate but decided repudiation of distinctive Roman teaching, or than his loyalty to the English Church, as exhibited in his hearty and careful acceptance of all her formularies which touch upon the question, negatively as well as positively, no less than in the affectionate veneration with which he speaks of her great divines.

And in particular, as the editor of the 'Hooker,' published at the Oxford University press, Mr. Keble gives comments on some well-known passages in that writer, which will be read with special interest. It will be remembered that even Waterland comments with disapprobation upon Hooker's statement that 'the Gospel has properly now no sacrifice;'[1] but Mr. Keble defends it, by limiting the word to 'ancient sacrifices,' *i. e.* Hooker is understood by him to say, that the Gospel has now no material offerings solemnly ordained for the known ends of sacrifice (p. 69). He concedes unwillingly, that, upon the subject of the objective Presence, 'one so wise, holy, and venerable,' was biassed by a respect for Calvin and some of his school, so as to

[1] E. Pol. v. 78.

make allowances, which, logically carried out, would lead to concessions such as the ancient Church could never have endured (p. 124). This is what has been urged in substance by Mr. Freeman, who, however, points out that Hooker *does* recognise the effects of Consecration when he is not immediately engaged in an endeavour to find a common standing ground for all parties.[1]

And it is to be borne in mind that the doctrine of Consecration, although, of course, never unrepresented in the English Eucharistic office, was less stringently impressed upon it in Hooker's days than, by God's mercy, it is in our own: as the divines of the Savoy Conference, by their insertion of the rubric providing for the formal recitation of the words of consecration in case 'of the consecrated bread and wine being all spent 'before all have communicated,' must be held to have given this principle so prominent an expression, that, even the judges of Archdeacon Denison themselves do not appear to have ventured to deny it. But Hooker wrote in days when the Consecration-Prayer was unsupported by any such authoritative witness to its real import: and as Mr. Keble elsewhere urges, no one who holds to the real objective Presence need fear that he is departing *in principle* from so great an authority, since Hooker's scruple to make a full statement of the truth arose not from any dread of so-called superstition, as though too much were being attributed to sacraments, but from jealousy in behalf of the doctrine of our Lord's real and abiding Humanity (p. 71).

We wish that we could follow our author through the chapter in which he discusses the liturgical and patristic aspects of his subject. He draws out into its full cogency and importance the witness of the four great writers, Theodoret, SS. Cyril, Ambrose, and Augustine, who speak of Adoration in primitive times: and he explains the fact upon which so much stress has been laid, viz. that the Primitive Liturgies do not present us with 'any form of prayer addressed to Christ's Holy Humanity 'so present,[2] nor any rubric enjoining adoration inward or out-'ward,' by the principle enunciated in the Third Council of Carthage, at which S. Augustine was present; 'Cum altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.' Yet more earnestly would we invite the attention of our readers to Mr. Keble's statement and solution of the practical difficulty which many will feel to have arisen from the part taken by the

[1] E. Pol. v. 77. 12; Freeman, Int. p. 203.

[2] By this expression we suppose Mr. Keble to mean the worship of Christ's Person as united to His manhood. The separate worship of the Sacred Humanity, as of our Lord's Hands, or of His Feet, or of His Heart, belongs to the mind of a later age.

Primate in the 'Proceedings at Bath.' Upon these portions of the book we are less disposed to lay much stress; since it would be unjust to regard such a work in the light of merely another pamphlet, which, under the pressure of the present trying crisis, has risen to the surface of theological opinion. It is surely one of the most able vindications of Primitive doctrine which the Church of England has produced of late years, and will rank among not the least of the many services which its author has rendered to the religion of his country. The 'Christian Year' has already reached its fifty-third edition, and has long become a classic: so that Eastern travellers, albeit latitudinarian in their theology, quote and comment upon its lines as having recognised authority, much as Herodotus of old quoted and illustrated Homer; while here and in America it has made itself a home in the inmost hearts of thousands of humble and loving worshippers of Christ. We cannot but be thankful that its author is still among us, and in a trying hour has interposed with all the weight of his name and learning in behalf of a primitive tradition, theoretically so sacred, and practically so important, as that of Eucharistic Adoration.

NOTICES.

'Piesma ob Historie Serbov e Bolgar-Sotchenenie A. Gelferdenga.' (Moskva.) Letters on the History of the Servians and Bulgarians, by A. Hilferding. Moscow.—This is one of the historical monographs which are beginning to reflect such credit on Russian researches and Russian learning; and just now, when the eyes of Europe are directed to the Christian provinces of European Turkey, and speculation is afloat as to the possible Slavonic kingdom which may some day have its rise from them, this particular treatise merits unusual attention. The fourth letter, which treats of the rise of Christianity in Bulgaria, and its appendix, the questions sent by the Bulgarians to Pope Nicolas I. and his answers, are exceedingly interesting; so also is the fifth, which describes the irruption of the Hungarians. In the sixth, we have the golden age of that people, and their famous *Car* Simeon. The seventh relates to the decay of Bulgaria, and the rule of Peter the son of Simeon (927—968). The eighth introduces us to Sviatoslav, and the first overthrow of the Bulgarian dominion. This last event is told with great spirit, and concludes the work; itself only the first part of the complete history. To those who desire to gain a good general view on the subject, this book on the one hand, and Kogalnitchan's History of Moldavia and Wallachia on the other, would be the best guides.

'Geschichte der Slawenapostel Cyrill und Method, und der Slawischen Liturgie. Von Dr. J. A. Ginzel.' Leitmeritz. (A. Schnürlein. 1857.) History of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Apostles of the Slavi, and of the Slavonic Liturgy. By Dr. J. A. Ginzel. Leitmeritz. (A. Schnürlein. 1857.)—There are few more interesting pages in ecclesiastical history than the contest of Rome and Constantinople for the possession of Bulgaria, and the establishment of a vernacular Liturgy in a language, the writing and orthography of which was invented by those great missionaries, Cyril and Methodius. Dr. Ginzel, after a very able chapter on the sources, both of certain and doubtful authority, whence their annals are to be derived, relates in the first book the history of the mission, down to the death of S. Methodius. In the second book we have the history of the Slavic Liturgy: in Illyria and in Bohemia. Next that of the Slavic Church language; a description of Glagolita manuscripts, the publication of the Glagolita Missal and Breviary, and of the Illyrian ritual. After this, an essay on the propagation and present condition of the Romano-Slavic Liturgy. A statistical table at the end, which comes down as late as the April of the present year, is very interesting. In the Diocese of Veglia we find the Glagolita Liturgy of the Latin rite in seventeen churches or convents. In that of Jadera, in thirty-eight; in that of Spalato, in sixty; in that of Sebenik, in three. In the united diocese of Verenzo-Pola, it has now completely died out. We must not forget to add that there is a very valuable appendix of ecclesiastical documents, as well as another containing a translation of a few Glagolitic fragments.

'Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz. Von Dr. E. F. Gelpke. Erster Theil: unter der Romer, Burgunder, und Allemanneuherrschaft.' (Bern: J. Dalp. 1856.) Church History of Switzerland. By Dr. E. F. Gelpke. Part I.: The dominion of the Romans, Burgundians, and Germans.—On hearing of the 'Church History of Switzerland,' one so naturally thinks of Calvin, Zuinglius, and their fellows, that it is a comfort to look further back, and to read of the first planting and gradual spread of the Catholic Church in that country. The task had been undertaken by Hottinger, with the prejudice which his very name implies: by Ludwig Wirz, in 1808, and by J. L. Blum, in 1852. Dr. Gelpke's work, written, as it is, with very great candour, and with no inconsiderable amount of labour, will probably be, among his co-religionists, the standard book on the subject. The present volume is divided into two parts. The first relates the external fortunes of the Church: in Geneva, with its long line of Bishops, commencing with Paracodus and Dionysius, by tradition disciples of the Apostles: in Wallis, with the legend of the Theban Legion, the celebrated Abbey of Agaunum, and the Council of Epaone: in Helvetia Proper: in Aventicum with its twenty-two early Bishops: in Soleure, with the extension of the Church there by a Christian legion, and the curious legend of S. Verena: in Vindonissa: in Zurich, with its legend of S. Felix and Regula: in Bern and the Waldstätt. From Helvetia Proper, the author proceeds to Rhœtia Secunda, and thence to Raurachia, where he dwells at length on the legend of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. So ends the first part. The second is taken up with the internal constitution of the Church of Switzerland; and lastly, we have a sketch of the system of idolatry overthrown by the Church, and the religious system which took its place: in the latter, 'Christian Life and Church Discipline' is, with true German taste, divided into the 'Light side and Shadow side.' Dr. Gelpke has produced (considering the somewhat uninviting character of a part of his subject) a very readable book; and one which may certainly add to the knowledge of every English student of Ecclesiastical History.

Of Sermons on the National Fast-day, we have to notice one by Mr. Baines, of S. John's Chapel, Haverstock Hill, entitled 'The Sword of the Lord.'—The author has got up his subject well; and though the view taken is the same with that of nearly all the sermons preached on the day of humiliation, we have not met with any where it has been so forcibly put. We can only express our regret that the limited dimensions of the chapel in which it was preached prevented its being heard by a larger congregation.

'Notes on the Gospel of S. John, as translated by Five Clergymen,' (J. H. Parker) by the Rev. T. Wade, contains a preface laying down six canons to be observed in a Revision, and notes on particular passages in which Mr. Wade differs from the 'Five Clergymen;' either because they have not altered the Authorized Version, or not done so in the best way. The Notes are worth reading, as ventilating questions; but the Proposed Version, generally speaking, seems to depart more widely from the Authorized, and to be more scholastic even than that already sent out. The canons seem to us to be somewhat contradictory to each other; *e.g.*

the third is 'To translate uncertainties by uncertainties. Where the Greek 'admits of two meanings, it is best, if possible, to render it by such an 'English version as will also admit of two meanings.' Surely the Greek may admit of two meanings, without its being at all uncertain which is the true one, and we think the 'Five Clergymen' have erred in this way by retaining 'uncertainties' too often. But Mr. Wade goes further, and in the fourth canon says: 'To avoid giving a commentary instead of a trans-'lation, even where the Greek *seems to admit of* ONLY ONE *rendering*, it is 'better to translate as literally as possible; for it may be found, as our 'knowledge of Greek increases, that passages which seem to admit of only 'one interpretation, admit of two or even more meanings.' (!) Yet the second canon is 'To prefer expressing the sense to literally translating an idiom:' and the instance objected against is the translating χαρᾷ χαίρει, 'rejoiceth with joy;' instead of 'rejoiceth greatly;' which latter, Mr. Wade says, 'seems preferable, because it expresses the sense, though not the 'idiom; while the Revision expresses the idiom without the sense.' This is sacrificing truth to antithesis. The fourth canon, as well as the sense, should require the literal rendering. The fifth canon is a most obvious truism, of which the whole difficulty lies in the application; viz. 'To bear 'in mind that an Authorized Version is intended for both educated and 'uneducated classes;' and the conclusion from it approaches an impossibility: 'it should be so plain that the most ignorant can understand it.' We add the remaining canons. '1. To retain, as far as possible, the Greek order of the words.' This is far oftener to destroy the object of that order, which our English idiom reverses. '6. To translate by the same number of words as is used in the Greek.' Mr. Wade's own adherence to this and other canons, as 2, 4, 5, is shown by his first proposed version, i. 3: ἐγένετο ὃ δὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν. 'Came into being not even one thing which is in being,' (surely it ought to be, 'hath come into being,' by way of completing the sentence consistently.) Some of the versions are absurd, and contrary to New Testament idiom; as παιδάριον ἓν, 'one little child:' because the one person who had food 'was a young one' (παῖς), nay, 'a very young one indeed' (παιδάριον). How could it then carry about 'five barley loaves,' even Eastern ἄρτοι?

An article on the Cambridge Edition of Irenæus, by the Rev. W. Wigan Harvey, is in type, but necessarily postponed till our next number.

When the 'Five Clergymen' published their 'Revision of the Authorized Version of S. John,' it was naturally remarked that they had chosen the easiest part of the New Testament, and that if their principles or scheme were to be properly tested, they should be tried on a difficult book; and the Epistle to the Romans, as 'the hardest piece of Greek' extant, was pointed out as that on which they should make the attempt. They have done so in the 'Epistle to the Romans, translated, &c., by Five Clergymen' (J. W. Parker), and we think quite as successfully as in S. John. But they say (what no one would have supposed) that they have *not* found the Epistle so difficult as the Gospel. 'The short sentences of S. John, the 'scanty context, the extremely subtle and sometimes imperceptible con-'nexion of the argument, combined with the high doctrinal importance of

'the matter so concisely stated by the Evangelist, cause his Gospel to be 'absolutely replete with difficulties. Every verse admits of questions.' In the Epistle, a full argumentative context, and earnest, onward connexion of thought, and a prevailing length of sentence, make the Apostle's meaning, if not obvious, yet, when carefully examined, generally not only clear but undoubted. They consider that their present publication will appear still better calculated than their former one to show the usefulness and importance of the work upon which they have been engaged. In two respects they have modified their rules. 1. By adopting a text apparently such as would be required by criticism. 2. By giving some reasons in notes at the end of the preface for several of the renderings adopted. Certainly we think that their Revised Version does throw great light on many an obscure passage in the Epistle; and, by slight change of expression, says what many a long note would scarcely adequately convey.

Mr. Harvey Goodwin's 'Commentary on S. Matthew,' (Bell & Daldy,) will fully sustain his reputation as an attractive writer on religious subjects for plain readers. The book has further the somewhat rare merit of a well-sustained unity of purpose. Besides, its practical lessons will give even the unlearned, who will really be at the pains to study the carefully-prepared Introductions, as well as to read and use the Commentary, a clear hold of the characteristics of this Gospel. We do not say that this is everything; but it is well worth all the pains here bestowed upon bringing it to view and popularizing it. In point of depth, we are constrained to say that Mr. Goodwin does not come up to our ideal. It is incomprehensible to us, how a divine who so implicitly and *bonâ fide* believes there are such things as Sacraments, and on occasion speaks so worthily of them, should rest satisfied with a teaching so very little penetrated and leavened by them. While perfectly sound, as far as we have observed in this volume, it is certainly of the school of Pearson and Barrow, not of that of Andrewes or Jackson.

We have seen nothing better conceived as a guide to personal devotion, than 'A Plain Manual of Religious Exercises.' (Edinburgh: Lendrum.) It is thoroughly true to the spirit, and leads up continually to the use, public and private, of the Prayer-Book. It is plain, too, without the boldness which some similar works affect; and preserves a devout warmth without familiarity. It deserves to be popular.

Mr. Ellicott has sent out another portion of his 'Commentary on S. Paul's Epistles' (J. W. Parker)—on those to the Philippians and Colossians. It is needless for us to say anything in recommendation of a work which, by the common consent of theologians and scholars, supersedes every other in the same line—that is, investigating and laying open the true meaning of the original Greek of the Epistles, which it does most thoroughly and exactly. All recent Commentaries on the Epistles fade away beside Mr. Ellicott's. And a great debt of gratitude is due to one who has, we hope for good, put out of the field the superficial 'rough and ready' style of comment, which there was great danger might become popular, because it is easy, and sees no difficulties. In all his commentaries, Mr. Ellicott, whilst

developing the verbal and grammatical exegesis, has somewhat unfolded doctrinal and moral exposition; but in the volume now sent out he has, he says, pursued the doctrinal exposition further, on account of the great importance of the texts that come before him; as well as from the need which he sees there is, in the present tendency of opinion, to dwell on those Scriptures which teach the true Divinity of our Blessed Lord. A passage of his Preface on the subtle forms of humanitarianism that are gaining ground at the present day, ought to be read by every one. It is the testimony of a person who has ample means of judging, and whom no one can regard as narrow-minded, or anywise trammelled by the prejudices of any particular school of opinion. The warning, too, which the same Preface contains on the danger of relinquishing the old familiar language of our English Bible, is specially valuable and well-timed. And this warning is the more necessary because the works that dwell on the humanity of our Saviour may be made winning to religious minds from the pious sentiments and thoughts of sympathy and human love, in which they are clothed: His divinity being omitted, not denied.

The third instalment of the Christian Advocate's luminous and extensive inquiry into the comparisons and contrasts between the Christian revelation and the other systems of antiquity, has appeared, under the old title—not, we think, a fortunate one—of 'Christ and other Masters' (Macmillan). Mr. Hardwick's present subject is the religions of China, America, and Oceanica. In many respects this remarkable work presents a contrast, and antidote, to an equally remarkable work now publishing in Paris by M. Renan, with the difference that one is the production of a sincere Christian, and the other of one who is much the reverse. Mr. Hardwick exhibits great research and very multifarious reading; and if, as some may find, his conclusions are not always definite, where authorities and testimonies are so conflicting, the attitude of even a judge must be one of caution. For example, in the case of Buddhism, of a system which has been in constant flux, and varies so much under different climatic and social conditions, and which has been modified so much by historical accidents, it is quite impossible to present a single or definite view in contrast to the Gospel. The sketch—and existing materials prevent its being other than a sketch—of the Polynesian family is important as an ethnological as well as theological inquiry: and it is nearly the first attempt to reduce the religion and manners of this fringe of mankind into the religious history of the families of the earth.

We do not pretend to endorse the theology—we speak generally—of the publications of Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh. But they deserve, as we believe they have secured, great credit for their translations of many of the works, which in England too indiscriminately are proscribed under the name of German Theology. Among the best of these we may specify, though tediously diffuse, Stier's 'Words of the Lord Jesus,' and Guericke s 'Church History.' This last is translated, and, unless we are mistaken, printed in the United States; which last circumstance will account for a good deal of the inaccurate typography. In many respects it forms a complement to 'Gieseler's Manual.' The translator, Mr. Shedd, is clearly

unequal to his work: bad theology and worse English are his characteristics.

Perhaps we are not wrong in selecting as *the* theological book of the year Professor Blunt on the 'Right Use of the Early Fathers' (Murray). With the same title, it presents an absolute contrast to Daillé's famous, or infamous, work. We trust that this selection of Lectures may be appealed to as the standard Anglican work on the subject: and its value is the greater, as the writer's position and character separated him entirely from what are often vaguely and absurdly, and therefore mischievously, characterised as party influences. It must be remembered that this volume consists of Lectures; and is not therefore a systematic Treatise. In one respect, perhaps, its form was instigated by Bishop Kaye's useful and preliminary studies in the same direction; but we gladly recognise warmth, a genial and thorough appreciation of antiquity, and an earnest, free-spoken confidence, in calling bad things—such as heresy and schism—by their bad names in the Professor, which the good Bishop's cautious and hesitating temper shrunk from. What Professor Blunt might have been as a bishop we can only conjecture; but had Bishop Kaye always remained a professor, he had never reached Blunt's theological ripeness.

A third and concluding volume of 'Landmarks of History,' (Mozley,) brings this valuable series down to the accession of Napoleon III. A practical writer like Miss Yonge can alone acquire the difficult art of framing a compendium like this, which is in form only an epitome, but in its life-like delineations of character almost resembles a picture-gallery. There are very few masters of history who will not find these volumes occasionally useful; and to students they are indispensable. But already they have taken rank as classics.

Mr. W. E. Heygate is favourably known as a writer of doctrinal and practical works; and his services to the Church are neither few nor unimportant. We own to preferring his serious works to his fictions. 'Sir Henry Appleton' (Lyall), a tale of the Great Rebellion, is likely to be popular; and in many respects it is above the average. In literature and research it exceeds most of those little books which were to be found on so many tables in the days of Mr. Paget's first successes. Here and there the wit is somewhat heavy; and seventeenth century slang is an uphill work both to writer and reader. Mr. Heygate writes,—and it is a rare virtue,—with the enthusiasm of a royalist; but is he quite sure that there is no counter-evidence against his assertion, p. 327, of the purity—'no atmosphere could be purer'—of Charles's court?

A thoughtful and able paper—and, because thoughtful and able, one in all the conclusions of which few of us are prepared, without careful deliberation, at once to coincide—has been drawn up by the Manchester Church Society, 'On the Royal Supremacy and Church Emancipation' (J. H. Parker). Pregnant words, yet now replete with more of hope than of fear. The mere fact that such subjects are discussed with so much sobriety, and yet with such a resolute grasp of principle, bearing in mind their connexion with the inevitable drift of the great social movement of the age, leads us

to the conviction that when they come to be decided, it will be found that we have all been ripening ourselves for the decision. The attempts, apparently so successful, to erastianize and dedoctrinate the Church, by recent Episcopal appointments, are the surest way to liberate it.

The London Union on Church Matters (Office, 5, Mitre Court, Temple) has published an Annual Report. It contains suggestions for the rehabilitation, to use a fashionable word, of the Church Unions. Churchmen owe many duties to these bodies, especially to the Central Committee in London, whose utility—and this is true of all organizations, whose work is with political and external assaults on the Church, or on any other religious body—is not to be measured by its formal action. Dissenters are wise enough to feel confidence in their Committees of the Five Denominations. Churchmen must be equally liberal: and we are persuaded that while we have to deplore all sorts of assaults and their damage on the Church, much of evil has been averted by the active, and more active because unobtrusive, influence of these bodies. Such a body as the London Union has won confidence, and deserves those substantial marks of confidence which it now asks, in the shape of members and their subscriptions.

Mr. George Gilbert Scott has shown, in his recent instructive work on 'Gothic Architecture, Secular and Domestic' (Murray), that he is no rigid theorist, bent on reviving a style, in which in its ecclesiastical development he has few rivals, merely as a pedantic study. He claims for pointed art its full appreciation as the starting-point for future developments. Alive to the necessities of climate, and impressed with the capability of the pointed style for receiving and developing all modern advances and discoveries in material and mechanical appliances, he argues destructively, that both the classic and Palladian styles are inferior to it in these respects, and constructively that Gothical one combines capacities for use with ornament: while sumptuous enough for the palace, it is not too small to disdain the cottage. The feature of this book—and it is a well-written one—which presents itself at a glance, is its practical character. Though desultory in form, it is systematic, for it nearly exhausts the subject.

In his 'Three Introductory Lectures to Ecclesiastical History' (Hodges and Smith), Professor Lee of Dublin has drawn, with a master's hand, the general aspects and lessons of Church History. From Mr. Lee's previous publication we did not expect a style so graceful, nor a literature so extensive. Sketches of course these Lectures must be; but a single phase of history and thought is illustrated with great copiousness and minuteness. We do not remember many pages more striking than the Second Lecture on the 'Early Struggles of the Church,' in which we find a very picturesque grouping of the opposing parties, religious and political, and of the influences, social and literary, which arose at this eventful period of the fifth century, were in collision, or in mutual absorbence. Mr. Lee does not write as an optimist; but he evidently intends to convey the important lesson that whatever the immediate—and from the nature of the case, they must always, at any given time, be exceptional—trials and difficulties of the Church among ourselves, still the Church has surmounted equal or

worse troubles. This is the teaching of Church History, and we expect much from Mr. Lee's labours in this field.

Mr. Cayley is known as a poet; he has translated Dante in such a style that his version is considered classical. And if we wanted proofs that he is a poet, we should find it even in the little volume of raving absurdity which he has sent us, called 'Psyche's Interludes' (Longman). Of course it is only meant as a joke: a sort of dismal jest at some of Mr. Browning's grotesqueness of style, and at some of the eccentricities of imagery and tactic of Mr. Alexander Smith and the school of Festus and Balder. The subjects of Mr. Cayley's jokes are generally some of the beautiful legends of Greece; the fortunes of Daphne have been caricatured already (Bland's Anthology). Here is Mr. Cayley's Phœbus *loquitur*, in the well-known Love-chase—

'"May Cerberus kill her!"
He bawled, and forwards tumbled:
"Stay, proud Peneid! Zeus! where is she hid?"
His flesh for thorns he fumbled.

Then o'er the crags, and through the snags,
By fens and falls he chased her,
Like some outrageous, Anthropophageous,
Moor hankering to taste her.'—P. 18.

And this is the style in which Mr. Cayley renders the combat between Castor and Pollux, and Lynceus and Idas.

'Up, sabre, hence! a finer fence
Remember, if possessing!
A steel-glov'd Hand, as heavy as brand,
Comes through thy see-saw pressing.

'His wind it quashes, his feature smashes,
His knees the flung Leg staggers;
Down, monstrous form! sink, battle's storm!—
Look if Jove's Pugilist swaggers.'—P. 36.

Occasionally, however, there are glimpses which lead to the melancholy suspicion that Mr. Cayley is serious all the time. If so, his little volume certainly takes rank among the Curiosities of Literature.

Bengel's 'Gnomon of the New Testament' is a work which will always command respect, and it is surprising how little of its contents has to be modified by recent critical studies. An English translation has been published by Clark, of Edinburgh, under careful editorship. The first and third volumes have reached us, and we can speak highly of the labours bestowed upon them, especially on the first volume, translated by Mr. James Bandinel. For a single commentary, critical and exegetical, it is probably not yet surpassed. The present editors have done well in incorporating from Wordsworth, Alford, and writers of our own time.

'Omphalos' (Van Voorst) is the curious title prefixed by Mr. Gosse to a curious and ambitious work, in which, with greater good feeling than success, he endeavours to 'untie the geological knot.' Now from the

assumption of the fact—on which, by the way, much learned trifling has been expended—that Adam was created in umbilical perfection, Mr. Gosse argues that this material world was also created, with its existing strata, its fossil floras and faunas—that is, with fossil skeletons of creatures which never had life—also at a single and momentary development. This principle he styles prochronism. Mr. Granville Penn has, we believe, anticipated this hypothesis; but it yet has to be received by men of science, either material or theological. Mr. Gosse is at home with the sea-anemones. In these fields of disquisition we desire abler apologists.

We hope some day to do more than announce the publication of M. Albert de Broglie's 'L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IVème Siècle' (Paris: Didier). Two volumes have appeared, embracing the reign of Constantine. This work must command a European reputation, written as it is with calmness and in the spirit of a constitutionalist—recommendations alone sufficient to engage its earnest study among ourselves. A subsidiary Essay, at the end of the first volume, on the critical standard to which the Gospel history is to be subjected, is written with great ability; and we find repeated references to many of our English authors on the constitution of the Church. Were France other than it is, its Church would gratefully accept this great work.

'The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice' (Hodges and Smith), by Messrs. Graves and Prim, is one of the most handsome and complete monographs which we have recently met with. St. Canice, we must remark, is in modern English, Kilkenny. It is full of archæological and ecclesiastical information, and shows what might be done with a Hibernia Sacra. The matter of most obvious regret is the desolating feeling that there is but little chance, under the general auspices of the Irish Church, of seeing this sumptuous church restored. In Kilkenny, we have only entered into the heritage of faith to despoil it. The only sign of hope in the Church is the tomb, so costly and appropriate, lately erected to the memory of the pious and excellent Marquis of Ormonde.

'Bishop Bethell's Sermons' (Rivingtons) display the old-fashioned theology of an old-fashioned man—high praise both in their admirable writer's estimation and in our own. Few have done more to keep up the old spirit and character of the Church of England than the good and octogenarian Bishop of Bangor. He is, with one other, the last of a noble race: may they long be preserved to that Church which they have adorned! This volume, at any rate, is a precious legacy.

A learned, and at the same time an instructive and readable volume, is to be found in Dr. Daubeny's 'Lectures on Roman Husbandry' (Clarendon Press). It is something more than this, for it is a full treatise on botany and natural history, as known to the ancients.

The 'Purgatory of Prisoners' (Masters) is the curious title—and one the propriety of which may be questioned—of Mr. Orby Shipley's inquiry into the results of the improved treatment of criminals in the Irish gaols. It consists in interposing a transitionary period of refuge between imprisonment and pardon. The pamphlet is written with great ability, and

exhibits the results of much personal inquiry and research. The Smithfield establishment, or Reformatory, in Dublin, seems to be most successful as an educational institution. Mr. Shipley assures us that he witnessed satisfactory replies from the convicts to the following questions:—'The two greatest events in the world. When the moon is fullest, to 'what is it in opposition? The class from which riches spring. Faraday's 'life. Magellan and Sir F. Drake's voyages. Venus' speed of motion. 'Causes of so many social crimes. The first European coast the Atlantic 'washes. Anecdote by Mr. Organ on intoxication. Theory of tides, and 'their phenomena. Birthplace of our blessed Lord. Dimensions of Aus-'tralia. Anecdote of Alexander the Great. Population of the globe. The 'moon's position and motion. Height of the tides at S. Helena. Effect 'of the pressure of the air. The four last things to be remembered by all. 'Peculiarity of the climate of Asia. Adam's age at Seth's birth. The 'wisest law ever given. The cultivation of cotton. How sea-water is pre-'served from putrefaction. Oceans at North Pole. Our blessed Lord's 'words on bad example. Population of Belfast in 1851. Advantages de-'rived from tides, especially in rivers, and where most regular. Sons of 'Jacob and their mothers. Part of Asia first inhabited. Two first words 'of the last lecture. Adam's life after Seth's birth. Russian seas. Captain 'Cook's death. Volcanoes in Victoria. The ancient theory of tides. 'Boundaries of Asia. America discovered. Our ancestor amongst Noah's 'sons. Geometrical definition of a globe. Date of Noah's entry into the 'Ark—day, month, and year; and the clean and unclean animals he 'selected. Four rivers of Eden. At what depth water is as heavy as 'quicksilver. Length, breadth, area, and population of London. Nelson's 'death. Invention of printing. Length of Liverpool docks. Discovery 'of the Ladrone Islands. Size and height of the Pyramids. Political 'divisions of Europe. Free towns of Germany. Polar diameter of the 'earth. How long are we bound to obey the laws of man? to which the 'answer given was, "As long as they do not oppose the laws of God."'—Pp. 77, 78. It becomes a serious question, whether the Examiners for the Civil Service ought not to draw their candidates from this promising source? Making some allowance for Mr. Shipley's enthusiasm, however, we must observe, with all seriousness, that the principle which he advocates is a sound one, and supports the most complete test—it is a success.

'Twelve Sermons from the Quaresimale of F. Paolo Segneri,' translated by Mr. Prebendary Ford (Masters), is an extremely valuable work. We own to be of those who never heard of this extraordinary man, and we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Ford for correcting our ignorance. Segneri was the preacher of Italy in the seventeenth century; and his works have been translated into almost every European language. The present volume consists of his series of Lent Sermons, and more awakening and piercing sermons we never read. Of course, they must be understood as having been delivered without book; but though inartificial and abrupt, and vehement in style, they must have been well thought out. We counsel nobody to reproduce them, still less to read them to an ordinary English

congregation in church: for this purpose they are undoubtedly unfit, as are the greatest even of the great French Sermons. But for those, and they are many, who want to know how to preach 'converting' sermons, here is an extant specimen of what told wonderfully, and the like of which alone will ever tell. An Italian audience and an Italian orator are presupposed; but the substance of these most vivid and practical sermons is for all men and for all times. The Italian Jesuit, for such he was, knew most intimately the social condition of the people he was addressing: and if we are to have Exeter Hall Sermons, and if we can make sure of congregations of irreligious men, this is the sort of thing we want; and it is exactly the sort of thing which the published Exeter Hall Sermons are not. Here every man is addressed as a sinner, and in terms the most severe, and with the utmost keenness and even invective of rebuke, but still all are appealed to as Christian sinners. The peculiarity of the style, merely in its rhetorical aspect, is the interrogative form of the rhetoric—a mode at once the most natural, and because the most natural, therefore the most neglected among us.

There are very few books on the pastoral office from which good is not to be had: one of the worst Bishops who ever sat on an English throne has written what is still, and always will be, a classic work on the ministerial duties. Where Burnet has succeeded, it is impossible to fail. Mr. Ashton Oxenden, in his 'Pastoral Office' (Wertheim), is one who ought on no account to be mentioned in the same breath with the author of the 'Pastoral Care.' He is, though influenced by a school of theology with which our sympathies are not close, much larger in spirit than its narrow and pedantic traditions; and in the little volume before us he has produced an admirable manual; not the less so because so much of it is adapted from various sources. No Church has failed in producing such manuals, and their multiplication is, at any rate, a proof of the assiduity and care—at least, compared with past days—with which, in all its fields, the vineyard of the Church is attempted to be cultivated.

We are not very partial to religious allegories: a theological metaphor is like an epigram in five acts. With this protest against this form of didactic writing, we can afford to say that 'The Glorious City,' by M. A. O. (Masters), is an average—perhaps more than an average—specimen of religious allegory. But while we think the authoress was right in not venturing to publish it without 'the sanction of a clergyman of the Church of England,' we regret that the reverend adviser's *imprimatur* was given to such a very lady-like bit of classicality as the name *Debola*, the weak child of the story.

The publishers and editors of such a book as 'Paradise Kept' have something to answer for. (We suppress the publisher's name, which is respectable.) It is the work of a lunatic; and, as a mere matter of charity, of course there is no harm in allowing one so afflicted free access to pen and ink. And if the ravings take a religious form, we can always comfort ourselves that a diseased brain might have spent itself on other and worse subjects. But to print such effusions is something more than a mistake:

it is a gross profanity and irreverence. What if this sort of thing were to fall into the hands of Messrs. Holyoake and Hetherington! If this is Christianity, and is to be sent into the world without protest and with all seriousness, and under the auspices of those whose name on a title-page is claimed not only as a guarantee for decency, but as an appeal for confidence, what are we to say to the scoffer and unbeliever? Did Nat Lee, in the wildest frenzies of Bedlam, ever indite anything worse than this, taken quite at hazard, from 'a poem' of about 3,000 lines?—

> 'Man's ad-option
> Follows schooling. Schooled under law were all
> Whom Moses and Elias schooled. No less
> These needed schooling of stern pedagogues
> Than Jacob schooling needed. Zebedee's
> Sons, Boanerges, these were. So no son
> Of consolation thence arose, nor sons
> Who knew What Spirit they were of, as did
> Simon when into Peter changed, and sons
> Of Zebedee wrought unto Love, having
> Cast off their birth-sin with its lusts. Left in
> Puerile condition, a seed half-formed
> Were Jews. But leaves, not first-ripe fig, their spring
> Did show. Mere servants *in condition*, not
> Sons matured, were those whom the LORD did rule
> With terrors, as con-cluded under sin,
> And shut up to the faith to be revealed
> When CHRIST should come to set at liberty
> The prisoners of hope. His prisoners
> GOD despiseth not. These, in due time, CHRIST
> Redeemed from thrall, and nurtured not with milk
> And worldly rudiments, but with Grace and
> Truth meet for ad-opted sons. Skilful in
> The Word of Righteousness are these. Perfect
> The imperfect now are made in CHRIST.'—Pp. 161, 162.

Nemesis, however, has reached John Milton at any rate: his 'Plea for the liberty of unlicensed Printing' is sufficiently avenged by this insane caricature of Paradise Lost.

There is something which we are not anxious to inquire into, which makes Mr. J. C. Chambers' parting with his congregation at S. Vinian's painful and distressing. But, apart from this the concluding sermon, there is much in his 'Sermons preached at Perth' (Masters), from which preachers may learn. He enlarges a good deal on the sacramental system, but with a view to making it a reality rather than a theory: and though occasionally we detect traces of exaggerated thought, or perhaps of thought sharpened by personal feeling, on the whole we have not met with a recent volume so full of promise and of such genial language as Mr. Chambers'.

'George Wither's Hallelujah' (J. R. Smith). This is the reprint of Wither's 'Britain's *Second* Remembrancer,'—a book so rare that only two

copies are known. The editor thinks that its intrinsic merits are sufficient to justify the present publication: we think that the archæological is better than the poetical argument for the reprint. It is of that school of which George Herbert is the best, and likely to be the only popular, example.

'Churches, Sects, and Religious Parties; or, Some Motives for every Conversion to the Catholic Church. By a Master of Arts, formerly a Clergyman of the Established Church' (Dolman), is not what one would expect from its title. It is neither argumentative nor controversial; but a small, gossiping, twaddling book, full of anecdotes, and what the newspapers call *gobe-moucherie*. Occasionally these funny little stories—as is the tendency of this sort of things—are mendacious. Here is a specimen. 'In "Devo-'tions" published by him [Bishop Ken, "the great idol of Tractarianism"], 'he admitted, or seemed to admit, transubstantiation, and the ministry of 'angels towards men; but being accused of holding these doctrines, he coolly 'published a second edition, in which they were expunged, and used much 'special pleading to show that he had never intended to teach them.' Now, without pausing on the word 'transubstantiation,' we beg to ask for the authority of this, in which there is not one word of truth. Again, on the same page (p. 97), we are told that 'Dr. Paley maintained, when preaching 'on the text, "Ye are washed, ye are justified," &c., that these words were 'appropriate enough to the first days of the Gospel, but that it would be 'absurd to look for anything analogous to them in the condition of Chris-'tianity at the present time.' Now, we are no great admirers of Dr. Paley, and perhaps 'the Master of Arts' may have heard 'Dr. Paley maintain, when preaching,' as above. If so, it is a pity that he did not say so. For ourselves, we can only say that our printed edition of Dr. Paley makes no mention of any 'sermon on the text "Ye are washed," &c.' So as at present advised, we have only to remark, that there are two lies on one page. After these two instances, the writer asks, 'Need more be said to show the feelings of Protestants towards the supernatural?'—a question as weighty and conclusive as it would be, were we, after convicting our friend of these two little fictions, to ask, 'Need more be said to show the estimate entertained by Papists towards matters of fact?' *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.*

Dr. Monsell's 'Spiritual Songs' (J. W. Parker) are pretty, and they reflect the soft and gentle 'orange groves' under which they were composed. If they do not soar, they do not creep; and since a main function of religious poetry is to soothe and soften, we may pronounce a favourable judgment on a volume which, if it is written after the 'Christian Year,' and walks on a lower level, is the production of a pious and cultivated mind.

A reprint of several articles, which have from time to time appeared in our contemporary, *The Ecclesiastic*, is before us, under the title of 'The Spirit of the Church' (Masters). If we are unable to perceive that they piece so artistically together as to answer to the somewhat exhaustive promise of the title, we may observe that as a collection of illustrative essays they have high value. The aim of the series is entirely practical:

they illustrate principles, and show the sacramental theory of the Church at work; and giving, in its formal applications of doctrine, ritual, pastoral, with devotional efficiency. We especially select for commendation, a paper on the 'History of the Church of England since the Reformation,'—one on 'Sermons,'—and one on the 'Theory of Christian Worship.' To candidates for Orders, and for clergymen disposed to make their system one of use, this book is full of useful hints: and if we recommend it rather as a counsellor than a guide, we are led to this hint only because we observe occasionally hasty, or exaggerated language, which, not out of place in an occasional paper, is, perhaps, inconsistent with the spirit of a formal treatise.

Of course, the recent discussions on the alleged necessity for shortening the offices of the Church, have introduced a whole crop of proposed and suggested Prayer-Books. They are remarkable chiefly as showing, that their authors are as ignorant of the principles as—say—the compilers of our occasional Forms of Prayer, whenever they deviate from the tram-road of precedent. Here is an 'Order of Prayer, compiled from the Liturgy of the Church of England' (Dalton), which it is not, being compiled from the Morning and Evening Offices. It shows chiefly that the compiler has not the least glimpse of the *rationale* of the Prayer-Book. Impressed as we thought with right principles, he begins the Morning Office, 'O Lord, open thou our lips,' &c.; but then, anxious not to offend other views, he actually inserts the Sentence, 'Confession and Absolution after the Creed.' The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and Creed, being transferred to the Morning Office; the Liturgy, properly so called, is left deficient in these, which in so many ages of the Church have been considered essentials—and the Athanasian Creed is omitted.

In connexion with this subject, we have to acknowledge Mr. Henry Drummond's suggestive and thoughtful little tract, 'The Rationale of Liturgies and of Public Worship' (Bosworth).

A 'Catena' of authorities with regard to the 'Altar and the Eucharistic Sacrifice,' by Mr. Murray of Chislehurst (Masters), adds another valuable publication to the list of authorities in favour of a doctrine of the Church; which, if it could be vindicated by the usual aids of reason and testimony, we need not despair of retaining. But against these are ignorance in high places, and prejudice among the people; and, worse than all, unfaithfulness in the teachers: and the odds are unequal.

It is perhaps invidious to specify preachers as of remarkable excellence: but as there probably exist between Mr. Hampden Gurney and ourselves various points of difference, we shall not be misunderstood when we pronounce his sermons—taking into account the sort of congregation among whom he ministers—to be among the very best of the day. We at least do not know their equals. The 'Moral of a Sad Story' (Rivingtons) consists of four Sermons on the Indian calamities, marked by unusual eloquence, high principle, and an entire absence of party spirit. In elucidative notes, he deals a well-deserved castigation on the unprincipled language of the newspaper press on the missionary question: and, in all

his publications, we discern that rare merit in a public man—that of daring to be unpopular.

On this subject, we have to specify several single sermons. 1. Mr. Garden's 'Vengeance Right and Holy' (Rivingtons). The question, we think, is a practical one. We may endorse Mr. Garden's thesis that vengeance is only a form of justice: but the thing to be guarded against is the popular feeling which certainly does confuse revenge with vengeance. Mr. Garden draws the distinction theoretically and with his customary ability, and no doubt he would always practise it, though an ominous passage in his preface leads us to hesitate: 'We may be thankful,' he observes, in a quiet parenthesis, 'that a better clearance of perplexity is likely to be given to those who 'have most immediately to discharge such duties [*i. e.* of vengeance] than any 'logic or rhetoric of ours could furnish—the clearance afforded by time, 'place, incident, and call for immediate action,' which we translate into the observation, that an army in the mad license of a successful sack is the best judge of the character, and degree, and application of vengeance—a position which we beg to deny. Read by this lurid light, this able sermon would seem to be an apology for the calm suggestion which has actually been made, that we ought to make Delhi as Sodom and Gomorrah; or for the horrible fact, which has been executed, of reducing peaceful communities to the state of the villages of the plain. We are sure that Mr. Garden does not mean this. 2. 'India and Retribution," by Mr. Miller, of Bognor (Chichester: Mason), a warm-hearted and eloquent Sermon, which, though less philosophical, comes much to Mr. Garden's conclusion. 3. 'The Indian Sorrow,' by Dr. Vaughan, of Harrow (Rivingtons), an extremely thoughtful sermon, with an admirable narrative, strikingly illustrated, of the duty and blessedness of witnessing a good confession. 4. 'Our Unfaithfulness, and God's Judgments,' by Dr. Irons (Masters), marked by the preacher's eloquence and ability. 5. 'The Judgment of God on our National Sin,' by Mr. Davies, of Womersley (Masters). 6. One by Mr. Barrett, at Paddington (Rivingtons). 7. An anonymous, but able Sermon, preached at the 'Catholic Apostolic Church, in Gordon Square,' (Bosworth), in which are some strong and useful warnings on national apostasy.

'Presbyterian Liturgies, with specimens of Form of Prayer for Public Worship, as used in the Continental, Reformed, and American Churches:' by a Minister of the Church of Scotland, (Edinburgh: Macphail), is a remarkable work. It is very cautious and tentative, and suggests with great diffidence the necessity of superseding the Presbyterian service by worship. Here is the principle: and the details will follow. If this is admitted, we have no fear for the result. The present author knows as well as we do that all forms short of those of the Catholic Church are sure to fail. Those to which he appeals, and which he recommends only because they are not Anglican, are not in use. Knox's Liturgy was a complete failure. We suppose that this pamphlet—and it was suggested, by Mr. Binney's report and recommendation, for American publication, having the same object—was not ventured upon without the conviction that it represented a growing feeling; and from the existence of that feeling we augur

much. It is not, however, so well known as it should be, that in the Old Greyfriars Church at Edinburgh the pews and galleries are abolished; a service with congregational responses is used; the morning service is entirely ritual, without a sermon; the people are required to kneel at prayer, and to stand at the Psalms; and painted glass and an afternoon sermon proclaim the principles of the last age of Presbyterianism in its most sacred spot. Another curious fact produced in this pamphlet, is that the preacher at Crathie is in the habit, when the Queen attends, 'of making free and ample use of the Liturgy of the Church of England,'—and yet John Knox does not rise from his grave.

In preference to any remarks of our own on the great, and, to churchmen, engrossing subject of the Divorce Law, we prefer to make a long extract from the Bishop of Oxford's recent 'Charge:'—

'Most dangerous consequences seem to me too likely to follow from such 'a state of things. For, first, such an opposition between the law of the 'land and the law of the Church tends, more than any thing else, to dissolve 'that union between the Church and the State in this land, which has for 'so many years yielded such blessings to both. And accordingly, this 'enactment was advocated in Parliament by the bitter enemies of Church 'establishments, with insulting taunts at our captive condition, and insulting invitations to us to save ourselves from the immorality of our new 'position by quitting the Established Church and joining their ranks: and 'next, and beyond this, such legislation seems to me to involve principles 'which are directly at variance with the claims of Christianity itself, to be 'the revelation of the will of God. For if the Church of Christ does in 'God's word, the Creeds, and the like, possess such a revelation, and if her 'laws are the transcript and expression of it, then to allow any body 'external to herself to alter those laws, is to allow it to tamper with the 'revelation; it is allowing that the State possesses the right of dictating 'what we, as the authorized clergy, shall or shall not teach as the truth 'of God; a concession absolutely subversive of the claim of the Church to 'have received and to set forth a revelation from God Himself. And if, 'once more, we would estimate to what consequences such a concession 'may soon practically lead in our own case, we must take into account 'this further consideration—that under our representative form of government, the most active powers of the State are wielded by the majority of 'a body into which are freely admitted those who avowedly oppose all our 'distinctive teaching.

'Nor let it be said that these conclusions are in any degree avoided by 'the paltry concession that, as to one class of such marriages, the State 'does not require of individual clergymen the active violation of their own 'consciences. In truth, it seems to me that in this whole course of vicious 'legislation this so-called concession is the most faulty spot—faulty every 'way: as sheltering no principle, and involving fresh confusion; as in no 'respect preserving the Church's truth, and yet as yielding to the scruples 'of individuals what, as individuals, they have no right to ask. For if that 'which is enacted be not a violation of the Church's law, then no clergyman 'has any right to entertain private scruples as to obeying the enactment; 'and to yield him an immunity as to obedience is to injure those who have

'a right to his services, and it is to set a perilous example of allowing 'public officers, on the plea of private opinions, to violate that law which 'is to be the common rule of all. But if, on the other hand, that which is 'enacted is a violation of the Church's law, then no clergyman ought to be 'allowed to perform it—not because his act would cross any scruples of his 'own, or even because it would violate his own conscience, but because it 'violates the law of his Church, and so is an injury, an insult, and a degra- 'dation to that Church, and to every member of it. For I am most anxious 'that you, my lay brethren, should distinctly understand that this is not a 'question concerning us of the clergy with any particularity of application 'to ourselves, but that it concerns every one of you equally;—equally, 'certainly, as to the maintenance of that sanctity of marriage on which the 'family happiness of England so absolutely rests; and not less so as to the 'maintenance for our Church of its true character as a divine, and not a 'human, institution. For the purity of the faith, and the certainty of its 'being propounded to us by divine authority, are treasures just as precious 'to you as to us; and it is these, and not our scruples, which are brought 'in question by this act. For if a body external to the Church can claim 'a right of altering God's law in the Church as to holy matrimony, it may 'at any time claim the same right as to holy baptism, as to the Lord's 'Supper, or even as to our Creeds themselves. And remember that this is 'no question as to who has, in the Church, the right of revising such 'matters: I am not arguing that this rests with the clergy rather than with 'the laity, but merely that the right is inalienable from the Church herself; 'that it is a power which she cannot abdicate in favour of any external body, 'but must use herself, in whatever way or degree it belongs to her laity, 'her clergy, and her bishops, according to Christ's ordinance, to exercise 'it lawfully.

'It is, believe me, most important that the clergy and the laity of our 'Church should weigh this matter well; for, depend upon it, if this alteration 'is successfully established, the principle involved in it will not long be 'allowed to sleep. The same external power which has interfered with 'the Church's law of marriage will interfere with her Book of Common 'Prayer; and we shall have the attempt made, from the vantage-ground 'of previously-permitted encroachment, to thrust upon us an altered 'or bracketed Prayer-book. There were two ways in which these evils 'might have been avoided. First, in exact harmony with the best prece- 'dents of the best times, the English Church might have been required, as 'she was required at the time of our Reformation, to reconsider the enact- 'ments of her law upon this subject, and to see whether, in accordance 'with the law of God, they could be altered: and I am far from meaning to 'dogmatise as to what relaxations in the desired direction she might or 'might not have found herself able to allow. Or secondly, the State might 'have considered what marriages she believed to be expedient for her sub- 'jects, and then have provided for their legal celebration by that system of 'civil contracts for which the full machinery is already provided, and at 'work. For as to these marriages, the authority of the State is rightfully 'supreme. Unhappily, neither of these courses was adopted, whilst the 'dangerous line which has been followed was expounded and justified by

'the yet more threatening assertion of the Attorney-General, that it was 'the duty of the clergy, as ministers of the national Church, to do whatever the 'State ordered; drawing therein a picture of a national Church as being neces- 'sarily so utterly degraded, because it is national, so incapable of retaining 'truth, so demoralized in character, so powerless as a witness or instrument 'for God, that the bitterest invectives of her bitterest enemy never repre- 'sented her as more hopelessly subject to all the weakness and ignominy of 'a shameful slavery.

'Even in the despotic kingdom of Prussia no such servile yoke has been 'imposed on her Protestant Establishment; for whilst by the civil law 'divorce is freely allowed, the law of her synod is so scrupulously enforced, 'that none of her ministers are permitted by it, or compelled by the State, 'to celebrate such marriages.

'Our duty under these painful circumstances seems to me to be plain. 'We cannot let the matter rest where it is: whether or not we think that 'the innocent party ought to be set free from an adulterous union, and 'suffered to marry again, is not the question; it is, whether for ourselves 'and our children we can permit the Church of this land to be degraded 'from being a witness for God, to being a mere earthly machinery to speak 'the words which, from time to time, the State may be pleased to put into 'her mouth; and against this we ought to protest, by requiring that these 'marriages which the State resolves to legalize, whilst the Church's law 'forbids their being celebrated as holy matrimony, should be contracted 'before the civil magistrate, without the profanation of our appointed 'prayers, through their use in cases to which these words cannot honestly 'apply, or the degradation of our Apostolic Church, by having variations 'in doctrines of the faith, as she has once for all received it, dictated to her 'by a merely earthly authority.'—Pp. 56—61.

Herein, we think, is practical wisdom. We have no hope whatever of influencing the legislature to alter the existing laws: all of us must face this danger, perhaps it becomes the duty, of submitting to what seems to be the only remedy,—the State's recognition of the civil contract alone. Whatever comes of it to the State, this is, we fear, the only path of safety for the Church.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1858.

ART. I.—1. *Educational Census*, 1850. By HORACE MANN, Esq.
2. *Public Education.* By SIR JAMES KAY SHUTTLEWORTH. *Chapter on 'Charitable Trusts.'*
3. *Statute passed by the University of Oxford*, June 18, 1857. Oxford University Press.
4. *Regulations for carrying the above Statute into effect.* Oxford: November 12, 1857. University Press.
5. *Middle Class Education. Scheme of the West of England Examination and Prizes for June*, 1857, *&c. &c.* By T. D. ACLAND, Esq. Third Edition. London: J. Ridgway.
6. *Middle Class Education, &c.* II. London: J. Ridgway.
7. *Middle Class Education, &c.* III. London: J. Ridgway.
8. *A Brief Statement of the Origin, Object, and present Progress of the Scheme for the Examination of Middle or Commercial Schools, as proposed by the University of Oxford. Issued by order of the West Riding Local Committee in aid of the above Scheme.* Leeds: Charles Goodall.

SINCE education is the water-shed of diffusion for all the influences which fertilise society for good, the general mass of our fellow-countrymen can only rise in the arts of life, in literature, or in politics, to whatever level this enables them to reach. And the larger the body of electors, or of persons whose votes and voices have an ultimate and deliberate influence over grave affairs of state, the more conspicuously marked is the operation of this rule; nor is there any truth which—during the quarter of a century now passed, since the Reform Bill enlarged and altered that electoral body—has more decisively ruled the facts of the national life. That body is now so large, that its mistakes, when committed by the whole or a great majority of it, are a far greater danger to the State than the clamour or the violence of those who only can influence

the laws by petition or by insurrection. Commerce, trade, and skilled labour having become, since the Reform Bill, the influential interest—for, though the results of that measure were slowly ripened, they are now unmistakeably pronounced—whatever prejudice this influential section may adopt, or whatever false principle it may foster, has a greater weight of mischief than it could have when it infected a smaller electoral body, and when there was a larger outlying 'proletarian' mass, whose known wants and declared feelings might be corrective of its danger. Extended manufactures tend to multiply shops. It was almost prophetic when the first Napoleon reviled us as being a 'nation of shopkeepers.' The retail interest, indeed, condenses most powerfully those more sordid features in our national character, on which an enemy delights to dwell; but it has, besides, since then, left the trace of those features in public measures, and embraces most fondly those public men who most conspicuously possess them. The retailers, then, are the class who furnish those voters who are just within the qualification for the franchise; and, since the lowest class of those who enjoy that qualification will always be the most numerous, it is, above all, most important to prevent false notions in politics from gaining general acceptance among them. This, however, is only possible by the general precaution of raising their standard of mental culture, and diffusing sound principles of opinion and action. Now the great body of smaller shopkeepers and superior artisans, throughout the area of England and Wales, are precisely the class for whom education has done least. Those who have given, more decidedly than any others, a colour and a character to our national policy for nearly a generation past, have done so by acquiring influence in proportion as they have been growing, relatively to other classes of the community; less capable of exercising it on high principles; less generally intelligent; and more devoted to the isolated interests and short-sighted views of their class.

Adam Smith long since pointed out that the secret of the political influence of the commercial class lay in their more careful study and exacter knowledge—not of what was fittest for the policy of the country as a whole, but what suited best the interests of their own class. Men engaged in trade know better what they mutually want, because they have a constant intercourse always bearing on the subject. A thousand shops or warehouses stand more compactly than a thousand farms or sheep-walks. They are in necessary contact; and the contagion of keen self-interest, which this produces, mingles in the breath of their lives, like the physical malaria of a crowded dwelling. This self-interest, thus strongly concentrated, stands

in stead of wider general knowledge, and is influential in spite of the mean and narrow views which superficial and meagre education encourages, and mischievous in consequence of them. That the influential body in question enjoy their predominance, is the, perhaps inevitable, result of our national growth; but that they exercise it with ignorance, prejudice, and a general absence of intelligence, is chargeable mainly on the neglect of a better educational provision for them in a previous age; and if the next generation complain that petty artifices and time-serving expedients infect more and more the counsels of the nation, the blame will rest still more largely with ourselves, in proportion to our clearer view of the relation of cause and effect between this deficiency and that incapacity.

The tendencies generated in every such political swamp, as a borough given over to the retail interest at present exhibits, filter gradually into the House of Commons; but never, perhaps, have so largely adulterated its mass as after the general election of the present year. Probably never was so large a proportion of the members returned stamped with local littleness, and fettered with the strong pledges which make men behave weakly. The inclination of the retail mind is, to trust its representatives as little as possible, and to eschew long credit in politics—as it does in trade. Hence the rejection, in some recent instances, of men whose life, in the public eye, gave them a claim to an independence of mind, in favour of others not holding different views, but of similar opinions, more narrowly held and with a shorter range of political vision. It was, doubtless, because local self-government gave a practical vent to the busy-bodies of the town-hall, the vestry, and the platform, that their deleterious influence on our Parliamentary majorities was less manifest for a while. It is now, however, both apparent and real. The penny post, the penny press, and the cheap telegraph, give instant force to the reaction of public opinion from behind the counters of Little Peddlington on the views and votes of the members for that famous borough. Indeed, did not the physical necessities of space forbid it, we should hear of the Little Peddlingtonians arriving, *en masse*, by parliamentary train, to 'sit under' their member in the House of Commons itself,—if the position be predicable of those who listen in the gallery to one speaking from the floor.

We may gather another hint, tending in the same direction, from popular literature. The consumption of novels marks, indeed, all classes too promiscuously to be charged on men of any occupation, whether wholesale or retail. Books of every kind, too, are more easily obtained in towns; and, of course, where reading of every calibre is equally accessible, a taste for

trashy reading will be more extensively developed. But this becomes a more serious omen for evil when it combines with an absence of relish for standard works of the more solid kind. The reserve of better minds, bent on strengthening their native powers and informing their capacities, is, no doubt, more rare than it ought to be, even in that social class whose leisure is most abundant, and whose education may be supposed to have lightened the irksomeness of study by improving the powers which it exercises. But in the body of smaller shopkeepers and superior artisans it almost disappears; nay, with such exceptions as prove the rule, the margin in question becomes evanescent. Not only are novels found to be the leading article in demand at the Mechanics' Institute, the members of which are most frequently young tradesmen, warehousemen, &c.; but when their appetite for light and less substantial literature has passed away or cooled down, no desire for more solid mental *pabulum* seems to survive. What books are commonly found by those who are familiar with the *penates* of the ten-pound householder? A few faded elder volumes, which have descended as heir-looms from a grandfather who held up his head and was better off in the world, may stand by the family Bible, or flank the tea-caddy; and a few more of mushroom divinity—probably the sermons of the favourite preacher of either head of the family—are all that there is to fill the gap between these and the inevitable serials whose tattered array closes the scanty catalogue. There is a deficiency beyond the necessity of circumstances, and in spite of the abundance of cheap and good materials for its supply; and this points to the absence of any due stimulus applied in early years to those faculties which ripen into the most ordinary degree of literary taste, and into a moderate love for a book worthy 'the coin of the Sosii.'

But another, and, perhaps, a more practical mark of the low degree of mental cultivation shown by the class in question, may be derived from what experience leads us to observe of the capacities of common jurors. It has been indeed asserted, that counsel, after some years' practice—at least in the metropolis—find the same set of jurors, with but scanty variations, recurring; and are enabled to study, with a pointed effect on the verdict, a proportionably narrower circle of prejudices, and to flatter a slenderer array of weak points. If this be true, it tends to show that the juror benefits little by the experience of public duty; and that, instead of suspecting the silver-tongued deference of the bar, he becomes more securely fascinated and more easily cajoled by its satirical tribute to his 'intelligence.' But whether the statement be well-founded or not, it is no-

torious in how small quantities does the salt of cultivated common sense pervade the common-jury box,—how gross is the obliquity of a juror's moral vision where the field of view includes some popular prejudice,—how impossible in some counties or boroughs it is for a certain class of questions to be fairly tried, or for particular individuals, whatever their cause, to obtain a just verdict.

These remarks apply principally to the smaller voters in towns, but the crassitude of the parallel class in rural districts is even more marked, in proportion as there the labourers benefit more largely by the educational sympathies of the gentry, and especially of the clergy. Were not the purses of the latter ruinously overtaxed by their unselfish efforts to bear what ought to be the burden of the State, we should, no doubt, have had by this time every form of possible experiment tried with the view of providing schools,—the benefit of which the yeomanry might have been not unwilling to partake.

The success of Dean Dawes, at King's Somborne, in drawing at once the children of the farmer and his labourer, probably requires such an union of peculiar personal gifts with good opportunities as we can seldom expect to see. Nor are there wanting, in great towns, examples of schools where a sense of the superiority of the education casts out the pride of class, and leads opulent shopkeepers and the gradually widening class called 'professional men' to let their children learn on the same bench with those of the porter and the journeyman. If the experiment of such intermixture—for as yet it cannot claim the rank of an ascertained result—which is here and there being attempted, should be accepted and prevail, we may look for a marked change in the course of another generation of schoolmasters. But, at present, there is no doubt that the sons of tradesmen miss the enlarging influence which public-school education gives to those who, in wealth and social station, are above them; they miss its healthy mixture of minds, and perpetually elastic rebound of thought and feeling amongst its young members. Tradesmen, and their cognate genera, will not, we incline to think, ever originate for themselves any scholastic institution worth transmitting to their sons, when the latter in their turn have become fathers. If they ever quit the low ground on which, contentedly imperfect in respect of education, they at present lie, it must, apparently, be through being drawn more largely into a medium which others share. The great initial difficulty will be to make them feel that their presence there is not unwelcome. Till this is done, and perhaps for some time afterwards, they will adhere to the 'classical and commercial academy,' and restrict their

notion of what is good for the young mind by the natural question of what will replenish the till. That parent is a *rara avis* who thinks he needs advice how to educate his son. And, as usual in more momentous matters, those who need counsel the most are least willing to seek it, or to accept it when offered. Thus it comes to pass that, whilst all other educational agencies are improving around them, they alone retain a languid, and, it is to be hoped, a waning preference for a base type of schools, which, there is some reason to think, never prevailed in any modern country save in this of ours, nor among any save the particular class which we are now considering.

Let us proceed to establish this fact, and to suggest some probable account of it. The following remarks are based on the statements of the Educational Census of 1851; which, however, are less lucid on the whole than might, perhaps, be expected. We direct attention for the present to 'day schools' (report, p. 27), and under that head to 'private schools.' The term 'day' school appears withdrawn from its previous ordinary sense in contradistinction to 'boarding' school, and applied to distinguish, from 'evening' schools, all those in which instruction is given during the day. It appears that returns were received from 26,040 private schools for boys, and 25,932 private schools for girls (total 51,972), and that there were 33,993 boys' schools (12,741 public, and 21,252 private), and 32,928 girls' schools (11,837 public, and 21,091 private), 'concerning which information was given;' hence, it would appear, that the 'information' referred to a total of 42,343 private schools. On the next page (28), are tables (3 and 4) exhibiting the same figures, and distributing over that total of schools and another of scholars found in them, the proportions in which particular studies, made the subject of special inquiry, were pursued. On the next page (29), without any further modifying or explanatory figures, we read—

'A rough attempt to classify, according to efficiency, *the* 29,425 private schools *which sent returns*, produced the following result:—

Class 1.	Superior (classical, boarding, proprietary, ladies', &c.)	4,956
„ 2.	Middling (commercial, &c.; teaching arithmetic, English grammar, and geography)	7,095
„ 3.	Inferior (principally *dame* schools; only reading and writing taught,—the latter not always) . .	13,879
„ 4.	Undescribed	3,495
		29,425'

Now, seeing that the tables (3 and 4), given in the preceding page, furnish detailed statistics of the studies pursued at upwards of *forty thousand* private schools, and that those statistics are

avowedly based on 'information' and 'returns' received from them (p. 27), it is somewhat perplexing to have that total summarily dismissed a page further on, and another of less than *thirty thousand*, in the 'classification according to efficiency,' substituted for it without a word of explanation, and with nothing in the items (given in the tables) to suggest it.

It only remains to conclude that the 29,425 schools referred to offered superior facilities for the classification according to efficiency, and that they may be taken as a large enough specimen (being about 30,000 out of 42,000) to represent the whole number. If the whole 42,000 were distributed in similar proportions under the same heads, we should have the classification of these schools as follows:—

Class 1. Superior	described as before	7,000	nearly.
„ 2. Middling		10,000	
„ 3. Inferior		20,000	
„ 4. Undescribed		5,000	
		42,000	nearly.

Now it is beyond doubt that the 10,000 schools which we have supposed as above to belong to the same Class 2, described as 'commercial,' and as 'teaching arithmetic, English grammar, and geography,' are filled from the lower middling class almost without exception, and that they are schools for *boys*. The returns give no clue to the probable average of pupils in each of them. We find, indeed, that fifteen is taken as the probable average number of pupils to each school in Class 3, and suppose that twenty may be no unlikely number for those of the next higher grade. The 10,000 schools of Class 2 would thus contain 200,000 pupils. Now, the Registrar estimates the upper and middle class children (appearing to include all those above the 'working class'), from the age of five to that of fifteen years, at—

500,000	at private schools.
50,000	at public „
50,000	under domestic instruction.
600,000	

We find, also, that the 50,000 scholars under domestic tuition consist of 20,000 boys and 30,000 females; in the 50,000 at public schools this proportion would, probably, be reversed or more than reversed; in the 500,000 at private schools the proportion of males to females would, probably, be one of equality, or nearly so. This would give about 250,000 boys at private

schools; and if the odd 50,000 out of this number be allotted to the upper classes,—including those of parents ranging from the highest down to the 'professional' and opulent mercantile class,—we should have about 200,000 to represent the boys of the class fit for middle schools, whose number is, probably, not less than quadruple that of those of the 'upper' class before distinguished. This number corresponds, with remarkable nearness, with that resulting above from the estimate of pupils in the 'commercial' class (No. 2) of classified private schools.

This, then, appears to be the inference to which returns hitherto ascertained conduct our inquiries: that, in the year 1851, the boys who should fill middle schools were found almost wholly frequenting the No. 2 (commercial) class of private schools. With regard to the character of these schools, as regards efficiency, the report is not flattering:—

'A very considerable number of the present schools and teachers must be looked upon as inefficient. More especially is this the case with many of the private schools; which seem, indeed, on this account, to be in course of gradual extinction; as the public schools increase, from year to year, in numbers and efficiency.'

On which we have the further important comment in a footnote:

'The number of private schools has not at all increased since 1833 (when Lord Kerry's defective return reported 29,141, with 732,449 scholars; the present number being 30,324, with 721,396 scholars); while the public schools have increased from 9,830 to 15,518, and the scholars in them from 544,698 to 1,422,982. The proportion of public schools to private, which, in 1833, was as 34 to 100, had so increased, that, in 1851, it was as 51 to 100; while the scholars in public schools, which in 1833 were only in the proportion of 74 to 100 in private schools, had increased, in 1851, to the proportion of 197 in the former to 100 in the latter.'

It is likely, however, that the class of private schools, which has been most largely supplanted by public, is that of No. 3, in the 'classification according to efficiency,' described as chiefly 'dame schools;' and that their pupils have been, in a great measure, drawn away by the national and similar schools, with the infant schools attached to or included among them; and, therefore, that the 'commercial' class, or No. 2, continued up to 1851, mainly to provide for the wants of the boys whose case we are now considering.

No doubt the preceding calculations are open to challenge, and are only offered as an approximate solution of the question, until more precise data are attained for determining it. Some may think that the quadruple proportion of the boys in question to those whose parents are in opulent and independent circumstances, and are employed in the higher mercantile or

in professional pursuits, is too large an one to assume. The point at which the line is drawn, between these social classes, is one not easy to define, and must be allowed to be, in some cases, a fluctuating one. The imperceptible declension of the social classes in this country makes, perhaps, any definite assumption seem arbitrary with regard to them. Many persons belong at one time of their lives to a class below such a line, and at another to one above it; and even a narrower or an ampler scale of business in the same professional employment on the part of the parent might assign the boy to the private commercial or to the public grammar school; so much do men's views and plans, for the present and the future of their children, vary with their means, and with their own personal character, as leading them to undergo a greater or less sacrifice caused by expenses on their children's behalf. For the feelings which dictate such resolves, and for the resources which enable their execution, no human effort of calculation can fix a definite scale. Nay, even the amount of educational endowment which a locality possesses, and the extent to which, by external and accidental circumstances, the general standard of education in a town or village may have been raised or depressed, will often so operate as to increase, in one neighbourhood the number of 'private,' in another the number of 'public' pupils, among the sons of parents who, in other social circumstances, may be similarly situated. Yet, when due allowance has been made for all these perplexing fluctuations, our figures, whether hypothetically framed, or based on such statistics as have been most recently gathered, must be allowed a probable, if not a conclusive weight. Surely, one may say, leaving the question of the numerical proportion of this social class to that, for the moment out of sight, 200,000 is not too large an estimate for the male children of the retailers and higher class artisans in the country in the year 1851, taken between the ages which the registrar has assumed as the general limits of the educational period. It is probable, perhaps, that 200,000 is too small a number, and that the balance find accommodation still in private schools, in those, namely of class 1, described as 'superior,' so far as that class of schools is not appropriated to females, which to a great extent they doubtless are. Then again, the number of 200,000 pupils seems no inadequate one for the 'middling,' or No. 2 class; which, from their descriptive title as 'commercial,' seem chiefly to contemplate male pupils. None are so likely to have recourse to such means of instruction as the parent who is himself engaged in those retail and cognate pursuits, for which the term 'commercial' is the more dignified and honourable nomenclature.

Nor is there any kind of education, if so it may be called, so likely to find favour in the eyes of such parents as that which professes a sympathy with the work-day necessities of trade. Guided by these considerations, we find, on the whole, reasons for thinking that the near correspondence of the estimated number of boys likely to constitute such pupils, with the returned number of pupils likely to be recruited from such boys, points to a real and substantial identity, as existing between the two, and forms a sufficient general basis for our assumption, that the fact is as we have surmised it.

We proceed to consider the probable causes for this prevalent determination of the choice of the men of petty commerce in favour of a class of schools which, as we shall attempt to show, are the least worthy of confidence, probably, of all which our age has to offer. The causes are not one, but manifold. In the first place, it is clear that this class of schools was mainly designed to catch tradesmen's sons. The title 'commercial' sufficiently denotes this; which title is their peculiar glory, and beams from probably thousands of brazen doorplates in our metropolis, suburbs, and provincial towns. No doubt therefore that, as they have long had possession of the field, and have had ample opportunities of studying the taste of their customers, they have succeeded in suiting it. The maxim of the thrifty father who measures tape or spreads putty is, to keep the boy's 'nose to the grindstone;' to allow in the habits formed by education and recreation as little as possible which can suggest a diversion of his thoughts from the cash-book and the till. Hence the apparatus of education suggests the future clerk, shopboy, accountant, or what not. The bills of lading, bills of parcels—the neat copybooks with tortuous caligraphy—the questions in arithmetic perpetually based on commercial transactions—lead us back to the same theme. Another cause is, the curious sense of independence which this kind of school fosters, and the high jealousy of interference in domestic life felt by the poorest man who handles a pair of scales. The retailer is sensitive on the subject of 'paying his way,' and with an appreciation of the dignity of rent, taxes, and rates, duly discharged, looks unkindly on anything which has the appearance of a 'charity.' And he expects a blessing less, both 'on him that gives,' and 'on him that takes,' than on him that pays for what he has. He comes into the market with his own standard of the article which he wants, and loves to feel that his right to it has accrued through the passage of the coin of the realm from hand to hand; that it is a right actionable at law, and appreciable in damages. For these reasons the favourite form of olden education,—the endowed grammar

school,—found little favour in his eyes. It grated on his notions of independence to be indebted, even in part, to the bounty of a deceased worthy, and not wholly to his own purveyance; and, at the same time, he distrusted its intrinsic value, because it partook of the nature of a gratuity. Then, there is the circumstance of habit, which makes the smaller tradesman more isolated than probably any other portion of the community. The counter is the barrier between him and the rest of the world, save the wholesale dealer who supplies him. The merchant must have his place of resort and his communications; physicians, barristers, and clergy must, unless they are content to be mere book-worm students, mix with their kind; the soldier and the sailor finds his profession necessarily social; even the labourer has, or used to have, the rural revels of the fair and the wake, the maypole and the mistletoe, and some notice from the parson and the squire. The retailer in a town misses all of these, abhors most of them, and has no substitute for any of them. He goes no further into society than is sufficient to supply his wants; and, perhaps, fosters more than any other class the puritanic notion that certain public amusements are sinful. Hence the domesticity which pervades the English character rises in him to its most intense type; and whatever wears a private and an individual, rather than a public character, attracts his sympathy. It is only, therefore, with the public school, as it is with any other public institution in his eyes. Reversing the Horatian maxim,

> 'Magno de flumine mallem,
> Quam ex hoc fonticulo, tantundem sumere,'

his feeling is expressed rather by Touchstone, in the words, 'a poor thing, but mine own;' and he accordingly in scholastic matters prefers the purely personal arrangement with a teacher solely responsible to him. Nor ought we to omit from the causes which have operated to wean the youth of the shopkeeping community from the scholastic institutions, which were founded in a great degree for their benefit, that of the uniform predominance of the doctrine of the Church in their teaching, which indeed is mostly ensured by express mention in their charter or foundation statutes. In respect to its favourite virtues as well as vices, the retailer's character easily moulds itself to a dissenting type; and prefers an individualizing and self-chosen form of communion. The tendencies of his social position led him away from the grammar school, not only, as has been shown, because it was a public school and an endowed school, but also because it was a Church school. And this, in the days of intense acrimony, which some of our readers remember, would undoubtedly have

operated powerfully to keep the sons of parents of the smaller trading class out of it. Those feelings have a subdued but appreciable operation still, but are liable to be overcome by many oblique influences; but, above all, by the gradually increased eagerness with which a really good education is sought, and the willingness to sacrifice things precious, even as 'conscientious' scruples, for its sake. But amongst these less laudable causes of the tendency to avoid public schools, was the more respectable motive of wishing to keep the boy from early contamination, and from such precocity in vice as was supposed to become a youth of birth and breeding. The sober, thrifty, grave, and steady father wished for nothing beyond the paternal and domestic element in education, and merely bought an article of which he could inspect and appreciate a sample,—the commercial handwriting, the sum in 'practice,' and the formal letter of business. He had no relish for a great public institution throwing its shadow between him and his son, and fondling his offspring under its corrupting wings. He was further actuated by the sympathy of his order and calling; for the keeper of the 'commercial academy' was, and is, nothing but a retailer of instruction, who has a ware to sell, and depends on his customers, like the grocer and the baker. Thus the parent in question bought, even as he sold, a particular thing for a specific purpose. It preserved the round of the connexion unbroken, held out mutual advantages, and intruded no new ideas upon his self-sufficient system. And then again, the schoolmaster was not uncommonly a decayed tradesman himself, who knew the feelings of his class, and was content to depend on giving them satisfaction. Thus his customers made sure of having the wishes arising from their own narrow views entirely met; whilst their value for the scholastic profession, and for its work, was unconsciously lowered by often finding a man drop into it and comparatively thrive, who, if left to the chances of trade, might have rotted in a gaol.

Nor must we lose sight of another reason, which to a great extent prevailed, and proceeded partly from causes internal to the school, and partly from external feelings in the community around them. As pupils thinned, the master's interest in his school abated; especially since his stipend was secured by the endowment. Sometimes he was the non-resident Rector of the place, or not being the Rector, became non-resident, and appointed an usher, as the former appointed a curate to do perfunctory duties, and save forms. Sometimes the master lived near enough to look in once a-week and take a class, consisting, perhaps, of the half-dozen free boys of the place, who enjoyed the privileges of the foundation. This was not an edifying nor

an encouraging spectacle to parents of thrifty, trading, penny-wise habits, and with a bias towards dissent. It swelled the catalogue of abuses, and, belonging to a semi-clerical function, became a cause of offence and a text of railing.

To all these objections entertained by the trading community, and to all these incitements to suspicion which it felt, must be added the graver and more tangible allegation, that the education commonly supplied by the old-fashioned endowed grammar school was not such an one as the retailers considered most useful for their children. This is so fully, and it seems truly, touched in the preamble of an 'Act for improving the condition and extending the benefits of Grammar Schools,' that it may be well to quote it here (3 and 4 Victoria, c. 77) :—

'Whereas there are in England and Wales many endowed schools, both of royal and private foundation, for the education of boys or youth wholly or principally in grammar; and the term "grammar" has been construed by Courts of Equity as having reference only to the dead languages, that is to say, Greek and Latin: And whereas such education, at the period when such schools, or the greater part, were founded, was supposed not only to be sufficient to qualify boys or youth for admission to the Universities, with a view to the learned professions, but also necessary for preparing them for the superior trades and mercantile business: and whereas from the change of times and other causes, such education, without instruction in other branches of literature and science, is now of less value to those who are entitled to avail themselves of such charitable foundations, whereby such schools have, in many instances, ceased to afford a substantial fulfilment of the intentions of the founders . . . Be it therefore enacted . . . . that whenever after the passing of this present Act, any question may come under consideration in any of her Majesty's Courts of Equity, concerning the system of education hereafter to be established in any Grammar School, ... it shall be lawful for the Court to make such decrees or orders as to the said Court shall seem expedient, as well for extending the system of education to other useful branches of literature and science, in addition to or (subject to the provisions hereinafter contained) in lieu of the Greek and Latin languages, or such other instruction as may be required by the terms of the foundation of the then existing statutes, as also for,' &c. &c.

The historical allusion contained in this preamble to the period of time at which the major part of the endowed schools were founded, is one of some interest, and is partially cleared by reference to a table (Educational Census, report, p. 45) which Mr. Horace Mann has compiled. 'Schools supported by endowments' form the second class, under the general head of 'public schools' in his arrangement of them. That class is subdivided into 'endowed collegiate and grammar schools,' and 'other endowed grammar schools;' the former numbering 566, with 35,612 pupils, being the total of 32,221 males, and 3,391 females; and the second amounting to 2,559, with 170,667 pupils, being the total of 106,274 males, and 64,393 females. The former class represent the earliest type of

English scholastic institutions; and the periods most fertile in them were, apparently, the sixteenth century, in which alone, 155, which still exist, or about one-and-a-half a-year, are enumerated as having been founded; secondly, the seventeenth century, which produced 180, or nearly two a-year; and, thirdly, the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the earlier half of which the rate at which the foundations increased had fallen off to less than one a-year. Between 1751 and 1801, however, 84 were founded, the rate rising again to what it had been in the seventeenth century. Now, by way of compensation, we observe that the same earlier half of the eighteenth century, during which the institutions we are considering were comparatively not in great demand, was extremely fertile in the miscellaneous class of foundations, described as 'other endowed schools,' whose rate of foundation during those years was more than double what it had been during the same number of previous years; just as the rate of foundation of the endowed collegiate and grammar schools fell to one-half of what it had previously been. Now, from the intimation that those other endowed schools are in truth 'denominational' schools (though supported chiefly by endowment), as well as from the extremely limited range of their subjects of study, and from the increased proportion of female to male pupils which they contain, this section may be presumed to be constituted chiefly by parochial charity schools, and other similar eleemosynary seminaries, for the benefit of a poor class of society. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, there was a somewhat revived eagerness for the foundation of grammar schools; whilst the desire for this poorer class of foundations not only went on unexhausted, but assumed vastly expanded proportions, and was the only popular symptom of an educational life stirring the nation in the depth of its masses. Nearly fifteen per year of such endowments appear on the average to have seen the light, whilst those of the grammar school class were less than two per year; and, doubtless, to such a timely diffusion of better influences may, under Providence, be ascribed the security and confidence in her institutions which our country enjoyed, in a period which became one of anarchy and uproar, or at least, of confusion and dismay, to a large part of the continent of Europe. During the whole of this period, however, a portion of the endowed grammar schools, which had been but recently founded, must have been going to that decay in which, half a century later, we now find so large a proportion of them. There are no returns, nor is there perhaps a possibility of obtaining any, to show the rate of the exhaustion of endowments, and of the extinction of institutions which had flourished

once. The table which we have been touching upon is confined to information regarding *existing* schools; and, clearly, some periods must have been much more fatal than others to the precarious life of slender endowments. Looking back for two centuries and a quarter, we may say that, probably, the period of the civil war operated both to destroy then existing endowed schools, and to discourage the attempts to found new ones. Probably also the chance of an endowment of moderate dimensions surviving for a given period, may have mainly depended on the greater or less expensiveness of Chancery proceedings, during the time subsequent to its foundation. Here we have no date to guide us, save the general surmise that, since the reputed consolidation of our Equity system, under Lord Chancellor Hardwick, in the middle of the eighteenth century, small charities have had a harder life of it.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between the extinction of the fund, and the suspension or decay of the charity for want of claimants. An 'existing' school, we presume, means one which numbers still some pupils, and where the form of educational energy still subsists. Yet the bare subsistence of that form will probably enable it to pass muster in the table; and, on the other hand, there must be a considerable number of institutions, a remnant of whose funds survive, but whose life is dormant.

The suspended animation which pervades this whole limbo of semi-extinct and quasi-extinct foundations, is supposed to be yielding to the revivifying influences of the Charitable Trusts' Commissioners. So far as their powers enable them, we doubt not that, under these latter gentlemen, the process of secondary incubation, which the case requires, is progressing favourably as regards the result of renewed existence. But will there be no chance of an alien vitality infused? Sir James Shuttleworth, some few years back, informed us of still extant charities, 'applicable only to instruction in the Catechism, or to the pre-'paration of children for Confirmation, or to teaching to read in 'the Holy Scriptures,' or to 'plain song.' It is worth our while as Churchmen to watch for these scraps of our heritage, and to guard them from that alienation with which they are threatened by the spurious liberality of our day. No doubt thousands of voices would be ready, whenever the question might be raised, in favour of crushing, with a view to their better assimilation with current systems, these otherwise indigestible fragments of an older period. We hear now and then of the resuscitation of a venerable grammar school, and it is supposable that the publicity of the event carries with it a guarantee for the justice of the award, as regards the interests

of religion. But the case is very different where a number of funds, individually small, though of considerable aggregate value, and still more important in consequence of the principle which they embody, is submitted to the conscience of the tribunal. Of the existence of each of these, few are cognisant; of the existence of them all, probably, none save the Commissioners themselves. Their very multitude constitutes their weakness. Is there no danger of their being quietly stifled, and 'unostentatiously' improved into means for providing general education, on an enlightened, unprejudiced, unsectarian, unbigoted, and—in its new sense—'Catholic' principle?

The danger to which we allude is increased by the distrust of classical education, for which exclusive provision is so often found in these old foundations, felt by the lower mercantile community; who have a clear view of what will serve their turn in the business of life, but are not far-sighted in proportion to the clearness of their vision,—and seek rather to turn out a smart tradesman than to educate a man. It is difficult to say how far the Act we have quoted above may have turned the edge of this difficulty; for, strangely enough, school trustees, to judge from Sir James Shuttleworth's statements, appear, in many instances, to have worked for many years since the Act was passed, in ignorance of its enabling provisions. 'It is 'quite clear,' he wrote in 1853, 'that the majority of the trustees 'of grammar schools know nothing of the Act. Mr. Teason 'informs me that they often make awkward attempts, in ap-'pointing a master, to oblige him to teach other things than 'Latin and Greek; this is done by a bond or declaration show-'ing that these governing bodies are not aware of the provisions 'of the Statute. Their legal advisers are generally quite as 'much in the dark, for the chief law treatises on charities were 'anterior to this Act.' (Public Education, p. 218.) An Act of Parliament, passed to remove a difficulty, which through circumstantial impediments it fails to touch, rather increases the embarrassment of the case; and becomes a plea for those who are willing to despair of relieving it. In such circumstances our strongest hope lies in the contagion of the example of a good school, wherever one can be found. Wherever trustees are a little more enlightened, and have triumphed over the *vis inertiæ*, generated by a reliance on Acts of Parliament and Courts of Equity, there a great work, the parent of many others, is likely to be done. The displacement of the poorer private schools, 'dame' schools, and the like, by the better class of poor public schools, is an undoubted fact; and may encourage a hope that the 'commercial academies,' with their shabby medley of spelling, book-keeping, elementary arithmetic, and

superficial geography, will yield to a sounder system, and one which will assign to the education of the lower mercantile classes its recognised place in the great chain of instruction, which should bind the whole community. Some, no doubt, will be found to dispute the excellence of what is distinctively called 'classical' training for the general mind; and there are probably many more who, from the force of mental habits generated in later life, will deny its applicability to the training of a youth whose regular education must cease at some time between fourteen and fifteen years of age.

To consider this, however, would open an inquiry too widely divergent from our main topic. But, leaving for the present the question open, there is a certain extent to which the right of possession may be pleaded on behalf of the 'classical' principle; although the rigid exclusiveness with which it has been sought to apply it has, to a great extent, stinted its operation, and produced a suspicion of its usefulness. Yet, on the other hand, a larger case of failure is established against the system of schools which have been substituted for those based on that principle. The shopkeepers, following their own devices, and bringing to the question that general intelligence which their eulogists, if they really believed in it, would probably less ceaselessly flatter, have shaped their own idea of the school suited to their own wants; and, by following it, have fallen far behind the rest of the community. The idea is one which makes the schoolmaster solely responsible to the individual parent, and which tends to prevent the son's education from ever rising to a higher level than the parent's conception of what education should be. It seems to tend to prove their incapacity for school administration, at any rate, at present; for it has proved their unwillingness to unite in such administration. They have never, in any well-known instance, succeeded in forming a corporate strength which might resist the mischief and assist the weakness of individual meddling. Their system, if such it can be called, which results from the fortuitous exercise by individuals of the instinct of their class, is as far behind the age, and hardly less helpless in matters of education, as that of the mediæval schoolmen in matters of physical science. Meanwhile, a number of the old schools, which they have forsaken, are in a slow and uncertain course of preparation for their return. These schools, and those who should have been their scholars, have fared ill alike, for want of each other. The decay or decline of a large proportion of the endowed grammar schools has been followed or accompanied by the depreciated education of the great lower commercial class. Pupils and schools being ordained for each other; when the former sever their connexion, and seek other resources, the latter dry up;

and, like the reservoir, which has ceased to hold water, become cracked, or choked, or yield to gradual decay. Their organization loses the sympathetic tact which arises from contact—from mixing with affairs about us, and from a recognition of living wants; and, by ceasing to circulate vital fluid, they lose insensibly the capacity and power of containing it. From a scholastic institution the fresh air of contemporary life, with all its social instincts and wants, can never be excluded, without the most pernicious results to the institution itself. It may, or may not, commute or concede aught in favour of them. There is often—for the homes of education are essentially seats of conservatism, and slowness in change is their truest wisdom—a duty in resisting the favourite theories of the hour, which are but the full-cry of the popular pack, who happen to have the run their own way; a cry full indeed of life and spirit, but full also of recklessness and temerity. But still, it is something to listen, whether we are led by it or not. There is a bracing influence in the fact of being well up with the real busy work of life which no school can safely omit. How completely was this idea seized by the great mediæval institutions which arose to foster learning in Oxford, Paris, Bologna, Ferrara, and elsewhere. The men who presided in their chairs were the leading spirits of their day; and not unfrequently rose, from professing laws or arts, to high posts of diplomacy and statesmanship. To look to a still higher antiquity, Socrates and Gorgias, dissimilar as was their teaching, had this in common,—that their school knit the sinew of practical thought, and braced the man for no abstract republic, but for the daily scenes of the agora and the pnyx. For us to repeat the curriculum of Scotus or Abelard, would be, as it would have been for them, to resuscitate that of Socrates or Gorgias. By excluding this wholesome contemporary atmosphere, the blood of the institution becomes changed from arterial to venal, and a state of chronic asphyxia ensues. And this is the condition into which a number of the elder endowed grammar schools have fallen, and out of which some of them have lately been, and more let us hope may soon be, quickened back to active vigour. And, surely, though the effort to restore suspended animation be a slow and painful experiment, in which spasm and torpor contend for the mastery, it is worth while to make the attempt.

We believe that we have here assigned the main cause for this comparative decay of many a venerable local *sacellum* of learning. There is, however, a concurrent cause, which but for this would have been comparatively harmless,—the scanty amount, or the injudicious mode of endowment which prevails in some of them. Many examples no doubt exist, in which a slender

original outfit has sped an institution along an useful or even a brilliant course. Its success, unfolded from a seedling benevolence, has provoked further liberality; it has 'watered' and has 'been watered also' itself. But in many more, the want of an immediately successful result has checked the 'noble rage' of their founders; and that 'tide in the affairs of men,' to which institutions as well as individuals are liable, has left them in the lurch. When the wall is just not weather-proof, the 'rainy day,' which will sooner or later come, is sure to sap it; when, on the other hand, resources have been just adequate to secure it against that passing peril, it has attracted further support, and by its very endurance become more vigorous. Not a few, probably, of the most honoured abodes of teaching, have braved the perils of a law-suit in their infancy. They have been, like Hercules, cradled in serpents. The twin snakes of law and equity have sought their life. Themis is the harsh step-mother assigned by Jove to rear the infant Muse:—

> 'Stern rugged nurse! Thy rigid lore,
> With patience, many a year she bore.'

Some might be named which have worn out the first century of their existence in a contest with heirs at law, mortgagees, or parish officers. Yet, if this be so, we must allow for a good many which have 'died in the seasoning process.' Again, the choice of money or land as the means of endowment,—a choice often decided by the caprice, and always overruled by the convenience of the testator,—nay, occasionally guided, apparently, by mere accident—is full of the most vital consequences to an institution. Thus, some schools, not having attached themselves by the link of real property to the spot, have gone on approaching, by a slow process of starvation, the point at which life, or at least all its functions, ceased; the ten or twenty pounds which formed an ample revenue in the Tudor period, being reduced by the altered value of money to a beggarly dole.

The limits of this article afford no space for dwelling further on their history; some have crumbled back to earth, whilst others, in evergreen luxuriance, throw a spacious shadow over it, and partially atone for the decay of their brethren. Yet that history is full of instruction in reference to our present question; but we believe it remains yet to be written. Is there, we would ask, a man of the Anglo-Saxon race competent to write it? The best and most nearly complete history of our Universities, is the work of a German; a German, we find from the most recent literary announcements, has just given to the world a history of public offices in England; and perhaps some of that industrious nation will come among us and teach us, to

our shame, what ought to be home-knowledge, 'familiar in our mouths as household words,'—the history of our public schools.

But, whatever may become of the history of dead, or even of living institutions, is less to our present purpose than the consideration of the means which exist for the revival of those which are capable of being useful. The legislation on this subject has not been in its results at present successful. We have already adduced the opinion of Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, that school trustees, and their advisers, are, to a great extent, ignorant of the existence of the most important Act hitherto passed on this subject. This fact, if fact it be, is a curious feature in the general result; and no doubt Sir James ought to be as well informed on this point as any one. It seems to show how great is the need of codification, when law lies unemployed, for want of those who have occasion for its aid being aware of its existence. Subsequent efforts at direct legislation on the general subject of charitable trusts, though made for several years under the high auspices of Lords Lyndhurst and Cottenham, were unsuccessful, until the appointment of the present Commission, on whose labours sufficient light of publicity has not yet been thrown, to enable us to pronounce on the success of their exertions. But, at any rate, the only possible process for the revival and reorganization of a grammar school, is no longer that of a Chancery suit and a special Act of Parliament; under which violent remedies, any but the most robust constitution was certain to succumb.

In instances where the endowment is ample or adequate, it may be generally surmised that there exists a machinery capable of extricating an institution from the rubbish in which its own deciduous state has sometimes half buried it, and that, too, without completing its ruin by the voracity of lawyers. But where the fund is small, and the means for carrying on the work of education require to be supplemented from some other source—where, in short, it is too good a resource to be abandoned, and too poor an one to be regarded as self-sufficient—the difficulties which attend the process of resuscitation are much increased. On a rare occasion, some individual is found who has the will and the means to supply the necessary resources; and to supplement the institution either in the spirit of its author, or if that in its purity be obsolete, then in some other which, most nearly representing it, shall be presentable in the fastidious nineteenth century. More frequently, however, indeed, all but universally, the institution's only hope lies in evoking from the locality and neighbourhood, a feeling in support of it. And here we have generally to attempt the launch amid the storm. Most persons who are willing to subscribe, wish for something in the way either of

patronage, or at least of increased importance, to result from it. A conscientious scruple often is a transparent bubble inflated with a globule of this kind of vapour. Beyond this, education, being a subject full of half-solved questions, in which every one is interested, is one provocative of nearly every form of crotchet of which the human mind is capable. Hence parties are easily formed; and principles equally sound, and equally requiring a limit in their application, draw extreme adherents, and invite frequent collisions. The express is constantly running into the parliamentary-train and the luggage-van; each having its own importance, and each, perhaps, being equally important in its place. It is easy, whenever we approach the ground of practice, to perceive that men's standard of meaning, when they speak of education, requires reducing—if we may borrow a phrase from arithmetic—to some 'common denominator.' But, easily as differences on this subject are generated, even where the ground is not preoccupied, they are rapidly multiplied when there is an old foundation to fight about, and when the very opportunity of discussion is one which prevents the original ideas of this or that person from being accepted. The majority of influential persons may cherish wishes hostile to, or at least inconsistent with, the purpose of the foundation; or, if they happen to coincide in wishes with its object, may not have the perseverance necessary to put down the stubborn resistance of interested grievance-mongers. Not unfrequently, also, a grave and influential but non-local corporation has rights of veto, which require conciliation and deference. Such rights, for example, sometimes pertain to a College at one of the Universities, with which a provincial grammar school may have a fundamental connexion. And where such a corporation, upholding the objects of the foundation, is confronted by some local body whose efforts are directed to set them aside, especially if the plot be thickened by the Bishop of the diocese having visitorial rights, it soon becomes a very pretty quarrel indeed. Base local interests, too, have parasitically sprung up in some cases, to thrust out learning from her heritage; and the school-house or the master's residence has, through desuetude, become infested by a nuisance, or blockaded on certain days of the week by the market, and the distracted Muse hears—

'A hundred oxen at her levee roar.'

So ruinous are the evils which beset the work, that we might allegorize, without exhausting their catalogue, the passage in which Virgil describes the influences hostile to the husbandman—

'Tum variæ illudant pestes; sæpe exiguus mus
Sub terris posuitque domos atque horrea fecit.
Aut oculis capti fodere cubilia talpæ;
Inventusque cavis bufo, et quæ plurima terræ
Monstra ferunt,' &c.

And all these malignant influences, which multiply apace in the vineyard of the slothful, have to be successfully combated before industry and zeal can contend on equal terms with the educational destitution around them.

In some of the cases where a small endowment exists, it might be possible to supplement it from the payments of scholars. But the moment of the revival of an institution semi-obsolete, is one generally of large demands on the ways and means, and requires something in the nature of a fund to meet the heavy expenses of stock and plant which belong peculiarly to that crisis. In some cases, probably, the assistance of the Charitable Trusts' Commissioners might enable the trustees to close the school, and suspend all payments on its account for a sufficient term, to allow time for the needful fund to accumulate. That term, it might be expected, would be much less than the period in the history of some schools during which they have been closed by a Chancery suit. If this could legally be done, then, with the small capital thus formed, an attempt might often be hopefully risked to rely on the payments of scholars for completing the necessary income. At the same time, the question is worth considering, whether it might not be feasible, out of certain overgrown estates, to create a general fund for the assistance of similar, or even of dissimilar charities, where none similar could be found, in other localities. Not that the notion of paring down prolific institutions to a dead level of mediocrity in endowment should ever be tolerated. The foundations which retain a certain amplitude and nobleness of means perpetuate better the image of their founder's generosity; and, by ceasing to be thus conspicuous, would cease to be such eloquent witnesses and such influential examples. There is, however, a limit difficult to define, but sensible in practice, at which amplitude passes into plethoric opulence, and the means at hand become of a magnitude disproportioned to the end. Beyond that limit, at which the accumulation of resources ceases to stimulate the efficiency of an institution, they might, by the application of a simple machinery, pass to the benefit of more needy endowments.

The experience, however, of all the persons or institutions who are the objects of endowments, goes, we believe, uniformly to establish the fact, that they are not the objects of popular sympathy. Even if a hospital gets wealthy and hoards, it is at

once liable to be attacked; and even that public usefulness which all men agree to recognise, and in bar of whose claims no scruple of conscience can be pleaded, cannot safely incur the stigma of being too well off. The perception of this feeling by a government which wishes to be popular—and what government will not bid high for such a character?—leads it to administer all such resources, or by its acts to influence their administration, in the spirit of that same antipathy to opulent endowments. This spirit, which embodies itself in an extreme form in such legislative experiments as the Episcopal and Capitular Estates Bill, would fasten on educational endowments in a mitigated degree, but in a much severer one than on those devoted to medical or surgical relief, or perhaps to any eleemosynary provision for bodily wants.

The dangers which these considerations suggest, are aggravated by the tendency evinced among those who have administered the education of the country so far as government has had to do with it. This tendency is towards throwing the whole power of administration, and the whole weight of its patronage, into the hands of a committee of politicians. Regarding Sir J. Shuttleworth as the exponent of the views of these right honourable persons, it is not without an ominous presentiment, derived from our experience of their dealings, that we observed a suggestion, forming part of an apparently long meditated plan, to sweep the whole circle of charitable trusts into the same powerful hands. He remarks, with the added emphasis of italics, 'that Lord Lyndhurst's and Lord Cotten-'ham's bills made no effort to *separate the administrative from the* '*contentious jurisdiction*, was a cardinal defect.' The former of those bills, he informs us, would have 'created,' for the administration of charities, with an income not exceeding 100*l.*, 'a 'board of three Commissioners, without appeal, to be appointed 'by the Lord Chancellor,' whilst the latter would have similarly 'created a summary jurisdiction in the Masters in Chancery' for charities with incomes of from 30*l.* to 100*l.*; while for those up to 30*l.*, the corresponding jurisdiction was to have been vested in the County Courts. Sir James, against these provisions, argues unanswerably, that the 'Masters' are a decaying and sentenced institution, and urges with much weight the pressure of other business on the County Courts, and the official inexperience of their judges in equitable cases. Against the three Commissioners of Lord Lyndhurst's bill, he has other objections, chiefly turning on the weight of responsibility, and the absence of appeal. These objections address themselves perhaps, with more force, to purely legal minds; but to unprofessional critics, taking a keen interest in the subject, and having a due remembrance of

the spirit in which Privy Council educational administration has been conducted, the scheme offered by Sir James himself seems fraught with more substantial danger. His main idea in separating judicial from administrative functions, would seem to be, that it is expedient to confide the latter to a 'Committee of the Privy Council.' He sketches a scheme for a 'Board of Public Charities,' to consist of such a committee, and to 'preside over a department acting separately from that of Public 'Education.' The question of one department or two, may be dismissed as one of purely official detail—as merely meaning, shall a pair of scissors or a knife be the instrument for shredding and clipping 'charity' administration to the Privy Council type? He proceeds with the auspicious proviso:—'But in 'order to ensure the concurrent action of these two offices, 'the Lord President should have authority over them, and 'should represent both in the House of Lords. One committee 'would likewise constitute the council and controlling power of 'both departments.' And the next paragraph reviews the suggestion under the captivating title of '*The Committee of Public Education and Charities.*' Of this committee, if ever it see the light, the Lord Chancellor is intended to be an *ex-officio* member; a vice-president is to represent it in the House of Commons, and to 'connect by a harmonious administration the two departments,' and thus 'unite the executive with the deliberative functions.' Here, then, we have a very neat reaping-machine for charitable trusts, complete in all its parts, and adapted by the newest improvements to meet all difficulties of ground.

Now, since there can be no doubt of the pertinence of a large number of charitable trusts to the uses of that particular kind of education with which we are now more especially concerned, the questions which the foregoing suggestions—proceeding, as they do, from a source of recognised influence and wide experience in a nearly kindred question—are apt to raise, cannot but cause grave anxiety in the minds of the large body of Churchmen; who view with distrust any measures proceeding from the same quarter to which the 'management clauses' for a poorer class of schools were due. No doubt, the difference between that class of schools and the one we are now considering, necessitates a difference *pro tanto* in the plan of administering a scheme to promote their greater efficiency. But still, who can doubt, that the same policy which insidiously pushed its way, and advanced its tone from that of an adviser to that of a dictator in the one case, will leave no opportunity untried to usurp a similar position in the other? The claim to direct expenditure as having supplied funds, will find no place, where no grants are made, and where the resources already exist in the form of a

public charity. But every other influence which the Committee of Privy Council have wielded in the case of poor schools, will come spontaneously to hand in that of endowed scholastic institutions, seeking such aid as may resuscitate their functions, or improve their efficiency. A similar power of organization, a similar or even a wider field of patronage, a similar centralization of power and direction of policy are possible, nay, in some respects, are easier in the latter than in the former case. By and bye and in due course, we may look for the wedge in wider dimensions, and driven by more direct blows. A plausible case will at once exist whenever a school subsists on an estate administered by the 'Board of Public Charities,' for extending to it the benefit of the superintendence of that board's official twin, the 'Board of Public Education,' in laying out to the best advantage the proceeds which it enjoys. And then comes the train of inspectors and certificated masters, and their apparatus of reports and tabulated returns, with which we are familiar. The 'Board of Public Charities' and that of 'Public Education,' would operate 'harmoniously' on the whole interest. One would look after the estate, and the other would touch up the live stock upon it—the master, ushers, and scholars. And, whatever doubt may attach to further and contingent results arising from such control, of one result recent and bitter experience leaves no doubt; viz., that under the plausible pretence of unsectarian policy, a root-and-branch war would be waged against the principles of the Prayer-book, and a systematic attempt made to obliterate the mark of the Church from any institution on which old-fashioned piety had set it.

The importance of these considerations to any, who, taking an interest in our present subject, are not blind to the signs of the times, is brought out by the further reflection, that the great majority of educational endowments were made by Churchmen, at a period when the notion of education, though narrow in the extreme, was simple and fervent, and one built on the faith of the Church. Of this, we believe, there can be no doubt; but still, whenever a contrary case can be established, the appropriation of the endowment to further the objects of any religious communion whose interests the founder had in view, should be jealously guarded from the substitution of any rival. Let the children of the wife have their heritage, and the 'sons of the concubines' also enjoy such gifts as pertain to their estate. There is no method so short, safe, and satisfactory, so clear of present troubles and future embarrassments, as that of simple justice. There is nothing which so much envenoms and exasperates, as the sickly pretence of impartiality faintly screening the approaches of party-spirit,—the ostentatious flag of

neutrality covering the contraband of persecution. As pride is most offensive when it apes humility, so injustice is most galling when it affects the bandage and the scales.

Perhaps there is no work which may form a fairer field for the operations of Church unions, than the guarding the interests of poor endowments, in their own locality and neighbourhood, which may pertain to the Church, or relate to her interests. There is, no doubt, abundance of work for them, so long as the present ministry, or any who are at present likely to succeed them, remain in possession of power. The interests of educational endowments are, however, happily distinct from any such ephemeral anxiety as popular men and their measures can create. Those interests perpetuate themselves, and in them are mingled the profoundest elements of our social condition. They may acquire a greater prominence through the fluctuating influences of the political atmosphere, but command a sympathy from their own intrinsic and substantial worth. A passing cloud may throw them into the shade, or the glare of some signal danger may temporarily outshine their importance; but they retain the calm lustre which is 'not of this world,' but reflected from the luminousness of that eternal state towards which they ever point.

It would be unfair to omit from our estimate of existing resources the additions which contemporary zeal is making to their sum. It may be difficult to rescue from decay the antiquated remains of many an olden local benefaction; but they have at least made good their claim to the epitaph *non omnis moriar*, by the impulse which they have aroused in living breasts. In several venerable cities, Salisbury, for example, and Peterborough, efforts to develop the educational branch of the cathedral idea have lately, from time to time, challenged our interest. Even with greater boldness, and with larger visible, and it may be hoped also invisible, results, the Principal of St. Nicholas' College, Shoreham, has for ten years past been pursuing his unwearied efforts to hold up to our times the image of what a public school for the middle class should be. Beyond all the outward successes gained by himself and his earnest brotherhood in toil, and now rapidly expanding into a third mansion of learning in the centre college at Lancing, shines the inner gem of self-devotion which few of those who now benefit in this generation by their labours can appreciate. Could such men but be found in sufficient abundance, their diffusion over the land would offer a speedy solution of nearly all the difficulties with which our present question is beset. Not only, however, because human nature forbids us to expect that masters of equal zeal and skill can be supplied for so wide a work as that before us, on so self-denying

a standard of remuneration as that which he and his fellows are content to share, do we feel it necessary to husband our resources, but because Divine wisdom and human prudence alike teach us to 'gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.'

Nor is the peculiar branch of this great general subject to which we devote these pages, likely to hold any other than the most prominent place for some time to come. The events of the past year have signally tended to increase that prominency. We refer in particular to the examination held in June last in the city of Exeter, for the pupils of 'independent schools for the middle classes.' The three pamphlets in which are detailed the antecedents, proceedings, and results of this examination, and the titles of which are prefixed to this article, are works of first rate interest, not only as chronicling a great provincial movement in middle class education, but as bearing on the general experiment on that subject, to which the University of Oxford at once generously committed itself. These pages contain several confirmations, from opinions entitled to high respect, of some of the foregoing remarks; but not only on this account, but on that of the valuable hints and suggestions with which they teem, we cannot better dismiss the present subject than by directing attention to them. A subsequent small volume put forth by Mr. Acland himself, though it acquaints us more fully with his personal share in the matter, and with his views on the extension of education in the direction of Art, hardly adds any important fact to the existing materials of argument.

Perhaps the most wholesome feature traceable in the entire aspect of the examination held at Exeter in June last, and in that demand for a raised standard of middle school education to which it testifies, is that it grew out of a sense of a practical want, ascertained to exist by those who were familiar on the spot with the working of present systems, and whose primary business was *not* to establish or improve schools, much less to examine them, but to push a great general interest requiring for its advancement a superior mental training. 'A 'society,' it appears, 'was established at Bath on the 8th Sep- 'tember, 1777, for the encouragement of agriculture, manufac- 'tures, commerce, and the fine arts.' It throve with varying usefulness under various titles, and is represented in the present day by 'the Bath and West of England Society for the 'encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures and com- 'merce.' Of this society, Mr. T. D. Acland, junior, would seem to be a leading member. Whether to him or to Lord Ebrington, for whom we see a claim advanced by a speaker at a public meeting, the original credit of the plan be due, the

members of this society seem to have readily imbibed the valuable idea of going to the root of the matter, and seeking in primary and general education the causes for the successful or unsuccessful cultivation of those special branches of knowledge to which they are specially devoted. They resolved to test their popular schools, and thus dig back to that foundation on which such a society as theirs rests as a superstructure. The value of such a recognition of the relation subsisting between youthful education and the career of later life, is of itself a great encouragement both to teacher and pupil. The more conspicuous does this become from the strong concentration given to the whole proceeding by its local character, and by the social influence of its promoters. A perusal of the list of their names will show any one who is familiar with the western counties, that among them are numbered most of the guides of local opinion there. It is indeed a great thing for their schools, when such men meet in the metropolis of their portion of England, and say in effect, 'We wish to have more 'skilful farmers, more expert engineers, to diffuse more liberal-'minded views in commerce and general business, and to pro-'mote a more genuine style in both useful and ornamental art; 'and we look to the schools of this city and its neighbourhood, 'and to all which can be brought within the radius of our effort, 'to supply the means to these ends.' It is by such an appeal that a school can best be taught to know itself, and receive the rousing impulse which the machinery of learning derives from the contact of active life. The following remarks are valuable, as showing what was and what was not the aim which Mr. Acland and his coadjutors had in view:—

'A few persons of various shades of opinion, political and religious, having learned to act together and to trust each other, have provided a small prize fund (*n. b.* prizes to the amount of 120 guineas, and a life-membership of the Bath and West of England Society, were offered for competition), with a view to put to a practical test the value which the middle ranks may be disposed to attach to certificates of the progress of their children, if awarded by competent examiners.

'The promoters of the prizes do not offer education; no attempt is made to found agricultural colleges or middle schools; no inspection is proposed; still less is it intended to protect the interests of existing establishments by encouraging a monopoly of education. The one thing that is offered to the middle classes is an examination which shall test the success of the education given, whether in schools or elsewhere; and thus at once give parents the power of discriminating efficient teachers, and teachers the opportunity of proving their own skill.

'With regard to the internal economy of schools, the regulations for moral discipline, the habits of worship (points which have hitherto proved a stumbling-block in middle class schemes), no interference is attempted, and, therefore, no responsibility is incurred. That is left, where it must rest at last, with the parents.

'The advice of able and intelligent gentlemen engaged in commercial education has been sought and very willingly given.

'The Lord President of the Council has most kindly acceded to the request, that he would allow two of Her Majesty's Inspectors to act in concert with a Board of Examiners, whose names speak for themselves. The value of the co-operation of Her Majesty's Committee of Council cannot be overrated; but it would be obviously inexpedient that the education of the middle ranks should be permanently dependent on the official agency of the Government for the time qeing.

'It would seem, therefore, desirable, on many accounts, that, as soon as the evidence of a willingness to apply for examination is sufficiently established, some more independent and permanent machinery should be provided.'

The 'more independent and permanent machinery,' here stated to be in demand, has begun to be supplied, and when the 'remarks' above-quoted were written, had already been promised and planned. It is interesting to watch how a local call proceeding from the south-western corner of the kingdom, was at once wafted to one of its intellectual *foci*, and responded to. It shows how an attachment to our city or our county—that feeling, which, although it was the incentive to the greatest deeds in behalf of education in a bygone age, is *now* commonly made a subject of depreciation and a topic of scorn—is capable still of producing worthy efforts. It matters not that once it worked by endowments, and that now it has begun to work also by examinations. The spirit of commencing in earnest on behalf of those to whom we are most visibly by a law of nature bound, is the one most powerful to propel and diffuse benevolence. This has been wisely exemplified by Mr. Woodard in the advantageous terms offered at Hurstpierpoint to boys being natives of the county in which it stands. Thus the effort made on behalf of Devonshire schools, in directing which the names of Mr. Acland and Mr. Temple stand out in strong relief, supplied the happy case in point, which public opinion, ever, in this country, fond of fact and of something tangible, required, in order to justify that step which the University of Oxford has just taken on behalf of the entire kingdom. The speeches reported as having been delivered in Exeter, on the occasion of the late examination there, contain copious traces of the same feeling. The county which drew forth those genial allusions, has not, perhaps, been hitherto the one most usually selected for the eulogy of *felix prole virûm*. Its Exmoor ponies, its orchard and dairy produce, have, indeed, long ranked far above any feeble praises which we could bestow; but a disrespectful parallel between the sons of that favoured western soil and the clods thereof, has obtained a currency which it will in future be difficult to justify. Here is a brief assertion of

their claims on their fellow-subjects and fellow-students in all the arts which civilise mankind.

'I do not think' (said Mr. Temple), 'that when Mr. Acland first proposed to hold these examinations, he himself had the slightest idea—and most certainly when I heard from him, I had not the slightest idea—of what was to come out of his proposition. It appeared, at first sight, to be a proposal to do something towards the improvement of schools in the western counties; but as it went on—and the more it was discussed, the more it seemed to grow under our hands—it appeared to grow more important every day; and everywhere it was taken up with warmer interest. It was put first before a few members of the Universities, who accepted it, as they said themselves, with the greatest delight; and it was only doubted whether it was possible to expect that the country at large would follow up the movement which had been commenced. It was followed up by applying to different parts of the country; and everywhere, as I have said, it was taken up with the warmest interest; and memorials poured in as fast almost as they could receive them, praying the Universities to adopt some scheme, not for the western counties only, but for the whole of England.'

Thus a sincere man, with a single object at heart and a limited sphere of action in which to work at it, is drawn on by the force of sympathy, and stumbles on a great result. It is a bright example of the reward which waits on him who is 'faithful over a few things.'

It is, indeed, true, that a wide ebullition of sympathy, sufficient, probably, to astonish the most sanguine projectors of the scheme, has been shown by 'the country.' The helping hand held out by the University has come in contact with an undefined but instinctive want. Nor does the spirit thus evoked expire in mere sympathetic expressions. Under the guidance of this feeling, the scheme is advancing towards some experimental results. The public meetings which have taken place in the great commercial and manufacturing centres of population have left behind them an organization of local committees, to ensure to their neighbourhoods the educational benefit in which they have thus expressed their confidence. Newspaper reports have given a wide currency to the views entertained by the various speakers at these provincial meetings; and, although editorial comments and paper discussion have been sparingly provoked, that is, probably, because few purely educational schemes have ever met with an acceptance marked with so little diversity of sentiment. We may mention Leeds, York, Birmingham, Bath, and Southampton, as representing and leading public feeling on the subject in northern and southern England. From the local committee which has originated in the first-named town, has emanated the last of the publications on the list prefixed to this article. It is a tract setting forth the claims of middle schools to benefit by the improved standard of popular education,

arguing the necessity of choosing between the stimulus of Government inspection and that of examinations by the University, and reasoning conclusively in favour of the latter. In the metropolis we have hitherto looked in vain for a similarly outspoken welcome to the Oxford plan. It is not difficult to imagine reasons for this attitude of silence. The larger and older and more amply endowed metropolitan grammar schools, though many of them include a class of pupils who leave for business at the usual age, have their own system of examinations and rewards, and feel a confidence in it. They derive their working standard from the large number of other pupils whom they send to the University, and do not care to modify their plan for the sake of what they would feel rather an interference than a benefit. The more strictly commercial public schools of the same neighbourhood are influenced, probably, by the inertness of the superior class. Their masters are men necessarily less known to the public, and, though near enough to be overshadowed by their grander neighbours, are practically as remote from mutual support as if they lived fifty miles from each other. They never met in their lives for any common purpose whatever, and each finds it, as usual, an awkward thing to take the invidious initiative. As these pages, however, are going to press, a rumour reaches us of a 'feeler' put forth by some one more resolute or less diffident than his brethren, and it is possible that by a vigorous push they may be yet in time. Elsewhere corporations have sometimes led and scholastic bodies followed, but the corporation of the city of London at present hardly enjoys confidence beyond the narrow circle of its own routine of duties. Yet whatever course the metropolitan schools may take, the plan is sure of a sufficiently wide popularity to give it a fair start, and ensure favourable circumstances to its experiment.

It remains, then, to be seen by experience what effect the scheme thus set on foot will have on the existing schools in which the middle classes are educated. It is probable, from several considerations, that the gradual extinction of the old-fashioned private 'commercial' schools will thereby be accelerated. That that extinction is already taking place, we have previously pointed out, as one of the facts established by the Educational Census. In the first place, we base this anticipation on the fact, that these examinations will work most powerfully through the academic sympathy which they are apt to express. A less coldly, critical aspect must surely be held by the University, the prytaneum of education itself, than by such a body as the Privy Council, towards the labours which it assists and superintends. The former have a flesh-and-blood relationship with the object of their fostering efforts, and will feel a tendency

to coalesce with the growth which they stimulate. The latter find themselves necessarily external to that object; they cannot coalesce with it any more than the mould with the substance to which it gives form. They watch its performances with a calculating interest, as the engineer notes the revolutions of his fly-wheel. This educational sympathy will necessarily be strongest with those schools which have most homogeneous elements with an university: and these will be, firstly, such as are in any sense public; secondly, such as aim at general rather than special education; and thirdly, such as include the classical element of the dead languages. In all these respects, the private 'commercial' academy falls short of the point at which that sympathy will be powerful. Further, the test applied by these examinations will tend to show the inefficiency of the masters of these private schools. At first, perhaps, a good many will try, or seem to try, to meet its requisitions; but those requisitions will bewilder their minds and exhaust their perseverance. The simplicity of a deep principle, and the power and the wisdom of teaching thereby, and that universally, however elementary the matter taught, will, we may venture to assume, baffle their grasp, save perhaps in the case of the few who may have within them something better than their system. On the other hand, there is, in all these respects, a hope of new and fresh life for the endowed grammar schools. The process of revival—a work in which we are glad to see that Mr. Acland, in one of these pamphlets, dwells with congenial anticipations—will derive a vital warmth from contact with the motherly bosom of the University. Their re-organization on a plan to suit the wants of an age which cannot wait, being facilitated by the powers of the Commissioners of Charitable Trusts, and having the example of the poorer schools before their eyes, will be guided at once and strengthened by the powerful hand stretched out to them. To boast beforehand of the issue, which we may, however, joyfully anticipate, would indeed be folly; but an issue of such moment and of such promise, may reasonably be commended to the prayers of all those who have at heart that ancient cause of sound religion and useful learning, for which so many generations of wise and holy and earnest men have both prayed and laboured in this land—more especially of all who love the Church and fear the State, in their present respective attitudes of endurance and aggression.

It is not part of our present purpose to dwell on the many points of highly interesting detail presented by the recent examination at Exeter, both in its process and in its results. They in general concern the professional educator and trainer of boys rather than the general reader. On the whole, the

opinion seems probable that too great stress was laid on paper work,—a difficult medium for eliciting the knowledge of the young. Mr. Temple, in a letter to the Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, says, 'The examination should, I think, be all on paper' (No. III. p. 50). To this we have a demurrer wisely put in by Mr. Howson, of the Liverpool Institution, who says (ibid. p. 55), 'It appears to me that an examination of boys without 'viva voce is very inadequate. Boys of sixteen cannot put down 'their knowledge on paper in a given time like men of twenty-'one. Moreover, it seems peculiarly desirable that those who 'are destined for active business should be put to the test of 'oral examination. Yet,' he adds, 'I do not at present see 'how *viva voce* can efficiently and fairly be made a part of this 'scheme. No point, in my opinion, requires more careful con-'sideration than this.' Beyond, however, the fact that the Exeter examination was one wholly on paper, we notice the statement, that 'a much larger number of questions were set than any one 'candidate was expected to answer, and that questions suited to 'the younger and older candidates were included in the same 'paper. This arrangement was adopted in order to give to every 'candidate the widest range of selection, and the least occasion 'for subsequent complaint. Considering the various circum-'stances of the youths, no other plan presented so little prospect 'of inconvenience, and *no inconvenience did in fact result from the 'course adopted.*' We have italicised the last statement as questionable, especially when we compare with it the rather disparaging terms in which Mr. Temple himself in his report (No. III. pp. 8, 9) speaks of the standard which the paper work reached:—

'The number of candidates, whose papers ultimately passed under review, was 106—thirty-four seniors and seventy-two juniors. The general character of the work may be estimated by the Prize List. Sixteen obtained prizes of one sort or another among the seniors, and five were mentioned with commendation. Twenty-two obtained prizes among the juniors, and ten were commended. It should be observed, however, that the standard was purposely put low, because much could not fairly be expected on the first occasion of trial. If the examination were to be taken as a test how far boys were, in any tolerable sense, educated according to their rank in life, all those who did not obtain prizes must be considered as having fallen below that mark. This leaves eighteen out of the thirty-four seniors, and fifty out of the seventy-two juniors, who cannot be said to have passed. The force of this statement will seem to be increased, by the consideration that the candidates were probably picked specimens of the schools from which they came; but, on the other hand, not a few were going back to school again, and had not obtained all that the schools could give them.'

'Some light is, perhaps, thrown on the character of the failures by the fact, that out of the eighteen seniors and fifty juniors who did not obtain a prize, nine seniors and twenty-seven juniors must have been

rejected for deficiency in the preliminary examination, even if their other work had been better than it was. This deficiency was chiefly shown in the spelling; but many also failed in elementary arithmetic; and among them, some who attempted a good deal in the mathematical papers. I do not think the schools universally recognise the very great importance of a thorough knowledge of the simplest elements of learning as a condition of all progress afterwards.'

The fact is, paper work, to do justice to the powers of the examinee, who is there bereft of that guiding clue held by the examiner, which in *vivâ voce* never forsakes him, requires an amount of presence of mind and judgment which cannot be expected at a youthful age. He may urge his forward course with vigour on paper, but he requires to be steered. The whole mind of a boy of fourteen is loose-jointed, like a puppy's physical frame, and cannot bring its whole weight to bear on a given point. Knowledge is not a purely objective and tangible thing into which we can dip a gauge, or round which we can stretch a tailor's tape; it is always subjective to the mind in which it resides, and its expression reflects that mind in all its points. There is therefore not only a crudity and scantiness about boyish knowledge, but a combined incompleteness and redundancy, which, in young minds even of the best promise, develops itself in curious erratic freaks when left to cut its own capers on ruled foolscap, 'leaving on the left 'hand a margin of an inch, on which the number of each ques-'tion is to be written' (No. III. p. 50). To this misfortune we are inclined to attribute the appearance of failure which, from one point of view, the examination held at Exeter exhibits. More especially would mishaps be likely to occur where senior and junior questions are treacherously mixed up in the same subjects on the same sheet of paper. Some would lame their wits at starting over a stiff problem intended for their elders, and be unable, or too disheartened, to recover themselves; some would get entangled between the deeps and the shallows, and lose time, and miss the opportunity of answering their fair quota; a third sort would get on swimmingly, and attack, *currente calamo*, questions, senior and junior, innocently and promiscuously, and would be as innocently surprised when they learnt the result as exhibited in their marks. Such as these last are, perhaps, sure of their fate under any system of questions or of marks; but it is hardly fair thus to tempt them to exaggerate their failure.

Yet, no doubt, a large proportion of failures might have been expected by any who closely scrutinized the papers, and knew what popular middle class schools are. It becomes a question, however, as we charge the examination with too high a standard,

(*pace* Mr. Temple, who mildly observes that it was 'purposely put low,') whether a lower one would have been so practically useful. The whole arrangements for a meeting between these west-country lads, and their unknown friends from Oxford, were so utterly exceptional and unprecedented, that a failure, however complete, could not possibly bring to any one so much discredit as an ordinary little-go pluck. The event was one which had never occurred before, and could never, under the same exciting and experimental circumstances, occur again. It was more useful to take the golden opportunity which the soothing palliative of munificent prizes afforded, to show these schools how far they were below par, than to bestow delusive blandishments on their supposed efficiency. It was the Horatian—

> ———'pueris dant crustula blandi
> Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.'

the *crustula* being handsome books worth from ten pounds to ten shillings. Let us hope that they may be 'willing to learn,' under the auspices of the University of Oxford, those 'first elements' in which Mr. Temple found them so deficient.

But, further, as regards the generally-diffused examinations which we are led to expect under the influence of the new statute. We do not hesitate to pronounce the standard too high. No doubt a boy may master, at fourteen, three books of Cæsar and two of Xenophon, if he has little or nothing else to do; but with the variety of subjects for study which the prospectus of the delegates encourages, if it does not prescribe, it is most likely that the Latin and Greek will be sound as far as they go, but meagre; and the other subjects such mere smattering, that they had better been let alone. Still, the projectors of a new examination consult the popularity of their examiners by laying down, as far as written terms can indicate it, a standard too severe for actual operations. The examiners, by judiciously relenting, and giving the mildest possible interpretation to that written law, may then, as the saying is, let the candidates 'down easy' after they have been put in a state of wholesome awe by the Draconic statute which seemed to threaten 'pluck' alike to all. It is then possible gradually to elevate the working standard to the maximum, instead of the minimum of what the terms of the statute will bear; and thus the examiners get the credit of kindness, which has a wonderful effect in reconciling young beginners to being operated upon by them; after which the statutable standard can be screwed up in its turn, so it be not done too suddenly, to any pitch which may be useful. On the whole, therefore, though we regard the published standard as too high, we are not disposed on that account finally to

quarrel with it. The subjects for religious instruction are well chosen, and to this test all are invited, though it is forced upon none. The onus of objecting to the being examined in certain portions of Holy Scripture and the Prayer-book is made to rest with the parents, and the objection, when made, will be attended to. As regards the working of the 'parental objection' clause, it may be remembered that at Exeter less than seven per cent. of the examinees alleged such objections, and were in consequence excused. At the same time, one feature of that examination has been dropped, which we could have wished retained. Candidates were there taught to expect that a 'prize might be 'gained in the department of religious knowledge without 'reference to any other department,' on the mere condition of not failing in the preliminary examination. In future middle class examinations' candidates are told that 'the fact of having 'passed the examination in the rudiments of faith and religion 'will be entered on their certificates, although it will not affect 'their places on the list' (Regulations, p. 8). It is not easy to see on what grounds this homage to faith and religion is in one case offered, and in the other withdrawn; or why the same encouragement 'to youths who have no time for secular study, to improve themselves in religious knowledge' (No. II. p. 6), which was judged wholesome for Exeter, should not be equally good for the rest of the country.

On one further question of interest in reference to the Oxford statute we will here venture to touch: it is that of the degree or quasi-degree with which those senior candidates who satisfy the examiners will be decorated. 'Associate in arts' is a title which has stirred the indignant rebuke of at least one eminent member of the sister University, who objected, if he be rightly reported, that there was nothing in which they were, in any just sense of the word, 'associated' with the members of the University. The objection seems a mere narrow cavil; so far as boys can be associated with men, there is no reason to complain that the association is fictitious; and so far as men may be reminded that, when boys, they were associated with those who teach the nation, and that they then, for a brief season, drank of the same fountains which are open for life to those who have more leisure, or are otherwise more amply gifted than themselves, there is no reason why the bond which the term implies should be felt to be unreal. The objections of an able critic in the 'Saturday Review,' that the title would be so widely diffused as to be vulgarised, is worth even less attention. The prospectus of 'regulations,' already quoted, is an answer for the present, so far as any is necessary, to all such alarms. We should be agreeably surprised when a sufficiently large number of shopmen

and lawyers' clerks acquire the A.A. distinction for us to regard it as vulgarised thereby. It will, to a great extent, have done its work whenever that risk becomes formidable. There should be always difficulty enough in the way of attaining it to provoke endeavour; and whenever the average of talents and application so far rises among the lower middling classes, as for the degree to be won with too cheap an effort, the *prestige* of difficulty may be restored by raising the standard on the improved aspirant. We need in this country any protest which may be had against class prejudices, and cannot spare any influence which lets in light through the ranks of the social phalanx on the merit of the individual, to whatever grade or station he may belong. Such was one of the great boons which the mediæval universities conferred on the men of their own day. They dipped down into all the strata of society; and wherever a healthy spring was found, they tapped it, and drew the hidden source to light. Similar, there is some reason to hope, may be the influence for which the University of Oxford has made a vigorous bid. The machinery necessary for the purpose is not all ready to hand, and much that exists is rusty and imperfect. Yet, there seem strong reasons for entertaining a joyful augury of revivals and re-adaptations of things deemed extinct and obsolete. The 700 old grammar schools, once set on their legs, would by the force of their example, more powerfully than even by the extent of their teaching, exercise an influence in favour of the sound and slow-but-sure system, which has still a life in itself, even though it need a fresh organization. These old schools are nothing else than widely-spread roots of the old method of general education which in the University we see concentrated. They are the fibres by which Oxford and Cambridge penetrated to the core of English life; and their toughness and tenacity of existence seems to testify to the vigour of their kind. If they have thus long survived in a state of penurious and suspended existence, like the 'stump of roots in the earth' in the royal vision, how much more may be expected of them when the sap of life shall swell in them again?

There is one last point in which we think the 'regulations for conveying the statute into effect' have left an undesirable, though probably an unintentional, omission in their provisions. No attempt is made to recognise the office of the previous teacher, when the pupil repairs to Oxford, or appears before the examiner sent by the University. The boy or youth will come before the examiner purely as an individual; and all that is known of his school, if he comes from any, will be that its name stands after his own in the list of candidates. Technically,

no doubt, the precedents of University etiquette leave no room for the recognition of scholastic bodies outside its own walls. But there were reasons why, in the present case, this reserve might have been usefully abandoned. It does not indeed appear how the University is to know officially from what 'school, if any,' the candidate comes. None, we presume, will dispute that this information should proceed, not from the pupil, but from the teacher; and it would be a more dignified course for the University, as well as one more honorific towards the schoolmaster, that a formal certificate should be required of the latter, showing the date of the candidate's entering his school, and the period during which he continued under his instruction. This would have been a trifling consideration to show to a body of men holding a highly useful, but often an ill-requited office; nor can we suppose for a moment that it was omitted for any other reason than because it was not thought of. The 'regulations' would indeed be more complete with it than they are without it; and we venture the opinion, that to insert it would give a welcome recognition to the large number of middle school masters, who are not members of the University, and who would be glad of having the smallest corner of Alma Mater's ample robe thrown over the ambiguity of their scholastic status.

ART. II.—1. *Les Césars.* Par le COMTE FRANZ DE CHAMPAGNY. Second Edition, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1853.

2. *Decii Junii Juvenalis, Satiræ XIII. The Latin Text of O. Jahn.* Edited, with English Notes, by J. E. B. MAYOR. 8vo. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1856.

ONE great fact the political history of the Empire teaches us; it proves that, after all, the Roman nationality had not been left in the confusion of civil war, and the enervating luxury which gradually fastened upon the conquering people. The literary history of the same period helps to establish the same conclusion, and to demonstrate that, as each quarter of the globe seems to be distinguished from the rest by the possession of one common nature, spite of grand differences, as *e. g.* between France and Russia, Louisiana and New England, so it is with races through the whole compass of their duration and fortunes. It does often appear as though certain phenomena of society and opinion ranged the earth at will like an epidemic, now betaking themselves to one land, now to another, so that the most mutually remote types of nationality are separated from each other only by the interval of a few centuries. Yet it is evident that concurrently with this phenomenon, the phases of feelings and manners in their various manifestations, have some sort of relation and analogy to the circumstances of the state in which they first arise; and that the right point of view from which to examine them, can be discovered only by considering the life and condition of one special nation and age.—Of all states of society whatever, the Roman is in this respect the most instructive. Rome did not, as Greece, only brighten and flash forth in its civilization as an ideal for the nations; it was not so much itself the educator as the pioneer of civilization for all peoples and times, as though they had been virgin soil committed to the plough for the first time, or a mass of ore to the smelting. It absolutely changed their posture and conformation by the rude force of superior energy, rather than by the impress of a master intellect, and so mixed itself up with every institution and the whole spirit of the nations it had subdued, that every age holds traces of the stamp of that mighty foot deeply imprinted on the very elements of society. This influence was not the result of any temporary combination of events, as was the contagion of Spanish feeling in Europe, which left the nation itself where it originated as desolate and alien to it as its neighbours, after the impulse had subsided. The Republic did not alone bear this close affinity to the world

at large, nor the Empire alone. They were not even distinct and separate agencies; we do not trace this institution to the one, that form to the other. The Roman race—that is, without nice questions of genealogy, the sovereign orders of the imperial city at one time and another—is a positive and material cause in the cultivation and condition of modern Europe; its acts, and the records of its sentiments, tend alike to this conclusion; its political history is, from the consulship of Brutus to the last of the twelve Cæsars, and beyond, the history of one people, with a constitution widely modified and tarnished at different stages, but rather developed than revolutionized. Their literature in all its epochs has still the stamp of a national literature, representing in each the characteristics of the particular period, but with a deep, full under-current of feeling, which was neither republican nor imperial, but only Roman.

It is especially interesting to lay our hands on a picture, in that literature, of life and manners, and trace the analogy between the state of things there depicted, and the old. But when that picture was meant to be a gloomy one, and hardly affects not to exaggerate the degeneracy of the people from their ancestors; when it is a satire, and levelled at those classes which contained the essence of the *Nomen Romanum*, we are somewhat justified in trusting to the delineation, to the extent, at least, of the affinities between what was and what is, which we can trace on the canvas, underneath the dense coating of wilful misrepresentation and prejudice. The period from Tiberius to Domitian was peculiarly the age of satire; and the fact that it was, affords a clue to its real position in the annals of Rome. It proves that the sovereigns of that era might be tyrants (an open question); but, if tyrants, they were usurpers by force, not despots recognised by the constitution. Civil war, or the terror of the barbarian, might make extraordinary dictatorial prerogatives necessary to the nation's safety, but the spirit of the whole people had not sunk to love and adore the badge of their abnegation of self-government. An epigram or a pasquinade on authorities shows nothing; neither does its popularity. Mere surprise at the contempt exhibited for persons held sacred, and natural dislike to the customary restraint, produces the effect of wit upon the public mind. But to produce, and to praise a deliberate satire, not vaguely running wild against the whole human race, but a systematic onslaught on dignities and classes which enjoyed a monopoly of reverence, and a sort of privilege of playing the fool and the desperado without reproof, indicates a habit of passing judgment freely on the conduct of the great, and that interest

in their sentiments and actions which the exclusiveness, either of absolutism or an oligarchy, effectually benumbs.

It does not matter that the names held up to ridicule had lost their associations of pomp and power, that the vices formerly in vogue were not fashionable then. We must remember that the common notion about the empire is, that it was the era of a series of sultans, or military tyrants. But the simple capacity of laughing at what has been gilded over with personal grandeur, is something alien to habitual servility; and the more, perhaps, does it prove a custom of independence in thought, that the thirst of vengeance for recent oppression cannot account for a burst of exultation over Sejanus in the reign of Domitian. Satire cannot flourish under a pure despotism, for the monarch may not be, and his courtiers are not worth being attacked, let alone the ruler's jealousy of a composition which, in asserting a right to criticise the blind instruments of his government, and the creatures of his munificence, assumes responsibility in himself. But at Rome there was the not so unnatural union of absolutism in the executive power with freedom of public opinion. The fiction of official accountability for the performance of a trust committed by the people, was not so much a fiction in practice, as it appeared to be even in theory. The nominees of the emperor and the senate, were, many of them, the men whom the nation would have chosen in its day of republican liberty; and opinion, interpreting the exigencies of the times, which aggressions from the east and the north made one series of crises, ratified the choice, and condemned and murmured down the tendency to forget, while consulting private friendship, or sordid political services, that magistrates still had duties to discharge.

It were idle to attempt to prove the Empire to have been a good form of government absolutely; it is not so unreasonable to argue (although this is not the place), that it was the best, as being the only one possible under existing circumstances, when that portentous revolution, the annihilation not only of so many nations' liberties, but even of their capacity of thinking for themselves, had just been consummated. Outside Rome, in Italy itself, slavery was the dominant form of society; but beneath the shadow of the Capitol it was not the least danger for a prince *cerdonibus esse timendus*. Nor was the freedom only the lawless licence of the rabble who are free from, because beneath, the law. For the genuine Romans it had withdrawn into a narrower compass. The haughty Plebs was no longer represented as an order; it would have disdained the claims of the mob to descent from it; but the nobles still kept their independence, shorn of some of its security, but yet the more palpable perhaps

from the apparent plots to coerce it issuing from imperial jealousy. Public opinion supported them and checked the sovereign. While the old spirit of Rome still lingered, while the old names of the Republic survived, how preposterous it is to speak or to think of Rome, as is the tendency, as sunk to the condition of Turkey, and to ignore the connexion of the republic and the empire. It is as groundless a theory as that which would exhibit us as a totally different race from the subjects of Elizabeth. The grandeur of the Old Houses under Tiberius and Caligula is something contradictory to Orientalism. The invectives launched by the satirist against their luxury to prove their degeneracy and the falling away of the ancient spirit, demonstrate that at least it was not the policy of imperialism which had caused the change. The picture which he draws of the crimes and degradation of his countrymen is gloomy indeed; murder and debauchery, wild beast-like valour, and the most sickly effeminacy, desperate prodigality, and niggardly patronage were, according to him, the sum of a Roman's pursuits and dispositions. But all is in the extreme; there is nothing but what savours of the souls of the conquerors of the world run mad.

The Republic is the background to every scene; and the lightning of the sarcasm kindles up, and seems to bring into unnatural juxtaposition, the Empire and the Commonwealth. It is impossible to read ten lines without discovering that its writer did not dream of the old times as gone beyond recall; that the spirit of the descendants of the Curii and Cincinnati appeared to his fancy to be only sleeping, not dead. We come to his denunciations in the anticipation of finding them full of images from a period long past, with all its results, and descriptive of an actual state of things grand and vast, but altogether different. The stoicism of Seneca, and the very association of the names of the great lawyers of that time with the code of the oriental Justinian, suggest a state of society very distinct from that which produced the free eloquence of Cicero, or the plebiscita of the tribunes. Actually, we find a multitude indeed of alien vices and forms of luxury born of the Empire, but we find also an apparent conviction in the author, that he, a Roman, wrote to Romans; that everything which was new was exceptional; that the basis was national. He does not acknowledge that the Empire existed by the people's will, but, in the genuine spirit of modern imperialists, contemplates it as in all cases a temporary institution; in some a mere tyranny, in others, perhaps useful for a particular exigency. With the outward forms so entirely unchanged, he could not think the internal character so completely revolutionised as many suppose it to have been. Nor was it so changed. But few of the emperors were even capable

of forming a project for constituting themselves kings and the source of a regular dynasty. In keeping up the appearance of acquiescence to the popular will, and the habit of consulting and paying deference to the senate, they did violence to the proud instincts of sovereigns and generals: but they allowed the continuance of so dangerous a germ and nucleus of disaffection, or it might be, insurrection, because their own minds were as much in bondage to a belief in old names, as those of their subjects. They did not suffer, what is always a sign of weakness in a new government, the permanence of offices which their own recent dignity had robbed of all utility, only because they were weak, and alterations would have given a cry to ever-ready malcontents; they themselves looked upon a consulship or a triumph, as an ornament not beneath their own aspirations. It is natural for us, surveying from a distance the history of the Eternal City, to recognise one definite line of demarcation, viz. that which separates the Empire from the Republic; the likeness between the several epochs of the former seems greater than that between itself and the latter. We are perhaps deceived by a name; we certainly discover a deeper contrast between the two than did Romans themselves.

They were, in every stage of their history, a conservative people. Amid the luxury and effeminacy of the Empire, and in the literature employed in scourging that change of manners and life, this conservatism, and in its worst aspect, appears more plainly than it possibly could in the activity and agitations of the Republic. The phenomenon of the old nature, retained under every variety of circumstance, is the great fact of the social and political history of Rome. Larger retinues were kept, more splendid palaces built, and more sumptuous entertainments given by the nobles at home and governors abroad; but the essential features of state policy remained unaltered. Still, the feelings of the provincials were not consulted; still, satisfaction was awarded them against their magistrates, only if *they* had violated justice as meted out by a Roman standard. The details of oppression in the dependencies, and of vengeance and tyranny in the age of the Cæsars, read like a repetition of the tale of Verres. Either robbery and murder lost their significance, when perpetrated by a Roman noble against an African, or banishment from Rome was still regarded as banishment from the only spot which could be a home, from the only civilization which deserved the name. Certainly, no wrongs of provincials could be terrible enough in the sight of an emperor, any more than in that of a tribune, to warrant the forfeiture of a citizen's life. The penalty might be more rigidly extorted; but it was, as formerly, ridiculously inadequate.

'Exul ab octavâ Marius bibit, et fruitur dîs
Iratis; at tu, victrix provincia, ploras.'

At home the fragments of the old '*edicts*' of Republican prætors lived in the larger scheme of legislation for an empire, and the transaction of the business of a world was partly governed by the sententious maxims of Appius Claudius. The stern invectives of stoic senators and satirists against the growth of prodigality and sloth, and, still more, the absence of any intimation that they thought of their city as a metropolis of subjugated continents rather than as Urbs Roma, tend to the same conclusion, viz. that they might deem it degenerate, but not in a different position relatively to the rest of mankind. It seemed to them that all genuine Romans must be born equals, and all foreigners, beyond comparison and in the nature of things, their inferiors; that, in short, the conqueror of Italy had not taken upon herself novel obligations, or cosmopolite sympathies, when become dictator over many nations.

Much which is reasonable to us was necessarily incomprehensible to them. Yet we, too, are familiar with the idea of equality among Englishmen as conjoined with a latent superstition respecting our superiority to all other nations;—and then we refuse to understand why the social influence of the Greek, whom we consider of a higher intellectual type than the Roman, should have been remarked by the latter with jealousy and indignation! To the Romans it appeared much as it would to us when the subtle Hindoo arrogates a claim to rank politically with the Anglo-Saxon. Dexterity and ingenuity were, in their eyes, the proper qualities of subjects, and the quality '*omnia novit*' marked the parasite. A wide gulf lay between their nationality and that of their dependents. Which was the higher was no longer an open question. The actual relation of the two parties was held to have decided that point, and, with it, the inferiority of every individual attribute on the one side, the preeminence of each on the other. To borrow aught from the conquered, was to accept so far degradation. The rise of the tremendous power of these Latins had, in fact, been owing entirely to their possession of some special moral qualities, not to circumstances. No old right of superiority had been taken advantage of in a moment of depression or of internal dissensions in a neighbouring state; no fortunate alliance had thrown the sceptre of the one into the hands of the sovereign of another. The coalition of the territories which together made the empire, was not a coalition on equal terms; it was the violent merging of the one in the other, accomplished through superiority in force and essential vigour;—and *væ victis!* The excellence of the victors' character consisted in this, that they always expanded and rose to the level of the occasion.

The policy which had proved sufficient for a city was not thrown aside, but modified so as to suit a vast range of conquests. Even in its origin, it was not an eccentric, narrow-minded policy, but based mainly on reasonable and wide principles, and a severe common-sense. Hence it did not break down as the Spartan, when applied to a different sphere. It had been from the first a system to form rulers, not only obedient soldiers; and every citizen was trained by it to feel himself a Roman citizen, wherever he might be, bound up with its glory, and representing in his own person the majesty of the state. He could, when in Asia, apply Asiatic forms of torture and tyranny; even at home he rioted in all the luxury of Antioch; but all this was only skin-deep; he remained a Roman at heart, nor ever foreswore the rules of Roman policy. His nature, exaggerated as it was by long historical associations of conquest and sovereignty, led him to believe implicitly in the perfections of his own nationality. He deified his country in the reigning emperor; he most thoroughly and servilely confided, not in his own fortune, but in his capacity for government, and his destiny as the world's civilizer.

The vilest of the Cæsars held this doctrine equally with their subjects. Nero himself did not innovate materially on the foreign policy of the Commonwealth. They had their foreign flatterers, their intermixture of alien senators and ministers; but no change was made thereby in state policy, for these men mimicked successfully the character of the country of their adoption. Nothing, indeed, excited more the indignation of old-fashioned Romans, like Juvenal and Tacitus, than to see a Pallas, or a Crispinus, or even a well-born Etruscan, taking precedence of Cornelii and Æmilii. But, whether it were the blind impulse of sovereigns feeling in their isolation among their own countrymen the need of friends from without, or an usurper's natural jealousy of fellow-citizens who recollected when their prince's house was no grander than their own, or a profound sagacity, which told them the advisers of the lord of many nations must not reflect the prejudices of one alone,—certainly their practice of admitting to their councils men who, while ready to act according to Roman principles, had been brought up in the freer atmosphere of a different race and land, had nothing erroneous on the face of it. It was the same instinct, perhaps, as that which led the kings of the middle ages to choose for their adviser a prelate, or, in more modern times, their father confessor, as their sole alternative in lieu of a *noblesse* reared in the strictest of all creeds, the superstitions of feudalism, and in the narrowest of all scopes of experience. By such a policy of itself, the Cæsars would not have demonstrated

their unfitness for their position; it did not necessarily indicate degeneracy, but the consciousness, only arising in the minds of men who actually had to consult the circumstances of the times, and not an unbending dogma, of the necessity, not of changing principles, in ruling the dominions which these had been the means of winning, but of using the vast extent of their territories as a seminary not only for soldiers, but statesmen. Neither did a single city, even one like Rome, furnish sufficient available genius for the governing of half the world; nor were the few Old Houses always ready to devote their abilities to the promoting the glory and power of a man they envied. Even Augustus had found it necessary to select Mecænas from beyond the narrow pale of the nobility; and this Mameluke system was forced, *à fortiori*, on his unpopular successors. Crispinus and others have prejudiced us against a practice of which their insolence was the fruit; but many great commanders arose from it, and throngs of energetic assessors in the provincial magistracies (who soon sunk their barbarous origin in their new citizenship, and whose origin we have forgotten), to stem the flood of barbarism both at home and abroad. Every indication, however, of a bias to utilize the Provincials' genius, was regarded by the one party as demonstrative of a plot against the constitution.

Had the Emperors indeed attempted (we are not ignoring one or two solitary exceptions) to become 'kings,'—using the word in its Latin significance, as equivalent to an Oriental despot, with all its commutation of servility on the one side, and licentious wilfulness on the other,—they would have deserved to be held up to ridicule; the scheme must have speedily destroyed both them and their country. For the brick and stone allegory of the Temple of Janus, with its ever open gates, imaged a positive fact in Roman history, viz. that their normal state must be war; that they were the civilizers of the world, and the conservators of peace; but this, by arms. Their empire had been swelled by force, and every conquest, in extending the frontier line of enemies, only confirmed the necessity of continued efforts. There was no hope for them in any appeal for help to subjects whose nationality was opposed to that of the victors. Their object, as it had been from the beginning, must be still to annihilate the independent power of their dependents, to constitute themselves their protectors, to make everything centre at, and radiate from Rome. When Caracalla proclaimed all subjects of Rome Citizens, the Roman world had already coalesced into something like harmony, from the lapse of years during which the union had lasted, the common terror of the outer barbarian, and perhaps the gradual disappearance of that master energy

which had distinguished the capital from the provinces. In Juvenal's age, the time was not ripe—certainly the Emperors did not conceive it to be—for such large measures. Even to the close of the dynasty, if so we may term it, of the twelve Cæsars, the Empire remained an unorganized mass of nations; armies could be recruited among them with impunity, only if the boundary between the sovereign city and the provinces were so entire, that, to enlist under her banners, entailed on the tyro forfeiture of all obligations to any other fatherland. Thus, to have assumed prerogatives which should have confounded all together, Romans and Provincials, according to the radical principle of an Eastern kingdom, would have been to strip themselves of their only resource against the external foe, to have even foully abandoned the prestige of Rome, in an attempt to emancipate themselves from the old names. As long as an Arminius or a Phraates could be formidable, there was not much fear that a Caligula or even a Nero would put in practice his theory of the advantages of the Oriental *régime*.

The capital continued to maintain its monopoly of power; and all official patronage radiated from thence as of old. The great Houses kept their privilege of sharing the richest governments, and shone in the Fasti. Even the secret influence of freedmen proved nothing less than the degeneracy of the spirit of Rome; it displayed the strength and life of that spirit in drawing all other phases of character within the range of its formative power, so that the Gallic legionary, or the Spaniard, did not boast the freshness of his nationality, but made it his chief pride to ape the Roman. Nor indeed was it so much a change of policy which the conservative Romans of the Empire speak of; they do not seem to be aware of the difference in kind between the Republic, and Empire as such, which has come to be commonly believed by us. It is not that they are jealous of the sway of foreign principles of action, but of baseborn foreigners mimicking native Quirites, and insulting the triumphal statues by the intrusion of their own:—

> 'inter quas ausus habere
> Nescio quis titulos Ægyptius atque Arabarches;'

or of a Paris affecting the airs of a patron to citizen poets:—

> 'Ille et militiæ multis largitur honorem;
> Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio.'

The vices of the Egyptian Crispinus did not so much disgust the satirist, as that he had had the audacity to become a senator. The advancement of men like Paris and Cinnamus, was a glaring affront to public opinion at Rome; but the indignation of Juvenal and Tacitus, though they dwell upon the

elevation of some notorious *parvenus*, has a wider area, and implies a condemnation of all tokens of favour to any without the narrow limits of the register of a single city. They did not see that the peculiar qualities of Romans, those qualities which had made them what they were, did not run in the blood of one nation only; that they are the offspring of the consciousness of power and the habit of government. His Athenian training did not give the Roman gentleman the exquisite Greek taste; but usage and intuition could make of the Dacian or the Spaniard a vigorous commander, or even emperor. Strength of will and energy of mind exist, in the raw material, almost everywhere; ages of supremacy had not given the Roman an exclusive inheritance in them, though they had made him the representative and type of the species, because circumstances had furnished his nation with exclusive opportunities for developing powers originally great. They were prejudiced against understanding the inutility and monstrosity of denying an occasion for the manifestation of the faculties of administration to every corner of the globe but their own. So blind a prejudice could not succeed in repressing entirely the tendency of genius to appear and exert itself; but the clamours and predictions of satirists and the interested Orders, respecting the danger from such innovations, partly caused them to prove themselves. Both master and favourite felt they were doing violence to the sentiments of the ruling classes, the one in conferring, the other in accepting office. He was forced to be a tyrant, because the very fact of his elevation was considered by the genuine citizen a sign and test of tyranny. Yet, even the actual tyranny, and the common opinion as to its degree, were much less pronounced than we are accustomed to suppose. The evidence afforded by no unprejudiced authors, by Tacitus and Juvenal, as to the real character of the despotism, and the vicious influence of alien ministers, does not point to the sort of government maintained by a Dionysius, or a Persian monarch; scarcely even, notwithstanding the prominence of certain resembling traits, to the cunning policy of Louis XI. It reminds us rather of the authority of Piers Gavaston, or the Despensers, of Edward the Second's time. The oppressions were practised on the old *noblesse*. The tales of these oppressions are rather stories of court intrigues, and of the exclusion of the heads of ancient families from their rightful places. The narrow compass, apparently, of the sympathies of those writers is remarkable. They are confined entirely to the Capitol and the exclusive caste which dwelt there. Great evils pervaded the whole system; but they were scarcely those upon which the political satirist and the satirist of life and manners have laid

their magical touch. The practices *they* stigmatise, and *their* examples of the degeneracy of Romans, were lamentable in themselves. But they are chiefly important, as being almost necessary deductions from a far higher and profounder cause.

The Empire was, as we have said, the proper development of the Republic. It was the period of government and consolidation following on the period of conquest and destruction; not that they now began the work of legislation; but it had been formerly concurrent with conquest, now it appears as an independent agency. But the Romans had got the habit of arbitrary despotism too deeply ingrained in their constitution through the usage of so many centuries, to be able now to put it off. While it was still the era of conquest, the whole people could take part in the business; it served them as a profession. When that had passed by, their occupation was gone. They had lost, if they ever possessed, the attributes which are a condition of great commercial progress. The associations of military glory almost forbade the rise of such a spirit now; and the command of the wealth and energies of the world made application to such matters gratuitous. Their powers and capacities could be utilized, while the State was in a condition of advancement both at home and abroad. There was the struggle for empire here, the emulation and agitations consequent upon a not yet elaborated Constitution there. The Empire pacified the civil contests, while its establishment synchronized with the completion of the work of territorial subjugation. After this, fresh territories were, it is true, perpetually being added to the dominions of Rome: but they were not added by reason of their own intrinsic worth, but as necessary appendages to the old, necessary as a frontier and a sort of debatable land. The Metropolis became the seat of government, no longer the fortress and dwelling-place of the Roman army. Its population could not settle down into merely an integral part of the Empire; the old spirit of domineering, and indeed the old energy, resisted the influence of circumstances which would have reduced it to an equality with the rest. They WOULD remain the sovereign class, and the downfall of all independence and separate nationalities, which had been the consequence of the Roman arms, tended to secure for a time the only population and locality which were free to cherish ancient associations and history. But the vast extent of territories to be garrisoned made it impossible to employ only a citizen soldiery, the confluence of wealth in Rome made warfare, especially when to be shared with barbarians, distasteful to the arrogant poor. Without profession or trade, they sank at length into the meanest of parasites, the meaner, that they were so proud of their very indolence.

The jealousy of the Emperors produced much the same effect upon the *noblesse*. The growing indolence of a close aristocracy; and the difficulty of finding posts, even in territories so vast, high enough for their rank, or sufficiently of the nature of sinecures for their tastes, seconded and justified the imperial policy. There is, as shown perhaps in modern times most clearly by Stockholm and Vienna, something narrowing or even debasing in the moral and intellectual atmosphere of a city with no other interests but those connected with government and a court, and where all are engaged in looking out for spoils, or in spending them. A great city, to be morally and mentally healthy, should have several distinct sources of interest and occupation, and among them, some which exercise the faculties for the details of private business, as well as for politics. It should not hold one relation only to the rest of the country, the relation of ruler. So far as the poet's and historian's censures bear upon this phase of the great city, and the vices it nourished, all their declamation is well grounded; but they were prejudiced by their whole history against discovering the real cause of the degeneracy, viz. that very energy of the Roman will which prevented the citizen giving his attention to anything below government. Nay, they appealed to this, the most essential feature of the Roman's character then no less than formerly, as demonstrating the shame of his actual position, as a parasite of the great, or obnoxious to the caprice of a freedman.

The population of Rome was a mixture of various incongruous elements. There were the slaves, the tradesmen, chiefly recruited from the latter class, the followers of lucrative professions, medicine and the different departments of education, many of these too being foreigners; and, lastly, came the men without occupation, a class which, in default of any more distinctive appellation or pursuit, styled itself Quirites, and included the rabble and the nobles. Among the nobles was a sprinkling of indefatigable jurisprudents, the statesmen who did the real work of legislation and government, and the generals. The more stirring impulses of every-day life were altogether wanting. No elements of production were contained in the capital; all were employed either in selling what they had not made, spending, or making themselves out to be fit persons to be spent upon. The whole town seemed given up to indolence and laborious luxury, and was thronged with men who had no natural sphere of employment, and who disdained the relations of peaceful citizens, when they could not act sovereigns. Beneath the surface of pomp and enjoyment nestled the fruitful germs of petty intrigue, espionage, and suspicion. The sovereign could not sufficiently forget that he pretended to be a consti-

tutional republican magistrate; his courtiers, that it shamed their ancestry to owe obedience to a man of no better blood than themselves. While some were cherishing the morbid feeling of envy and contempt, others were moving heaven and earth to get scope in some not yet plundered province for a display of their talents for the restoration of lost fortunes. The aspirant or malecontent had each his band of revolted followers who knew no head but him; and who hoped for tribuneships or provincial commissionships from his prosperous hand. Meantime, they were ready to sell their capacities for flattering at the price of a seat below the salt at their patron's table. The crowds round the noble's door for the niggardly dole,

'Cum summus honor finito computet anno,
Sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat;'

the miseries of the chilly perambulation of the city before dawn,

'Illo tempore quo se
Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Boötæ;'

for attendance at the great man's levee; the gloomier intimations of the systematic violation of the sanctity of domestic purity, and the poisoned cup of the parricide, when

'Jam torquet juvenem longa et cervina senectus,'

were the necessary concomitants of a condition of things which denied duties to the nobles, and gave needy younger sons, or spendthrifts, no hope of recovering their station but at the expense of the provinces, whether directly, or by participating in the imperial largess from the public taxes, or the patron's gift from the spoils of a conquered government.

Juvenal and Tacitus only condemn the extravagance or the servility; they seem to think the extradition of the miserable provinces to the *immediate* rule of the *noblesse* would, at all events, elevate the tone of Rome. They did not or would not see that the evil lay far deeper; that it was this very fixity of relations between the Roman (*i.e.* the denizen of the capital) and the Provincial which caused the evil; that no people can help being degraded, or rather degrading itself, which has not experienced the interchange of obedience and government. The lesson taught by the history of Rome is a most important one; but contemporary authors could not understand it. The lesson has been repeated in the history of many countries since, and especially of Spain. Many of the vices which have called forth the bitterest reproaches from writers about either country, flowed manifestly from the almost compulsory idleness of the population, the incompatibility of their claims and reminiscences with any settled occupation. Just in

the same way the traditional grandeur of the Colonna and other noble families of Middle-age Rome, with the hankerings after place without responsibility of a large portion of the rest of the population, made it the worst capital in Europe, a perpetual scene of bloody feuds between rival houses, or between the nobles and the constituted police, or of sordid intrigues and scandal-mongering in the emulation for office and dignities. We can trace in Juvenal the strength of the spirit of bureaucracy in his day, the system of tampering with the imperial household, and with the favourite attendants even of private persons, and one universal medley of patronage and dependence. It had long been a proverb that every man had his price at Rome; there was not more corruption under the Empire than under the Republic; but there existed in the later period fewer independent sources of interest to divide attention and to keep the public mind from stagnating. From all quarters came candidates for court favour, or for promotion at home, and the intervals of the serious business of attendance at the levee or patron's procession down to the Forum, were occupied with pandering to his pleasures or their own.

Yet, in the dark picture are a few redeeming features, signs, not that the degradation of its people was less than is supposed, but that it was the degradation of a race still of a noble and colossal type. The nobles who boasted pure descent from the heroes of the Republic, in all their vices showed themselves at least a special and exclusive class, not the creatures of a monarch's will. The imperial autocracy, though it set out with being the champion and favourite of the once great middle classes of Rome, proved most destructive to these its supporters. It had the effect of confounding them with the middle classes of the world at large. The *noblesse* gained new riches, and the right of oppressing all beneath them, as the price of their old absolute supremacy. They no longer took, as a body, the same active part in politics, unless when their extravagance necessitated the acceptance of a wealthy governorship; but they lived in a style of sensual indulgence, which would have made a marquis of France exclaim. An air of recklessness hung about their prodigality, which indicated that this affectation of negligence about the constitution of their country, and their lost prerogatives but covered a sort of desperate carelessness respecting the continuance of their Houses; while an unhealthy craving for fame, which degraded haughty consulars into clever jockeys, a Gracchus to a prize-fighter, a Fabius to a comedian, and the heir of the Mamerci to a clown in a low farce, demonstrated the same lack of proper duties and functions which made d'Orleans emulous of an English coachman, before he found out

a more novel plaything in '*égalité*' and demagogism. Further, in the same gloomy picture, some, at all events, of the shadows are due to the feelings and opinions of the artist; while many of the follies or crimes with which citizens of Rome are upbraided, though realities, arose entirely from the strange confusion there of a theory partly carried out with a practice partly opposed to it.

The expressions of authors lead one to suppose that the standard in *their* judgment of guilty luxury and fashion was calculated from the manners of a rude agricultural population, simple from lack of resources. As ever, they exhibit that obstinate indigenous conservatism, which, taking not into account changes in circumstances, strove to force all men to submit to one narrow measure; and assumed, with Draco, that all violations of this must be equally criminal. They would not comprehend that all sumptuary laws must be proportionate to the means of a nation, and yet more, of the different classes in it; that excessive strictness in a law, while it creates transgressors against itself, tends to make them outlaws, enemies that is, to law altogether. The poet and the historian were not by themselves; they represent a whole class of men, the best and most virtuous citizens, no doubt, but on whom rests much of the blame of the fall of their country; blame, because they who alone might have saved it, would not go to work in the right way. The old glories of Rome had intoxicated their imaginations, and blinded their reason, till they grew unable to trace them to their origin; and looked upon all the circumstances of that earlier period as equally influential towards the result. Had the Roman, like the Etruscan, made his first Italian conquest a pretext for sitting down to enjoy himself, he certainly would never have won the world. His simplicity and continuity of energy were thus important conditions of his success. But, to suppose them by themselves independent causes, would be to contradict the fact that many a simple Turcoman tribe owns itself the Sultan's slave; and would make the triumphs of Epicurean chiefs of an Epicurean nobility, like Sylla, and Lucullus, and Pompey, and Cæsar, strange and inexplicable portents in history. Thatched cottages, earthenware goblets, porridge and fat bacon, a dainty reserved for the birthday festival, had nothing to do with their ancestors' successes, except so far as they were part of the circumstances of the time; neither was it in the nature of things that the charming banquet to which the poet invites his friend Persicus, should serve as a substitute for the citron-wood table and *entremets* of the wealthy senator. These ultra-grateful reminiscences of the early times even suggest too mean an idea of the intrinsic powers of the

old Quirites. They conquered their empire, not by the formal rules and mechanical discipline of the Spartan, but by persevering heroism, adapting itself to their resources. The other theory would have destroyed art in the attempt to destroy vice and prodigality; it would have left unimpaired the most nauseous ostentation. The antique bronzes, the frieze, and the statue, were redeeming traits in the grossness of Roman luxury. The Romans were not a race of native taste, or very capable of taking intelligent delight in art. Verres could scarcely, we would think, have had a true feeling of the beautiful, unless he were like those captains of Charles V., who, amid the carnage, used to indite love-lorn ditties and simple pastorals. It was simply out of a blind emulation and jealousy of being surpassed in aught, that they became virtuosos; the study tended to soften their natural hardness of temperament, by supplying new objects and interests; but it was not sufficiently in harmony with the elements of their nature to be invincible by ridicule. The satirist does not discriminate between insensate prodigality and a love of the fine arts for their own sake. Had he effected anything, it would have been the destruction of taste. A large faction of rude minds; some genuine though unreasonable patriots, like that Lucius Piso of the Annals; others, boorish enemies to anything like innovation, and jealous of tastes they did not possess, would have aided in the work. Luxury must have still continued to be the form of Roman society, as long as Rome remained the centre of a vast and tributary dominion, but in a more extravagant and less refined shape. As it was, these invectives, sympathized in by a large party in the city, and echoed internally by a latent superstition in many whose practice was opposite, served to hinder the gradual establishment of a policy more natural under the altered circumstances. When the law of a nation's prosperity, even its existence, is asserted with authority to be one which only suits a market town and capital of agricultural labour, where no virtue or happiness is allowed to be possible for the rulers of a world unless they live as farmers, the result is likely to be general scepticism, and obedience to selfish instincts.

Again, what awoke the indignation of the lovers of the old state of things, was the spectacle of a patrician tossing the dole to his 'old and weary clients,' as though they were so many dogs, or of another inviting a needy dependent, and regaling him with mud-eels and musty crusts, while he himself and his wealthy *childless* guests indulged in the red mullet or delicate lamprey. The error was in the feeling bound to keep up obsolete fashions, to have a retinue of friends and clients, when all the use of that institution had long gone by; and, consequently,

the integrity of it. Roman feeling would not have been shocked by the sight of fellow-countrymen affecting a hypocritical equality, but acting as of a different planet, unless the conservatism of the nation had enjoined the continuance of worn-out customs. How fruitful a source of discontent it would be in modern Europe, if great landowners were forced by opinion to maintain the feudal hospitality of the Nevilles, and to turn loose upon the side-dishes a host of hungry ostlers and farm-bailiffs! The old simple bond between lord and vassal had long disappeared at Rome; but public opinion, of which Juvenal was an exponent, suffered not the former to abandon the outward signs of its existence; and then they were angry at finding these signs really unmeaning, and sedulously robbed of all their formal significance! For the proud noble *cœnare civiliter*, that is, to dine off the same fare, and at the same board with his suite of flatterers and drudges, would have been perhaps not more pleasant for the latter in the days of the Cæsars, than it would be if the distinction now between the servants' hall and the dining-room were broken down. It would have certainly simplified the arrangements of the upper board, and spoiled the trade of the fishmongers of Rome; but whether such a reverting to the old customs, and their revival in the old spirit, would have been good for the world at large, is more doubtful. The effect of the compliment to the Titii and Caii, must have been to degrade the sagacious philosopher from Athens, the rhetorician of Lyons, and the generous Spaniard. As society actually was constituted, the only Romans, at least as the world's ruling caste, were the nobles. Subject states fed *their* luxury and venerated *their* claims to fame. The populace, in a great measure composed of foreigners seeking their fortune in the capital, were only Romans, and entitled to respect, *there*. The effect of the restoration of the old civic equality, or rather the creation of it (for we should have to search diligently in the ancient annals, before we found it in the days of Coriolanus and Camillus), must have been to shut the doors of the metropolis to new citizens, when sovereign prerogatives were attached to that rank; and to make Rome yet more imperious to, and unsympathetic with, the complaints and cravings of the dependencies. The latter had, as it was, only to supply materials for the imperial largesses to the populace, '*panem et Circenses*:' in the other case they must have revered in each miserable unit of the rabble a natural lord and master. This end, even put out in these seemingly exaggerated colours, Juvenal hardly pretends to conceal he desired. Tacitus did not wish for it, for he was aristocratic in his tenets, and only directed his shafts against the oppressor of the old *noblesse*; he saw that to attempt to

raise the mob of the Capitol were a vain task, had they possessed more genuine Roman blood than they did. Juvenal, with a more complete theoretical scope, was less practical. He was democratic, that is, he cared not exclusively for noble or commoner; he desired to see the Romans a sovereign order, elevated above the rest of the earth: in the greatness of their elevation above others, all the lesser distinctions among themselves ought, he thought, to be forgotten or passed over. The vices and follies, among them, especially the affectation of civic equality, which he assails, were real blemishes in the imperial system. The misfortune was that the critic could propose to his countrymen no nobler pursuits, and no positive object to be attained by the erection of a different system upon the ruins of the old. Antique simplicity and rudeness, in a city of millions and the centre of cultivation, had been as great a paradox as was the scheme of an army of perfectly incorrupt, poverty-loving *guards* for jewellers and confectioners in Plato's Republic.

Still, in these points the poet had a positive basis for his censures. Prejudice was essential to his order of mind acting upon his especial circumstances of birth, locality, and times. Paradoxical as it may seem to affirm it, from his prejudices proceeds the great excellence of his satire. He wrote strongly, because he felt strongly; he wrote in appearance vaguely and with generality, because to him the Romans were the whole human race, and the passions and emotions of humanity had no force and significance in his eyes, except so far as they coloured or raged in Roman hearts. It was not that Rome, as the metropolis of the civilized world, appeared to him an epitome of that world; it rather appeared to him a substitute for it. A Lentulus acting the '*beaten slave*' was regarded by public opinion as something monstrous. Provincials themselves would have echoed the poet's indignant cry:—

'Judice me dignus vera cruce;'

for the grandeur and preeminence of the Old Houses was still a fact, and not a mockery; they were the nobility of the world. But, in his view, the scandal was in the debasement, not so much of the peer of the empire, as of the far descended Roman citizen. Broad, trite, moral maxims are not trite with him. When he seems to be denouncing a vice of human nature, he is only denouncing a Roman profligate. He was able to do this after a mode which would have been impracticable for a writer whose zenith had fallen in the reign of Tiberius, or even of Nero. From the position in time which he occupied, he could discern at a glance both the commencement and catastrophe of the revolution in manners in the capital. He could concentrate

his wrath with a good conscience, and the sincerity which makes him unsurpassable, on each deviation from the old ways, as a cause of the utter degradation of the reign of Domitian, that 'bald-headed Nero.' The gloom of that time shed a shadow and sort of tragic grandeur backwards on the past, while the poet escaped the confusedness and pointlessness attendant on any attempt to assail and laugh down new fashions and follies as they rise, before their true nature and bearings can be known.

From this accident of his epoch, concurring with the peculiarities of his judgment, have arisen the numerous more apparent than real points of contact between him and some of the moderns, which have facilitated the work of imitation or translation. No Latin or Greek classic can boast at once of a translator like Gifford, and an adapter like Johnson. This is not altogether, perhaps, a merit in Juvenal, or, if so, a merit, like the beauty of the opal which arises, we are told, from a natural flaw. Horace as a satirist is unapproachable by paraphrase, or, at all events, by translation, because he had no theory, but drew straight from life. Personal experience furnished him with his plan. Juvenal had a theory, and that a rigid one. For the fine distinctions of social life he had no eye; he viewed his countrymen only in a political light, as a governing caste. His age was not an age of society, as that of Horace; it bears the same relation to this latter which the era of the Georges does to the reign of Queen Anne. The ease and elegance of society consequent upon the feeling that rank was a predetermined fact, was gone under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; it had begun to melt away even under Tiberius. Augustus was, like Charles II. and Anne, a citizen sovereign; his stepson and his successors scarcely came in as benefactors and restorers of order; they were necessary, like the Georges, but rather as filling up a gap, than as a direct gain to the nation. The nobles felt this; and, further, the absence of any striking genius, or of the prestige of great achievements in these adopted Julii, would teach them to fear that when mediocrities could lord it over *them*, the system whence their only title came must be indeed a powerful one, and already beginning to be indefeasible. Many sequestered themselves in their palaces, indulging in morbid half-futile suspicions of themselves as possible conspirators against the established order, or objects of conspiracy. To refer to this state of things in the reign of Domitian, or later, after the persecutions of Nero, and the civil wars of Otho and Vitellius, with the tyranny of the last of the Flavii, had played the same part in Rome, which the Wars of the Roses did in English history, is somewhat of an anachronism. But pictures of life and manners actually do, for the most part, reflect in

many ways the previous generation. Some of Ben Jonson's most beautiful poems were the offspring of King James's uncongenial court-revels. The prerogative of simple country-squires to play the part of tragedy-tyrants, we may hope, was not recognised when Richardson thrilled and agonised the hearts of his contemporaries. Fidelity to the bygone Stuarts had become a romantic reminiscence of the past when Scott told the tale of the misfortunes and heroism of the Chevalier. Homer himself, it is probable, rose at the end of the Heroic age. It is only when the complete result has been attained, and all the features can be surveyed at once, that an author can combine them into a picture; for traces of the life and habits of the former generation linger, and are discoverable far into the next. It is not so with the poets or novelists of sentiment or nature—the Virgils, and Mackenzies, and Keatses; they reflect the hues of the present exclusively. The blending of the republican but aristocrat Roman with the satrap, the confusion, even anarchy produced by the confluence of all nations' separate instruments, and appliances of luxury and types of religion, to Rome, with their adoption by the Roman noble as playthings or decorations, not as essentials; the adaptive power of the Roman will forcing emperors and freedman-viziers, culled from all quarters of the globe, to assume the Roman self-reliant policy in administering the foreign relations of the Empire; finally, the union of the independence of the Roman dames, not known even to the Greek, with Eastern extravagance and profligacy;—all this, which is the main source of our interest in these satires, would not have been displayed nearly so forcibly or brightly, had the poet written when in the midst of those influences, and without the key and clue to the characters of the epoch, and its distinctive tendencies, provided by the reigns of Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian.

But as well the distance in time from many of the fashions assailed, as the author's peculiar genius, with its defect as to fineness of intellectual touch, if we may use the metaphor, hindered that nice perfectness of shading which so charms us in Horace. The latter hints at the elegance of Mecænas, while ridiculing the sordid pretentiousness of Nasidienus; he gives us exceptional traits in the ordinary life of Rome, rather than instances of its exceptional vices and crimes, the lights as well as the shadows. Ages of exclusiveness and class-isolation, like Juvenal's, when the national distinctions of rank were deepened and widened, partly perhaps, from the gradual fading away of the landmarks of sentiment and hereditary prejudice, when the noble, the author, and the needy client no longer mingled in the Forum and at the hustings, impose upon

satire a different scope and purpose. Such ages do not care for personalities or neighbourly slander, when now rank, and not locality, is the bond of union. Gossip and the ill-natured story are intelligible, only when they can be made to wear a political aspect; and classes, rather than individuals, become the theme of abuse. Satire *then* does not aim at complete truthfulness, or the praise of being a miniature copy of the times. Its plan almost compels exaggeration and grotesqueness; for, from the point of view of the writer, only follies and vices can be noticed. Yet even then it has a veracity and a falsity of its own, and allows of infinite gradations in this particular, from Juvenal down to 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.' In our three chief satirists of the last century, Pope, Churchill, and Johnson, there is a want of the substance of truth. The range of the first is too limited, not that the court may not sometimes furnish an adequate area for the satirist, but not the court of St. James' under the Georges. Fashionable society had then no monopoly of society, as under the previous reign; it was only a section of it. Churchill's fire and recklessness supplied the place of genius. There is at least earnestness about his fury; and, though it is often so general, that to adopt Pulteney's critique, he 'runs a muck at all mankind,' yet English politicians and Scotchmen as a race were to him a special topic which prevents his declamations from appearing mere efforts of literary capacity. Johnson's 'Imitations' furnish a picture of Johnson himself, and an outlet for his invincible John Bullism. But they have no immediate end; they do not themselves suggest a reason for their own fierceness. Ambition is a sufficiently common quality in all ages and nations; it had not appeared in England in any prodigous proportions, when the 'Vanity of Human Wishes' was penned—there was perhaps then rather a general stagnation of aspirations. But at Rome ambition was a specialty which Romans enjoyed above the rest of mankind; and in imperial Rome the national quality not only displayed itself in its most extravagant varieties, but was inspired by the caprices of private selfishness, and no longer by the fervour of patriotism which forgot self in country. So with the mimickry, severally, of French and Greek fashions. All nations have an inclination to borrow from their neighbours; we have always imitated the dress and deportment of France, but not especially when 'London' was composed. If the Roman satirist had referred to any one reign exclusively, he would have been open to the same objection; but a whole age, and the relation between its moral degeneracy and its addiction to Greek modes, as concomitant phenomena, is the object of his criticism. 'London' and the 'Vanity of Human Wishes' seem good imitations, or

even interpretations, of Juvenal, because of the propensity of the latter to be hurried into maligning the whole human race. But humanity was more closely connected with his subject, Rome, than the mad desires of Charles XII. of Sweden with England. Rome was, to adopt metaphysical phraseology, at once a material and an efficient cause in the world. While it contained the elements of every phase of society in the vast multitude, attracted like jackals to the prey slain by the lion, and served as a species of seminary for the institutions and policy of nations, it also preserved in it the relics of that princely people which had subjugated so many countries, and was now governing and penetrating them with its own peculiar spirit.

We can fancy the cynical poet wandering through the throng, and mocking at every deviation in the foreigner's habits from what was to him the mirror of all propriety, old Rome, and execrating every innovation connived at by Romans themselves. His allusions to alien usages always wear the tone of a master's scornful review of his slaves playing his part at their Saturnalia, or of the king of Brobdignag's critique of Gulliver's account of European constitutions. Every vista to his gaze, and indeed to that of mankind in general, led up to, and was closed by the old names of the Commonwealth. His satire sets out from and concludes with them, because they were the centre of fashion and society, and the sole hope of a regenerated order of things. The contraction of his scope thus explains the breadth, and, it may be, vagueness of the extent of his subject-matter. The vices of any large capital may be thus confounded with the peculiar vices of Romans, and the natural eccentricities of humanity impersonated in some special example of degradation of the Roman nature. While this renders any imitation of him more plausible than, for instance, of Horace, from the expansiveness of his sphere of observation, and consequently, the multiplication of the points of resemblance between those times and these, the form itself of Roman society under the Empire was not so very broadly marked off from that of a modern European capital. The life both of the poor and the wealthy Athenian was regulated by fashions perfectly unlike ours. The Greek belonged to a distinct intellectual type; the Roman does not appear to have done so. Some great moral qualities he had, obstinate but calm energy, and a grand selfish engrossment in his country; in all other respects he was less independent. Perhaps this very defectiveness the better fitted him for the sovereignty of the world. The Greek, when in circumstances which forbade the maintenance of his sentiments and habits entire, seemed to resign the former along with the latter, and

adopted a lower nationality. The Roman was acquisitive, and necessarily so; his civilization was not thus part of himself, so that he could put it off or on without mutilating the substance of his character; *that* could be destroyed only by the annihilation of the race itself, or its purity. He availed himself of alien customs and discoveries in the art of life with contemptuous condescension: in Gaul he would borrow the vices of the Gaul, and exaggerate them; transferred to Syria, the Roman governor adopted without reluctance the contradictory follies of the subtle and effeminate Asiatic Greek. He did not interfuse the structure of society at home with any peculiar nationality; the structure of it had not been raised by him; but he had, as it were, called together all the nations of the world, to create a society with all the forms of luxury, and adapted for the consumption of the riches which others amassed for him; and then he entered in and inhabited it. There was an air of supremacy in Rome, and that was all the distinctiveness and nationality which the capital possessed. The fibres and delicate ligaments of Athenian intellectuality and *morale* pervaded and bound together the whole of Attic society. A kind of perfume of national sentiments penetrates every line of Aristophanes, each glowing period of Demosthenes. Terence and Plautus took the whole when they copied a picture of Greek life; they had the taste to perceive that it was vain endeavouring to paraphrase and adapt. On the other hand, the difference between the difficulty of paraphrasing Horace and Juvenal is one of degree, not of kind, for Horace still described the unoriginal Roman life and manners. The picture he draws is perfect; but yet it is only the picture of a race, with no especial social type, living in luxury and refinement. The difficulty of imitating him is merely the difficulty of discriminating, and catching the exact shades and hues of his genius. It is comparatively easy to translate the later satirist, only because his canvass is larger, and the colours employed fewer and more elevating.

Everywhere we find an undertone of regret for the old guilelessness of Romans, and for the not yet perished sternness of will and energy, which formed the basis, and almost supplied the place of details in the Roman disposition. Otherwise, the scene is an overwealthy metropolis, the residence of a court and a powerful aristocracy, given up to the extremes of riches and poverty, pride and servility. These form an antithesis, the strength and suddenness of which can only be explained properly by the recollections of the assumed simplicity at one time of the race, and the equality of all orders as equally conquerors; but, in their outward phases, they are alike features of society in all large cities. It may be that this very super-

ficial resemblance, founded on the common artificial and conventional air with which opulence conceals the picturesque peculiarities of national genius, has perhaps been a partial agent in creating that opinion of the gulf between the Empire and the Republic, which we have so often alluded to as proving prejudicial to the diligent study of the later highly interesting period. London, especially in the last century, with the abrupt chasms separating the different ranks, and the demeanour of defiance habitually assumed by a portion of the nobility towards the monarch, afforded a sufficiently obvious general parallel. Not to make any invidious distinction between our own and neighbouring capitals, or between the wrongs respectively of husbands and wives, we read in the novelists and dramatists of that, and, in truth, of our own era, sufficient complaints of ladies' pride of ancestry to match Cornelia, *numerans in dote triumphos*, of the blind idolatry of French fashions, as, on the Palatine of Greek, and Parisian French combined with perfect guilelessness in the art of Murray. The hardships of a lady's-maid were here, as at Rome, become proverbial; and Charles Lamb's inimitable description of the cold looks hurled at bachelor friends are true to nature, as well as to Roman feeling. Husbands are said to have been from of old persecuted by mothers-in-law, as were Roman spouses; and, not only at home, but abroad, have matrons been found equal to masculine toils, even to the passionate excitement of the duel and the nice questions of the point of honour, if we may believe Miss Edgeworth. In the same delightful authoress abundant instances may be found of as mad a fondness for useless trinkets, servants and equipages, as can be alleged by the Italian satirist. The extravagant love of music and musicians, to the neglect of domestic duties; the pre-eminence of a lap-dog in their affections over a husband; the erection of a separate establishment in the same house with their lords; a love of fortune-telling, and hatred of step-children; gossiping and scandal—are common terms in Richardson, Burney, and Sheridan, and, later, Hook. Even female politicians were known at so early a date; and the prodigy of *blue-stockings* was not indigenous in May-fair. Virgil and Horace were hated as cordially by husbands, as writers of forty years ago tell us were Richardson and Johnson; and the *dilemma* or the *enthymeme* was whirled about the palaces of Rome by fair logicians with an energy unequalled by moderns. When Johnson imitated, as when Juvenal composed, the aristocracy had its flatterers and parasites ever ready to swell the throng at the morning audience, in hope of a smile the faint earnest of a tide-waitership, or of an invitation to play the buffoon, or carve at the side-table. It had its silly fashion,

Walpole tells us, and one not obsolete in the time of Moore, of making indifferent French and foreign manners the badge of exclusiveness and the travelled gentleman. The poor in their fustian were despised by men, who, in the tinsel of masquerade dresses and the coteries of a German court, or Gallican modes, had forgotten that they were all brother-Englishmen; and literature was debased by the curb of a humiliating patronage. The foot-passenger feared, on the one hand, the *patulæ pelves* freely emptied from the garret-window; on the other, abuse and hustling by Templars and noblemen, in the guise of Mohocks or burglars, tired of worrying watchmen. A Tory or Old Whig country squire of the De Coverley school, we may well conceive might have read a paraphrase of the Roman, and deemed it excellent good sense, and a sound lesson to the radical city of London in its Wilkite days.

The fault of satire of this sort is, that it is too general to have any particular or local purport. It does not give a picture of the springs of society, but of its results, without furnishing us with data whence we might learn whether these were the sum of the results of that condition of society, or only exceptional, the culling, as it were, of the police reports of the capital. We cannot tell what proportion these terrible *femmes savantes*, female duellists, and prize-fighters, or what the noble garotters bore to the population, or such affairs to every-day life. It is certain from the satirist's references to professional men, rhetoricians, schoolmasters, lawyers, and authors, the class with which he sympathized as industrious, and perforce temperate from want of the means of luxury, in short, his own; and to a section, represented by his friend Umbricius, of men of slender but independent resources, that a numerous middle class existed at Rome (let alone the tradesmen who were mostly freedmen), interested in preserving order, and who would themselves set an example of orderly conduct. Satire has nothing to do with the conduct of such a class; they are only introduced to furnish by their poverty proof of the universal misery of Rome, as though it were a peculiarity of Rome to reward talent ill, and a crime to refuse to remunerate every poetaster as though he were a Virgil. An ineradicable element of suspicion in our view of society through the medium of these poems, exists in the shape of a doubt whether the author have not forgotten that it is the tendency of vice to increase in proportion to the population; that a city of a million must at least exhibit ten times as many instances of flagitiousness (the rate is of course always higher) as a city of a hundred thousand. He seems to imagine that there is something portentous in the fact that a district, when the number of inhabitants augments, finds

a larger police necessary; that, in short, it is the property of men in great masses to be more virtuous then than in small! At all events, he seriously contrasts the happy condition of the city, as needing but one prison, under Tullius, with the spectacle of new jails built for the occasions of myriads of new residents.

But, with all the vagueness and generality of his satires, we do learn positive truths from them as to the real condition of his nation. If the follies and extravagance of Roman dames but recall those of the fair masqueraders of the Pantheon, and the gay haunters of Ranelagh of the last century, at least they rebuff the parallel so popularly supposed to hold between imperial Rome and the framework of Asiatic society. The mere name of *emperor* has had much to do with the growth of this common superstition. The modern associations with that title, as borne by arbitrary monarchs, while they conjure up the idea of a contrast between the period when it became a sovereign's name, and the Commonwealth, direct the attention to the contemporaneous scene of the despotisms of Parthia and Armenia. The only governments in these ages conducted by a single man were unadulterated despotisms; the conception of a constitutional monarchy was unknown. The final immersion of the Roman in the Constantinopolitan empire, has perhaps had more to do with the rise of the fallacy. From the links at one end of the chain, the composition of those at the other has been presumed. One same definition has been deemed capable of including and explaining that vast compass of events and systems through all their various developments; while the fancy loses itself in the few years intervening from the death of Pompey to the accession of Tiberius, as though an infinite abyss yawned between. The seraglios of the East have been transferred in thought to the reign of Claudius; and Turkish apathy and stupid indifference to all but native doctrines and customs, have been believed to find their prototype in the sagacious and profound stoicism of the jurisprudence of the Cæsars' era. The genius and the style of the great historian of the 'Decline and Fall,' have promoted and confirmed the fancy. Who can read in the grand solemn march of his periods the records of the caprices and profligacy of Eliagabalus, without involuntarily associating the fact of his Orientalism with all who bore or revered the title of Imperator? Yet a fallacy it is. The Roman, though he borrowed the manners of the East, was only externally Oriental. His strong individuality, his perception of the beauty of fixed law, and his literature were European to the core. The instances of female liberty and independence of control in the Satires,

would, by themselves, demonstrate the distinction between the Roman and the Asiatic. In an Arabian or even an Athenian story, women could not have been represented on an equal footing with men as to the publicity of their viciousness.

Many of the erroneous impressions respecting the Orientalism of imperial Rome, might be corrected by a recurrence to the descendants of the Romans, however degenerate. It is curious to remark how completely we ignore the Italianism of old Rome. We seem to change our feelings and habits of thought, as well as our canons of criticism, when we turn from ancient to modern history. The difference of course is great between any nation in two ages, but still the points of resemblance also are many and important. Modern Italy, itself enslaved and crushed, still has points of contact in the habits of society with imperial Rome. Naples, with its lazzaroni ever calling for *panem et Circenses*, and ever ready to pillage the city at the command of the 'kings of the lazzaroni,' who supply their necessities; Florence, with its academies of all the arts and sciences, and devotion to everything beautiful and unpractical; Rome, with its recitations and *conversaziones*, and all the bustle of literary patronage; all Italy, with its towns where the citizen thinks himself a being of a superior order, a laborious peasantry though freer now than then, and the separation between town and country as marked as was the line between the *civis Romanus* and the serf who tilled the campagna; in short, innumerable lesser social traits and phenomena remind us of the City of the satires. The past is recalled yet more vividly by Middle-age Rome, with its perpetual latent rivalry between the papal civil supremacy and the claims of the great houses, with their boasts of old genealogies, which never united but to defy the government from their intrenched palace-camps; its crowds of bravos within the walls, and without, the subtilty of its canonists forming so strange a contrast to the non-feudal rudeness of the far-descended baron; with its want of reverence for sacred things, though to Europe a very focus of veneration, forming as startling an antithesis as the tales of half-licensed disorder in the old city, whence issued secular law and order for wild Germany and Euphrates; its crowds of strangers come to wait at court for the gift of venal offices in their own lands, mingling with the native population which cherished a most sincere contempt for the *barbarians*, as though its own descent were of untainted purity; and lastly, with its power of imbuing foreigners with its own peculiar spirit, till the whole of European society contained an Italian element; how forcibly does all this bring back the memory of the imperial city, with its centralization achieved spite of, and even by an anarchical capital, the

proud isolation of its nobles, with their fierceness and effeminacy, their contempt of all nations but the Greeks as barbarians, and their escape from any reciprocity of essential influence from without, while they copied, in usages and vices, every nation under the sun.

The series of analogies is curious, though perhaps more curious than convincing, except so far as they help to show that we ought not to forget the Italian is the Roman. A parallel better founded in some respects, may be traced between the Empire and France under Louis Quatorze and Louis Quinze. The same contrast existed in those reigns between town and country; the peasantry were treated as existing only for the sake of the nobles. The kindly bond between lord and vassal, established by common residence upon the land, had been severed by the policy of the monarchs, for many successive generations, who found their monarchy degraded by it into a suzerainty. The labourer became a serf; the farmer, from the burden of oppressive and humiliating taxes, little better. The noble himself felt debased by the positive supremacy of the crown now confirmed, and by his positive subjection to personages he had been in the habit of looking upon as not much more than the first gentlemen in their dominions. To compensate for the loss of local grandeur, his privileges, relatively to the rest of the nation, were greatly enlarged. The *noblesse* became a caste, between whom and the people no community of feeling could exist, and for whom the nation appeared to toil. New imposts were levied to supply salaries for new offices to be conferred upon them, while the perfect concentration of all dignity and official power round the court created a regular and hereditary bureaucracy. To compensate themselves for their consciousness of degradation, even though they gained in wealth by it, the nobility ran riot in all the most eccentric forms of vice and prodigality, from a passion for snuff-boxes and buhl, to converting the thoroughfares beneath their palace windows into a *battue*. Left destitute of the beneficial burden of duties, by the gradual destruction of their feudal independence, they had neither the satisfaction of feeling their tenantry looking up to them for justice and kindness, nor the opportunities their petty principalities had afforded them for the acquisition of glory. They could at least make themselves conspicuous for their profligacy and insolence, and so satisfy a morbid longing for excitement. The policy of the court in elevating a race of new men, hereditary judges and the oligarchs of wealth, in the shape of *parvenu* army contractors and bankers, added a fresh incentive to this unhealthy taste for eccentricity; *they* would outshine those men's recent splendour

by something novel in the way of haughty contempt for public opinion. Besides this strong resemblance between the divisions of society at Paris and at Rome, and the similar career of the aristocracy in both cities, proceeding from similar causes, the less extravagant phases of society in its literary and philosophical tendencies contain the same sort of analogy. Literary *réunions*, clubs, and rehearsals, and fashionable scepticism, coincident with much show of devoutness, characterise both epochs; but a large residuum of difference remains. The essence of the peculiarity of society at Rome consisted of the actual independence of the emperor asserted by many of the Old Houses, and which was a latent sentiment in almost all. In France this spirit had been successfully combated and eradicated, so that noble and courtier had become convertible terms; whereas at Rome, notwithstanding that the double character was very generally maintained, the two aspects were left distinct. This idiosyncracy issued partly from that stubbornness of will and habit of acting for themselves, which was as evident a feature of the national character under the twelve Cæsars, as under the Commonwealth. Partly it was the offspring of that respect for the public opinion, not of mankind but the Metropolis, which the elevation of a single city to be lord paramount of so many nations naturally produced. Public opinion was dead at Paris; it was strong enough in imperial Rome to force the ruler to pay deference to the heirs of consular and prætorian houses, and to force them, in their turn, to remember that they were once their sovereign's peers.

This it is which gives so special an interest to the portraiture of society drawn by Juvenal, and which infuses into his glowing delineations a significance which supplies the place of variety. Indeed, if we remember the connexion between the Republic and the Empire, and how society in the one period was the natural development of the condition of society in the other, Rome under the Cæsars forms the most magnificent spectacle or historical pageant which the world has ever witnessed. From any other point of view it is a mere repetition of the glories of Xerxes or of Antiochus. We see a city full of palaces, and those inhabited each by a lord, equal still, though less heroic than when the old Epirot was moved by the sight, to any monarch: we see, not the bustle of trade showing the machinery by which the wealth was amassed, but riches flowing in imperceptibly by a myriad quiet streams from the subject world; nobles, king-like but with a Roman self-dependence, spending their riches in the face of the nations, with their levees, their clients, and their *sportula*, not like the aristocrats of a Greek state withdrawing from the rough criticisms of a dominant *demus*, nor, like Louis Quatorze's courtiers,

mere accessories of the sovereign's pomp. Each was by himself fitted to be a centre for a city-state, with his lines of ancestral *imagines* and chains of old associations suggesting opposition to any arrogations of superiority over himself, and whose family traditions were the sum of history for his dependents; so mighty, in fine, that Tiberius could only maintain his dignity by withdrawing from the competition of splendour. We see the old forms yet lingering, and linking Rome the conqueror and a city of warriors, with Rome the legislator and spendthrift; we feel an air, even in the latter period, of empire as grounded on conquest, breathing from the despatches ever flowing in from generals who have anew subjected rebellious provinces, and from satraps returning from their governments in distant regions to resume gladly the rank of Roman citizens. A complete and real subjection of all these dependencies to the capital is discernible, so that, in fact, *Urbs Roma* seems the empire itself. The very vices of the time recal the past; nobles court notice and applause with republican emulation, make an ostentatious exhibition of profligacy, and contend with wild beasts and gladiators in the public circus, with the same zeal and the same object, glory, or at least publicity, as they besiege the prince they hate, and the favourite they scorn, for the empty titles of the consulate or the prætorship. The emperor himself is beheld not affecting to be of a different race, and with different antecedents, but proud as his nobles of his consular and triumphal *imagines*, sometimes vying with his courtiers in luxury and ambitious viciousness, sometimes crushing them, but all under the guise of law and the name of the public good, by the charge of *majestas*, high treason that is, against the state, not against the emperor. Then there is the state religion openly disbelieved, and seemingly answering no end or purpose, but kept up in all outward observances with jealous superstition, because a public institution, and the religion of the kings and nobles of the old times. By its side we observe a haughty philosophy, the only substitute for piety, a scheme which delighted in the obligations of active life, and which, with its inflexibility and proud indifference to casualties, was the proper religion of a race or city of rulers, who could only hope to govern the nations by stern undeviating principles. Over all the aspects of society is spread a strange but genuine want of curiosity about, or contempt for, alien opinions and doctrines, and a cold carelessness concerning their differences, a habit of looking at all events and countries with reference only to the effect upon the fortunes of the one city, proceeding from the belief that Rome was all in all, and an implicit faith in its sovereign destiny amounting to a deification of the Roman name.

This, or something like it, is the picture which may be constructed out of the smouldering embers of the fire kindled in his own soul by the indignation of the conservative satirist at the abnegation of all their duties by his countrymen. His denunciations are partly well founded, partly at the same time too wide and too special; too wide, if criticised with reference to their due and proportionate representation of facts; too special, as being a collection of vicious acts rather than a picture of the state of society of which they were products. He implies that the ancient Romans were perfectly virtuous, the men just and public spirited, the women modest and devoted to home. He ignores the tribunician contests and the licentious tyranny of the decemvirate, and the mania which seized upon Roman matrons, about the time of the Punic wars, for poisoning their husbands. He forgets that Nævius was persecuted for finding in the beloved simplicity of republican Rome as ample material for satire as he himself could under a luxurious despot; so much for

> 'Illa priorum
> Scribendi quodcunque animo flagrante liberet
> Simplicitas, cujus non audeo dicere nomen!'

He mixes the vices of his own epoch, when the nobles were humbled by seeing many of the greatest Houses annihilated, and when a military despotism was growing up, with those of the preceding generation, when at least the government was a Civil one, and the very anarchy and disorders indicated a species of rude liberty in some class or other.

But exaggeration, though not the essence, is certainly the atmosphere of satire. If it be proportionate, we ought not to complain of it; and certainly in Juvenal it had at least this redeeming quality. If he reviles his contemporaries too cynically, he praises the past with such a glow of enthusiasm, that the prejudice for or against can easily be detected, and censure and panegyric rub down each other's angles and excrescences of excess. With much that is bombastic, there is an air of sincerity spread over the whole which enforces belief in the author's good faith. We can watch the process, as he lashes himself into fury at the scenes around him, and conjures up impossible visions of the innocence of old times. The attention is rapt by his fierce declamation, and equally fierce derision; and, if there be no repose, this is a defect inseparable from the full rush and flood of his satire. Even in those wonderful pieces of humour, the description of the Cabinet Council convened by Domitian to sit upon the question, how and where to boil the monster turbot, and the scenes from a great man's banquet, contrasting the humiliation of the poor proud guest with the old civic equality,

when all ranked together as Romans; there is something terrific in the mirth: it never condescends to wit; even a sneer is too nice and fine for it; it sometimes wears the tone of a snarl; it most willingly admits of a frown. Pathos there is in it, because there is humour; but, while far from being melodramatic, it is far from tenderness and melancholy. With the lamentation always mingles the undertone of a prophecy of vengeance. Indeed, the outbursts of fury are so continuous; and there is so much method in his anger, that we are sometimes inclined to regard it all as a mere stilted rhetorical exercise. The mind is overwrought by the intensity and sustained depth of his cynicisms; we are hurried along by his rage; and, when we turn away, have so far to drop to regain the ordinary level of feeling, that we cannot measure the frankness of the poet's passion; and so we compensate ourselves for the exhaustion of our emotions, by setting it down for rhetoric and declamation. But he had no fancied wrongs common to the whole human race to dilate upon. Rome, in truth, could not run a middle course; and the sloth and profligacy of the bearers of the old names, seemed to one who acknowledged no natural line of division between the Romans of the age of the Republic and the Empire, to be a wilful abandonment of the grandest destiny to which ever nation was heir. His gaze only took in Rome; no flight of anger seemed forced or unnatural for such a theme; no topics too wide or vague, when the one city was to him the human race. All foreign influences appeared to him to have but one end, the treacherous sapping of the commanding spirit, and the filching away of the talisman of Rome, that energy which did without fear what prudence advised. The hero Greek of Thermopylæ and Leuctra was in his eyes nothing but the countryman of the *Græculus esuriens*, the pest of Rome; all alike came under *Græcia mendax*. His verse rages alike against the foul mysteries of Isis and the pure faith of Judaism, as though

'Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant,'

(for the broad distinctions between Judaism and Christianity he had no eye); and then, as being perfectly unconscious of the nullity of its religion, he soars into a noble appeal to Heaven against the degradation of his infidel country! Sometimes again he babbles of green fields, and cottage hearths, and violets, and the simple comforts of a country house, as prettily as Horace could himself have done. But, whether it be the *Numen aquæ*, the venerable fountain of the primæval goddess Egeria, or the innocent gaiety and festivity of the rural feast, or a song of thankfulness for the escape of a friend from the dangers of

shipwreck, the calm is merely that of a river before a fall. Whatever the immediate subject, the spirit of satire never is still; there is a moral and a sarcasm on imperial Rome, even in

> 'Dî, majorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
> Spirantesque crocos, et in urnâ perpetuum ver,
> Qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
> Esse loco.'

The age of satire is past with us; no nation should wish to see it revived; for, whatever the exaggeration, some dreadful basis of rottenness, in society or politics, is sure to underlie the apparent declamation. We need not fear it will, at least at present, take in England the tone it assumed at Rome. The structure of society is corrupt enough here, no doubt; we have hundreds of social problems as yet unexplained; but the influence of the middle classes denies both to crime and to satire the tragic majesty which was not alien to the rampant individuality of imperial and aristocratic Rome. We have 'Punch,' and the adventures of 'Brown, Jones, and Robinson,' in the place of Juvenal and Persius. But let us not neglect therefore, or lose the power of appreciating the Roman.

ART. III.—*History of Civilisation in England.* By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE. J. W. Parker and Son. 1857. Vol. I.

VARYING almost more widely than the languages spoken by man are the characteristics assumed by every nation as the certain signs of civilisation. Habit reconciles us to much; custom consecrates many things about which a doubt might arise were they brought into practice now for the first time. Who shall construct a formula wide enough to exclude nothing deserving of the name, yet so rigidly close to the truth as to include nothing that will not stand the test of impartial investigation? Is one not tempted to admire, almost to envy, the comprehensive exclusiveness of the reply of the Italian waiter, in a 'respectable hotel,' who being asked by his English guest for a dish of the local chestnut meal, answered in indignation and disgust, 'Qui siamo civilizati, qui non mangiamo polenta?'

The book which we have named above is an exceedingly important addition to the existing stock of information on the subject. No higher praise can be given to any man than that he is the master of his matter; and Mr. Buckle is certainly worthy, both by ability and by attainments, to fulfil the task he has undertaken to perform. And if the great amount of reading he has gone through, the wide fields of knowledge he has traversed and surveyed, have apparently left certain traces on the mind of the author, it is no more than might reasonably be expected from the results of so gigantic a toil, so bewildering an investigation. The traveller from regions unmapped, scarcely known before, returns perhaps maimed for life, or with a constitution permanently touched by malaria. Is it surprising if a man who has explored empires of thought of immense extent comes back grim and battered, with his personal peculiarities stiffened and exaggerated into enduring and repulsive permanence by the long continuance of labour? By dint of repeatedly reiterating the same sentiments, Mr. Buckle appears to have convinced himself that they are true. Throughout he is pertinaciously dogmatic: throughout very intolerant to anything that opposes his views, and generally wanting in respect to institutions venerable for their origin and their antiquity, especially to religious belief. Yet it is a book equally note-worthy for power and research, for unwearied industry, and for forcible

combination. And if, in the course of the remarks we have made, we have felt ourselves constrained to differ from the opinion expressed by the author, we have dissented with the deference due to so rare a union of powers.

The volume before us is only the first of the contemplated history. Moreover, it only contains a portion of the introduction to that work. As this colossal fragment, however, consists of more than 850 pages, it is clearly impossible to give our readers any idea of the contents by extracts alone; we must, therefore, beg them to follow us through a slight summary of the method laid down as employed in the investigation.

Mr. Buckle begins by stating that of all the branches of human knowledge, history is the one on which most has been written—the position held by it in popular estimation being best evidenced by the share occupied by that study in all plans of education. For the compilation the records of past time have been ransacked—the tombs of the long dead pillaged—deserted ruins explored—inscriptions studied—coins marshalled and compared; and the information thus gained stored in many goodly volumes, embellished with every vigour of language. Religions, laws, sciences, arts, inventions, manners, climates, food,—everything that concerns human creatures has been the subject of diligent inquiry. But the results have not been adequate to the labour bestowed. History has hardly been attempted as a unity. Materials have been collected—the land has been repeatedly surveyed; but the guides who have attempted to lead men across the 'forgotten fields' of past ages, have rather sought to direct their followers to the particular points of view they thought most interesting, or to tell their own histories, like Childe Harold lying beside a column or a castle, than to guide men to a real comprehension of the relics of long ago. Though the study of the subject has received great attention in recent times, no generalization has been attempted; and history as a science is almost unknown. In every other branch of knowledge the mists in which a science was first enveloped have been found to become less dense as the students have toiled along the upward road. Regularity has been found to exist where everything seemed at first most irregular. Order where everything seemed given over to confusion. The question arises, Shall we, or shall we not, find the same in history? Are the events of man's existence guided by an overruling and therefore inscrutable Providence, or are they linked together in one interminable chain of cause and effect? Mr. Buckle, as a disciple of M. Comte, decides for the latter, after weighing and rejecting the only other alternative, that chance rules all things; because he considers that the asser-

tion of a providential government of mankind is gratuitous, and, by its nature, incapable of proof. Wandering tribes of savages, however, would, it is Mr. Buckle's opinion, be likely to consider all things as the results of chance as long as they remained in the nomadic state; and that they would be likely to change this opinion when they had so far advanced in civilisation as to embark in agricultural pursuits,—being led to connect the phenomena of harvest with some hidden, beneficent, supernatural influence. From this foundation Mr. Buckle proceeds to evolve a theory, which certainly possesses the merit of originality—it is this: That from the circumstances of life above stated, those living in that state in which every event is referred to chance might originate in their minds the doctrine of Free Will; while those whose maintenance was secured by the more settled tenure, might, on their part, be mentally impelled towards the opposite doctrine of Predestination. The student, at this stage of the inquiry, after balancing, perplexed, between a vision of a native Australian pondering, boomerang in hand, over the body of a slaughtered kangaroo, on the subtleties of Arminius; and the natural antipodes a red man who has just cultivated his maize patch on one of the small islands in Lake St. Laurence, musing over his pipe on the grim dogmas of Calvin, is only too happy to find, a little further on, both these doctrines set aside as non-essential to the main object of the work. In their place, the following series of propositions is laid down:—That every action is the result of some motive; and that every motive is the result of some antecedent. That, therefore, if we knew every antecedent, we could infer every result. Further, that, as every antecedent is mental or external, all the vicissitudes of the human race must arise from the double action of external phenomena on the mind, or of mental phenomena on external things—man modifying nature, and nature modifying man. We are thus brought into the presence of the first problem, to ascertain the method of discovering the laws of this double modification. To do this the more readily, we must decide which element is the more powerful. For this purpose certain preliminary investigations are required.

'But before entering into this examination, it will be convenient to state some of the most decisive proofs we now possess, of the regularity with which mental phenomena succeed each other. By this means the preceding views will be strengthened; and we shall at the same time be able to see what those resources are which have been already employed in elucidating this great subject. That the results actually effected are extremely valuable, is evident not only from the wide surface which the generalizations cover, but also from the extraordinary precautions with which they have been made. . . . . The most comprehensive inferences

respecting the actions of men, which are admitted by all parties as incontestable truths, are derived from this, or from analogous sources.'

Proofs also are produced of the uniformity with which certain phenomena succeed each other under certain circumstances. Mr. Buckle's object being to show that the actions of men are governed by the state of society in which they live—every action of every human creature being reducible to one of the two classes, the virtuous or the vicious: if, therefore, we can discover that there exists a regular law in the recurrence of virtuous deeds, we may infer that a similar law exists among vices; the one set of actions being as it were supplementary to the other. Now no government, unfortunately for the purpose, has ever yet thought it worth while to obtain statistics as to the number of the virtuous actions of its subjects. The good deeds of men being thus writ in water, the chasm which would otherwise be hopeless is bridged over by the mournful records of crime. Authorities are cited to show that crimes recur with a most remarkable regularity even in details. It is possible, painful as the idea may be, to anticipate within moderate limits of error, not only what number of criminals will be brought to justice in the succeeding year, but even to prognosticate what proportion of them will be charged with various offences; for instance, how many cases of stabbing with intent to murder will in all probability occur. In other circumstances which have been tabulated, the same tendency towards systematic recurrence appears. A regularity is detected in the number of letters which annually perplex the Post-office authorities by being committed to their care, without directions. The same facts appear among the marriages contracted in the United Kingdom; which are shown not to depend on the good will of the parties concerned, but on the state of the wages of the father and paymaster of the future family—the number increasing in prosperous, diminishing in hard times. While this cause regulates the number of alliances formed, the proportions of the different ages at which the contract is reciprocally entered into, recur with an identical regularity; little as it may enter into the heads of the individuals themselves as they kneel before the altar, that they are playing necessary parts in the great social drama.

These variations, resting on large and general causes, appear to work out their consequences without regard to the wills or temperaments of the individuals concerned. Hence Mr. Buckle deduces the 'great social law that the moral actions of men are the product, not of their volition but of their antecedents;' and goes on to look forward to the time when the undeviating regu-

larity of the moral world will be as little matter for doubt as the regularity of the material.

'For since history deals with the actions of men, and since their actions are merely the product of a collision between internal and external phenomena, it becomes necessary to examine the relative importance of those phenomena; to inquire into the extent to which their laws are known; and to ascertain the resources for future discovery possessed by these two great classes, the students of the mind and the students of nature. This task I shall endeavour to accomplish in the next two chapters; and if I do so with anything approaching to success, the present work will at least have the merit of contributing something towards filling up that wide and dreary chasm, which, to the hindrance of our knowledge, separates subjects that are intimately related, and should never be disunited.'

And here we must pause for a moment to take breath. Events may perfectly follow each other in a complete system of regularity, and yet be governed, not by surrounding circumstances merely, but by a providential permission of these very circumstances, ordered thus for the training, for the trial, for the ultimate perfection of man. But we think, that, apart from this, the very circumstances which have been alluded to, may be shown to be so far within the power and under the direction of individuals as to cause them to be only to a very limited extent, motive influences at all. The array of statistics marshalled by Mr. Buckle is very formidable; and we are fully aware that the instances cited are but, so to speak, the heads of columns which might have been brought to bear on the point disputed. We will not stop for a moment to discuss the weight to be assigned to the disturbing causes to which he alludes; for the fact which he glances at a little further on, at p. 139, that the average duration of life has become, in England, decidedly longer within a comparatively recent period, might, we think, have given cause to modify the confidence with which the general assertion is made. The branch of statistical research which deals with this subject has been cultivated even with greater care than that connected with criminal jurisprudence. About a hundred years have elapsed since Dr. Price framed the celebrated Northampton Tables, from observations made on the rate of mortality in that town. These tables were for many years almost universally used by the assurance offices; we believe that they are still continually referred to; and it is barely possible to estimate the number or the money value of the contracts which have been entered into on the faith of their correctness. Nor is there any reason to doubt that they coincided almost exactly with the truth, when originally framed. But what is the case now? They give, at the present time, decidedly too large a rate of mortality. And this difference is referred by the most competent authorities, not to

errors of observation, but to the real improvement of life which has taken place, from the introduction of vaccination, more temperate habits of society, better medical assistance, cheaper clothing, and greater cleanliness in towns. There is also much reason to believe that the present average duration of life is considerably below the rate which might be attained under more favourable sanitary conditions, with better and more abundant food, and with more judicious modes of living. Nor is this any mere dream of a visionary enthusiast. It is recorded in the returns of the Registrar-General, published last October, for the Quarter then completed, 'that if the mortality 'in the towns had been at the same rate as the mortality in the 'other districts, the deaths, instead of amounting to 55,733, 'would have only amounted to 38,080. Thus, in ninety-two 'days, 17,653 persons perished untimely in England. What 'was the cause of this great destruction of life? Evidently 'the violation of the natural laws of life.' The very interesting paper read by Dr. Southwood Smith at the Birmingham meeting of the National Association for the promoting of Social Science, alludes to the same fact even in stronger terms, being based on observations spreading over a longer period than has elapsed since the date of Dr. Price's labours, and shows, that in 1790 the expectation of life was increased by fully one-fourth, as compared with its duration in the year 1690; that is to say, that if in 1690 a person aged thirty could reasonably expect to live thirty years, in 1790 a person of the same age could reasonably expect to live thirty-seven years. Now, is it not notorious that the greatest difficulty prevails in persuading the multitude of the people to adopt the precautions necessary even to their own personal health and comfort? Has not all the progress that has been made, imperfect as it is, resulted from the zealous labours of a few? If, therefore, a scattered handful has been able to leaven the mass thus in material matters, may it not be possible for as small a band to exert an equal influence in moral matters as well? Indeed, the very evidence of statistics looks forward with strong hope to a future of this kind. At the same meeting held recently, under Lord Brougham's auspices, at Birmingham, from the papers read before which we just now quoted, it was clearly demonstrated that the great centres of population in England were likewise the strongholds of immorality and crime. This state of things was referred, in very great measure, to the overcrowding too generally practised among the dwellings of the poor: an overcrowding likely to exist to an unusual extent in neighbourhoods where a rapid extension of the population has been caused by some new and extraordinary demand for labour; and, in consequence, the workmen have been even

worse housed than usual. A decided opinion was also expressed, that an improvement in domestic proprieties would be speedily followed by an improvement in social condition. If, therefore, social improvements may be looked upon as the certain precursors of moral and material progress—if also the ameliorations lie so close to the surface of things, that they may be reached by the machinery of a district rate, what weight are we to allow to this law of the dependence of man on circumstances which surround him, when those very circumstances are liable to fluctuations so considerable. Surely this law, capable of being modified thus widely, sinks into a mere secondary rank. And without taking into consideration those brighter lights, those men to whom, like Luther or Wesley, it has been granted to leave the mark of their powerful intellect stamped on the conduct of many succeeding generations, of many who have neither seen the faces nor even sometimes spoken the language of those by whom they have nevertheless been greatly led,—how many names will occur, even in the narrowest neighbourhood, of those who

> 'have broken the bonds of circumstance,
> And made by force their merits known;'

who have risen, in the vigour of their might, or by the integrity of their lives, far above the apparently hopeless level of 'surrounding circumstances?'

Meanwhile, Mr. Buckle has placed himself in this dilemma. Further on in his volume, p. 204, he maintains that religious persecution and war, the 'two oldest, greatest, most inveterate 'and most widely-spread evils which have ever been known, are 'constantly, though on the whole slowly, diminishing,' and that their diminution has been effected 'solely by the activity of the 'human intellect, and by the inventions and discoveries which 'in a long course of successive ages, man has been able to make. 'Since, then, in the two most important phenomena which the 'progress of society presents, the moral laws have been steadily 'and invariably subordinate to the intellectual laws, there arises 'a strong presumption that in inferior matters the same process 'has been followed.' Either, therefore, if crimes do recur with the complete regularity presupposed, society cannot be advancing, which Mr. Buckle considers that it does; or if society does advance, how can the register of crimes remain stationary, while in the most important phenomena the signs of amelioration are so evident? We cannot consider that in this chapter Mr. Buckle has in the least maintained his ground: throughout it, there appears to us a decided tendency on his part to confuse the completely separate ideas of general sequence, and necessary connexion.

In tracing the infant fortunes of a nation, we are further informed—

'That of all the great social improvements, the accumulation of wealth must be the first, because without it there can be neither taste nor leisure for that acquisition of knowledge on which, as I shall hereafter prove, the progress of civilisation depends. Now it is evident that among an entirely ignorant people, the rapidity with which wealth is created will be solely regulated by the physical peculiarities of their country. At a later period, and when the wealth has been capitalized, other causes come into play; but until this occurs, the progress can only depend on two circumstances: first, on the energy and regularity with which labour is conducted; and secondly, on the returns made to that labour by the bounty of nature. And these two causes are themselves the result of physical antecedents. The returns made to labour are governed by the fertility of the soil, which is itself regulated partly by the admixture of its chemical components, partly by the extent to which, from rivers or from other natural causes, the soil is irrigated, and partly by the heat and humidity of the atmosphere. On the other hand, the energy and regularity with which labour is conducted, will be entirely dependent on the influence of climate. This will display itself in two different ways. The first, which is a very obvious consideration, is, that if the heat is intense, men will be indisposed, and in some degree unfitted, for that active industry which in a milder climate they might willingly have exerted. The other consideration, which has been less noticed, but is equally important, is, that climate influences labour, not only by enervating the labourer or by invigorating him, but also by the effect it produces on the regularity of his habits.'

It might, perhaps, be open to inquiry, how the process of accumulating wealth would proceed among an 'entirely ignorant people,' if such a people ever existed. Instead, however, of laying too much weight on such trifles, one is rather inclined to rejoice in the possession of so sweeping a law as this, which appears ready at once to adapt itself to the narrowest or the widest circumstances, to explain by an easy method why a Whitby cobleman differs from a Neapolitan fisherman, or the whole English nation from the Chinese. But, a few sentences further on, the whole philosophic fabric of this clause, elaborated with so much care, is sapped in its vitals by the statement that

'There are, no doubt, other circumstances which operate with considerable force, and which, in a more advanced state of society, possess an equal, and sometimes a superior, influence.'

No doubt, indeed, there are; or else how could it happen that where a race of men has remained unchanged, with climate and soil unaltered, perhaps even improved, the position of the people as a nation has shifted so greatly? How, for example, to go no further for an instance, could Spain have dwindled into the mere wreck of the past she is, if 'physical antecedents' were invariably followed by the same results? No doubt 'other circumstances' have great weight; yet does not this

admission, though inevitable, almost completely invalidate the force of the previous position?

Returning, however, to the twofold series of causes under which the author has distributed all powers operative over man, the next chapter is devoted to an examination of the influence exercised by physical laws over the organization of society, and the character of individuals. The physical agents by which the human race is most powerfully affected, may be briefly classed under four heads—climate, food, soil, and the general aspect of nature; the last having produced its main results chiefly by exciting the imagination, and disposing the mind to receive various superstitions. The close connexion, the immense influence of the first three points, the force they have brought to bear on the numbers, manners, and wealth of a people, will be recognised at a glance. While discussing these matters, Mr. Buckle makes some remarks on the severity of the climate in Norway and Sweden, which, by rendering continued agricultural industry impracticable, is alleged to induce a certain fickleness and instability of character, hitherto considered only to pertain to the denizens of the South. We cannot but think the fair fame of our Northern friends harshly impugned on somewhat insufficient grounds. Certainly popular opinion holds a different doctrine. The development of the Mongols, Tartars, and Arabs, when transplanted from arid to fertile soils and climates, is also noticed, and an acute comparison drawn between a son of the desert in his tent, and his more accomplished progeny at Cordova:—

> 'La Terra molle e lieta e dilettosa
> Simili a se gli abitator produce.'

In Europe, climate,—in Asia and Africa, soil,—have most powerfully affected the condition of the people. Climatic influence appears to be more favourable to a continued advance in knowledge than the influence of soil: and for this reason, that the maximum powers of soil appear to have been soonest reached. The argument proceeds as follows; and we must say that Mr. Buckle proves these elementary points with that plethora of knowledge and quotation which rather fatigues than edifies the reader. Wages are regulated by the proportion existing between the fund whence labour is paid, and the number of labourers among whom that fund is to be divided; the number of labourers is influenced in the long run by the plenty or scarcity of food. Food is required by man for two purposes—to maintain that animal heat without which the functions of life would cease; and to supply the waste continually taking place in the tissues, that is, in the mechanism of the frame. In hot climates less of both descriptions of food is requisite.

Hence population has a tendency to increase faster in hot than in cold climates. In these latter, nourishment is not only less accessible, but more of it is required; and more also in proportion of the heat-giving description, which, being principally animal food, is at the same time the more costly. Hence, in uncivilised cold countries, more courage—and in all cold countries, more effort—is needed to obtain food than in hot. And hence also the tendency of wages in cold regions is to be high; in warmer lands to be low. Civilisation arose in Asia, Africa, and Central America, under the circumstances induced by hot climates; but in Europe mainly under the influences exerted by cold. As an inquiry into these matters will indicate the intimate connexion between the physical and moral world, and the reasons why so many ancient civilisations fell away after reaching an early maturity, Mr. Buckle proceeds to examine the subject more in detail. Earliest on the roll stands Hindostan. Skin-deep as the effects have been, 'Primus in Indis,' might probably be inscribed on the banner of civilisation, as well as on the colours so bravely borne on those shores. In those torrid lands, the main nourishment of the people has always been of the character pointed out as prevailing in hot climates—farinaceous food, and principally rice. And even this easily-raised and cheaply-produced grain is supplanted by one cheaper still in the south of India. Singularly enough, this facility of procuring food is accompanied, almost invariably, by great social inequalities among the people.

'In India, slavery—abject, eternal slavery—was the natural state of the great body of the people; it was the state to which they were doomed by physical laws utterly impossible to resist. The energy of those laws is, in truth, so invincible, that wherever they have come into play, they have kept the productive classes in perpetual subjection. There is no instance on record of any tropical country, in which wealth having been extensively accumulated, the people have escaped their fate; no instance in which the heat of the climate has not caused an unequal distribution, first of wealth, and then of political and social power.'

The wealth of any country can only be allotted into four great divisions: Rent, Wages, Profit, and Interest. Interest being the measure of profit, if interest and rent be high, wages must be low. Now, in India rent is very high. In England and Scotland rent has been roughly estimated at one-fourth of the gross produce; in France, at one-third; in America, as is well known, far less; but in India it is usually estimated at one-half, and sometimes rises even to more. The rate of interest being also very high, it follows that wages must be very low indeed; and the very fertility of the soil and geniality of the climate have greatly assisted in this result; since the one,

by producing abundant supplies—the other, by reducing the wants of man to the minimum possible, have stimulated population to such an extent, that the competition for employment among their numbers tends to keep them all at the lowest point on the scale. Hence, in India the condition of a large portion of the people has been always nearly allied to that of slaves. The history of Egypt, where dates and dhourra take the place of rice, coincides with that of Hindostan in most respects. The magnificent structures, the monuments of past despotic dynasties in both countries, are the evidences, not of an advanced civilisation, but of a reckless disregard of human suffering.

'In Egypt as in India, ... everything tended to favour the upper ranks of society, and to depress the lower. Between the two was an immense and impassable gap. If a member of the industrious classes changed his usual employment, or was known to pay attention to political matters, he was severely punished; and under no circumstances was the possession of land allowed to an agricultural labourer, to a mechanic, or indeed to any one except the king, the clergy, and the army. The people at large were little better than beasts of burden; and all that was expected from them was an unremitting and unrequited labour. If they neglected their work they were flogged; and the same punishment was frequently inflicted upon domestic servants, and even upon women. These and similar regulations were well conceived; they were admirably suited to that vast social system, which, because it was based on despotism, could only be upheld by cruelty.'

If we cross the Atlantic, we find the leading features reproduced, with startling fidelity, under the same climatic influences. Mexico and Peru were the most highly civilised districts of the New World at the epoch when Columbus landed there. In Mexico, maize and bananas—in Peru, these vegetables, conjointly with potatoes—take the place of the rice and dhourra of the Eastern World. In both countries the inhabitants were divided into two sections, the lower of which paid all the taxes, and was likewise controlled in the most minute actions of life. Here, too, we are confronted with the reappearance of one of the most singular institutions of Egypt and Hindostan. Castes were recognised, though not legally binding, in Mexico; in Peru they were rigidly enforced. Both countries possess immense ruins of buildings of a similar character to those of Egypt and India, consecrated like them by the accumulated sufferings of thousands. Mr. Buckle then proceeds to investigate, in a few brilliant pages, the natural causes which have occasioned Brazil to lag behind always in the race of progress. The vapours borne along by the trade-winds, pent up against the giant wall of the Andes, cause an excess of moisture, which, accompanied by the tropical heat, develops from the fertile soil

a vegetation unequalled in any quarter of the globe. The rank exuberance of these tangled forests swarms with reptiles, insects, wild cattle, and ferocious animals in countless profusion. The extent of the country is immense. Which of us, in thinking of the Empire of Brazil, is aware that its territory exceeds that of the United States in size; or that a line drawn from its northern to its southern boundary, would more than reach from Liverpool to the shore of Nova Scotia? But amid the prodigality of Nature, man is dwarfed into insignificance. Barely the fiftieth part of this fertile region is cultivated; and the habits of the majority of the spare population are as barbarous as ever. These instances enable us to understand why it has been that the slowly-acquired civilisation of temperate climates has been more permanent in results than the swiftly blooming, swifter fading flowers of the tropical zone.

After climatic influences, the workings of the aspects of Nature are considered. These are more powerful in tropical countries, which are the most frequently devastated by tornadoes, pestilences, and earthquakes—the last the only natural phenomenon the terror inspired by which is not deadened but increased by familiarity. By these visitations the activity of the imagination is roused; resting mainly on the fact of the weakness of man in the presence of these mighty powers. Mr. Buckle gives a powerful description of—

'The works of nature, which in India are of startling magnitude . . . . . In the great centre of Asiatic civilisation, the energies of the human race are confined, and as it were intimidated by the surrounding phenomena. Besides the dangers incidental to tropical climates, there are those noble mountains, which seem to touch the sky, and from whose sides are discharged mighty rivers, which no art can divert from their course, and which no bridge has been able to span. There too are impassable forests, whole countries lined with interminable jungle, and beyond them, again, dreary and boundless deserts; all teaching man his own feebleness, and his inability to cope with natural forces. Without, and on either side, there are great seas, ravaged by tempests far more destructive than any known in Europe, and of such sudden violence, that it is impossible to guard against their effects. And as if in those regions everything combined to cramp the activity of man, the whole line of coast, from the mouth of the Ganges to the extreme south of the Peninsula, does not contain a single safe and capacious harbour, not one port that affords a refuge, which is perhaps more necessary there than in any other part of the world.'

The cases of Italy and Spain, where a somewhat similar analogy may be traced, are cited:—

'Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are more frequent and more destructive in Italy, and in the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, than in any other of the great countries; and it is precisely there that superstition is most rife, and the superstitious classes most powerful. Those were the countries where the Clergy first established their authority, where the worst cor-

ruptions of Christianity took place, and where superstition has during the longest period retained the firmest hold. To this may be added another circumstance, indicative of the connexion between these physical phenomena and the predominance of the imagination. Speaking generally, the fine arts are addressed more to the imagination; the sciences, to the intellect. Now it is remarkable, that all the greatest painters, and nearly all the greatest sculptors, modern Europe has possessed, have been produced by the Italian and Spanish peninsulas.'

Here, apparently, Mr. Buckle's theory has forced him to assume that art was strongly developed in Spain and Portugal; the fact being, on the contrary, that the art of these countries was entirely due to foreign influence; and, during the last hundred years at least, it would not be difficult, we think, to show as great names among sculptors in the lands north of the Alps and Pyrenees as in the sunnier climes beyond them.

In Europe generally, however, the aspects of Nature have been exhibited in a milder form; and the reasoning powers of man there less depressed in consequence. In India, where Nature, though usually smiling, can frown at times, the literature of the country is found to be highly imaginative. By the side of this, the writings of Greece, more exempt from these influences, appear cold and tame in comparison with those monstrous stretches of fancy. But there is a deeper stain on the annals of India even than the foulness of parts of that degraded literature. There, as in Mexico and Peru, the religion, more openly based on terror than any other form of idolatry, claimed probably the largest offerings of human life of any system of theology, and founded the temple on the debasement of the worshipper.

The next chapter commences with specially noting the fact, that beyond the boundaries of Europe, the aspects of Nature have been more powerful than in Europe. The victories gained by man over matter are named; and Mr. Buckle takes the opportunity of proving, to his own satisfaction, that famine is now an impossibility.

'In other instances, where the products of the external world have been refractory, man has succeeded in destroying what he could hardly hope to subjugate. The most cruel diseases, such as the plague, properly so called, and the leprosy of the Middle Ages, have entirely disappeared from the civilised parts of Europe, and it is scarcely possible that they should ever again be seen there. Wild beasts and birds of prey have been extirpated, and are no longer allowed to infest the haunts of civilised men. Those frightful famines, by which Europe used to be ravaged several times in every century, have ceased; and so successfully have we grappled with them, that there is not the slightest fear of their ever returning with anything like their former severity. Indeed, our resources are now so great, that we could, at worst, only suffer from a slight and temporary scarcity; since in the present state of knowledge, the evil would be met at the outset by remedies which chemical science could easily suggest.'

The Irish famine, being too fresh in the minds of his readers to be passed over, is stated as an 'exception;' but the reasons given for this do not seem to us by any means to place it in the category of the exceptions that are commonly said to prove the rule. And the ravages of the oidion on the Continent, the vines rooted out from Madeira, and the failure of the silk crop last year, may serve to remind us that such an event is still within the limits of possibility. Yet the industry of successive generations has effected much; and Holland is justly quoted as an instance of the manner in which man has modified Nature. Might not that land, made and maintained by unceasing effort, defended as much by the spade as by the sword, be equally quoted for an instance of the extent to which Nature, however much subdued, has modified the habits and the mind of man? Or, again, looking at the nobler side of the Dutch character, might we not truly decide that not to greater intellectual powers, but to a stronger moral nature, must be ascribed the noble career of that little commonwealth?

After all deductions, however, there remains a sufficient residuum of facts to enable us to assent to Mr. Buckle's proposition —that since, in Europe, civilisation is marked by a diminishing influence of physical laws, and an increasing influence of mental laws, the latter are those to which our attention should chiefly be devoted. The question then arises—How are these mental laws to be discovered? Is the method adopted by the metaphysical inquirer to study the operations of his own mind, to be employed, or not? Clearly not, in Mr. Buckle's opinion; since whichever of the great divisions of metaphysical thinkers is followed, that which studies sensations, or that which studies ideas, in either case, the material and the instrument being the same, it becomes impossible to include all the phenomena. Hence Mr. Buckle, rejecting this method, elects to generalize the laws of mind from a comprehensive survey of the history of man; and immense indeed is the landscape exhibited to the gaze of the inquirer. Immense as it is, it parts itself at once into two great natural divisions, distinctly separated from each other as the two sections of the view which bursts on the traveller who descends the steep southern slope of the Alps. On the one side the massy, spotless, eternal hills; on the other, the wide, genial, cultivated plain, rich with the labours, decorated with the successes of man. Thus, all mental actions are either moral or intellectual: the first relating to our duties, the second to our knowledge. It is necessary to discover which element is the more important. Mr. Buckle divides the one part from the other in a broad, sweeping way, passing over the numerous instances in which the two elements are intertwined

into an inseparable whole—the parts of the view, so to say, where the spurs of the mountains run deep into the rich soil of the meadows; where the living streams bear the memory of the distant rocks, far among the dust of the scorching fields. He goes on to argue, that it is impossible to prognosticate whether the faculties of mind are likely to be greater in a child born in Europe than in one born in the most barbarous country (passing over, to lay down this conclusion, Dr. Pritchard's opinion, that the present inhabitants of Britain have, 'from some cause or other, more capacious brain-cases than their forefathers,' and the apparently equally well-ascertained fact, that the European has from twenty to thirty cubic inches more brain than the Papuan of New Guinea—which might seem to justify a contrary belief); that hence nothing is owing to natural ability, but everything to circumstances; and that the moral and intellectual conduct of man will be regulated by the state of the moral and intellectual atmosphere which surrounds him. For our own part, however, we must prefer the faith of the pagan poet,

'Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis,'

to the dogma of the modern philosopher,

'The child born in a civilised land, is not likely, as such, to be superior to one born among barbarians; and the difference which ensues between the acts of the two children will be caused, so far as we know, solely by the pressure of external circumstances; by which I mean the surrounding opinions, knowledge, associations, in a word, the entire mental atmosphere in which the two children are respectively nurtured.'

Now, this standard, as we have seen, continually fluctuates—whence it follows that the conditions on which this standard depends must fluctuate as well. And it is to them that our attention is directed as the moving powers that govern mankind. Mr. Buckle, however, has hardly made it clear whence these moving powers gain their motion. He has disclaimed the idea of any external pressure, and equally of any force being exercised by the individuals composing the mass. Society, according to this theory, hangs balanced like the cloud,

'That heareth not the loud winds when they call,
And moveth altogether, if it move at all.'

Moral truths, according to Mr. Buckle, have exerted little influence on mankind; since in very early ages they were as well understood as in these latter times, and have made no further advance. But it is to the progressive aspect of intellectual successes that we are to turn. For, since civilisation is the product of moral and intellectual causes combined; since this product continually changes, it cannot be regulated by the

stationary agent, but by the progressive one. Moral causes, he says, 'counteract each other; the good deeds of the virtuous and pure-minded fade away with their personal influence; the ravages of the vicious and inhuman are soon effaced: systems evaporate: creeds fail: only the discoveries of the intellectually great survive, and stand pillars and beacons for ever and ever.' This, however, is stated far too broadly. We must refer Mr. Buckle to the eloquent pages where Lord Bacon, deploring the continual loss of man's intellectual discoveries, compares time to a river, which carries down light and worthless substances, but leaves treasures sunk far behind in its course. Knowledge is under the same law of Time the destroyer, as virtue. The great example of the 'heroes before Agamemnon' is not more lost than the mathematical theorems of Archytas.

Now it appears to us, with all deference to one who has studied the subject much, quite impossible to set aside the influence of the moral qualities in this off-hand way. It is, besides, quite arbitrary to assert, that moral truths have been in all ages equally grasped by mankind; we doubt the truth of the assertion, even as regards individuals. With reference to bodies of men, we hold it certain, that the most elementary principles of right and wrong have only by degrees asserted their due superiority.

Having enthroned and crowned intellect, Mr. Buckle proceeds to decorate the walls of her palace with the trophies of successes won. The gradual diminution of religious persecution and war is quoted. But even here the supercilious tone which mars so many passages of the volume breaks out afresh, and Mr. Buckle diverges from his path to record the trite and ill-natured assertion that the weaker members of families are selected to grace the pulpit and the mess-room; an assertion which we should barely have noticed, but that it illustrates the manner in which a mere ebullition of spleen can sway one who aspires to the high position of a philosophic judge of all truth. The well-meant motives of religious persecutors are then remarked on, and the assertion made of the 'utter inability of 'moral feelings to diminish religious persecution . . . .' 'It 'is to the diffusion of knowledge, and that alone, that we owe 'the comparative cessation of what is, unquestionably, the 'greatest evil men have ever inflicted on their species.' Of war too, it is said, 'that this barbarous pursuit is, in the 'progress of society, steadily declining, must be evident, 'even to the most hasty reader of European history.' We wish we could join in Mr. Buckle's pæans on this subject; but the present time, when we are engaged in suppressing

what is, probably, the most extensive military insurrection that ever ravaged the face of the earth; and an insurrection too, in rousing which, the fear of intellectual progress seems to have had some strange influence; a time in which we have just concluded a war with one of the greatest powers of Europe, and are still waging one with the largest empire of Asia, does seem hardly suited for rejoicings in the fact, that 'in our country a love of war is, as a national taste, utterly extinct.' Long may it be before another cannon-shot is fired in earnest in Europe again; but who can look out, and say that the horizon is absolutely clear? The synchronising of the last long peace in Europe with the life-time of that generation which was personally acquainted with the miseries of the last war, may have had as much to do with the cessation of hostilities as any progress of intellectual power. Much also is, undoubtedly, due to the repose necessitated by exhaustion; to the pressure of heavy debts; to mutual inter-dependence occasioned by commercial intercourse; and to the mingled web of common interest which already holds so many nations entangled in its meshes. But who can say whether jealousy may not at any time triumph over prudence, and in one hour of fury destroy the result of years of caution and care?

> ——— 'Incedis per ignes,
> Suppositos cineri doloso.'

Our national experiences since the dedication of the Hyde Park temple of peace are scarcely encouraging.

From the inquiry of which we have here attempted a slight sketch, Mr. Buckle proceeds to generalize three axioms—

That the changes in every civilised country are dependent on the knowledge possessed by the ablest men;

On the direction which that knowledge takes;

And the extent to which it is diffused.

We are now in possession of Mr. Buckle's method. Before proceeding further, he considers the effect which, in his belief, religion, literature and government have produced on European civilisation. These, contrary to the generally-received opinion, he ranks very low indeed; reckoning them in no case the causes, but the consequences of civilisation. The argument proceeds: 'there are many instances of nations changing their 'religion, but there is no instance of a progressive country 'voluntarily adopting a retrogressive religion; neither is there 'any example of a declining country ameliorating its religion '. . . . . the truth is, that the religious opinions which prevail 'at any period are among the symptoms by which that period 'is marked.' That the pressure of the intellectual activity of

any period may influence the form which the opinions then prevalent may take, is so obvious, as to amount to a truism. But we can discern no opinions prevailing among the Egyptians which should have evolved the system which Moses was commissioned to impart; nor more at the time when One greater than Moses came. Again, referring to the uniformity maintained as existent between the progress of a nation and its religion—was it when the inhabitants of Judæa were a powerful nation, or an oppressed province, that they purged themselves from that idolatry which was for so many centuries their bane?—and was Christianity received by Rome during the prosperity or the decline of the Empire?—and after the throne of the Cæsars itself had succumbed to the shocks of successive irruptions of barbarian tribes, and those hordes had settled down into something like a fixed government, to what, except to Christianity, are we to ascribe that in the least-learned century of those middle ages which Mr. Buckle so unjustly depreciates, there existed a truer perception of the rights of the lower classes, and of the moral equality of man, than during the most palmy period of the Pagan empire? While serfdom existed in Western Europe, the Church was the only, though often the almost powerless, protector of the feeble. Though her might could not alone abolish the iniquity, yet in the words of Guizot, 'On ne peut pas douter que l'Eglise n'employât son 'influence à la restreindre. Il y en a une preuve irrécusable: 'la plupart des formules d'affranchissement, à diverses époques, 'se fondent sur un motif religieux; c'est au nom des idées reli-'gieuses, des espérances de l'avenir, de l'égalité religieuse des 'hommes, que l'affranchissement est presque toujours prononcé.' To pass at once to later times, was not the abolition of slavery in the British dominions, looking at the subject in its broadest aspect, far more a religious than an intellectual movement? To reduce this to what we suppose would be Mr. Buckle's intellectual equivalent, 'enlightened self-interest,' is a statement fit rather for the *Univers* than for the philosophical historian. It is easy to construct a very perfect theory when a man resolutely resolves to see nothing that does not coincide with his preconceived opinions: and Mr. Buckle appears to us in this place to have been ensnared by his talent for systematizing, a seduction which has led astray many powerful minds. The influence of literature is then summarily disposed of: literature being merely the storehouse in which it is convenient to hoard knowledge, frequently left to rust unheeded. This again is so palpably overstated, that we need not spend many words on its discussion. Men of genius, poets and philosophers, are as much the parents of their age as its children.

The same verdict is passed on the influence of governments; the creatures, not the creators of their age,—the power they exercise being only due, after all, to popular sufferance and public opinion. In some sense this is, of course, true; but the immense influence which governments possess in forcing opinions into particular channels is strikingly illustrated by Mr. Buckle himself a few pages further on, to which we shall have occasion shortly to refer.

Since the method proposed is that of an historical inquiry, it is proportionately unsatisfactory to be informed that the manner in which Mr. Buckle has found history generally written, deprives it of any adaptability to his purpose. Stories about kings and courts, battles, sieges, campaigns, form the staple of the material the inquirer, seeking for the germ of civilisation, discovers with disapprobation. Mr. Buckle says,—

'The consequence is, that whoever now attempts to generalize historical phenomena, must collect the facts, as well as conduct the generalization. He finds nothing ready to his hand. He must be the mason as well as the architect; he must not only scheme the edifice, but likewise excavate the quarry. The necessity of performing this double labour, entails upon the philosopher such enormous drudgery, that the limits of an entire life are unequal to the task; . . . . . on account of these things, I have long since abandoned my original scheme; and I have reluctantly determined to write the history, not of general civilisation, but of the civilisation of a single people.'

England is the land Mr. Buckle has chosen, not, as he is anxious to inform us, from any of 'those motives which are dignified with the name of patriotism,' but because it has been the one country of Europe the least exposed to foreign influence, where progress has been most truly a maturing from within: because, in fact,—

'It is the land that freemen till,
That sober-suited Freedom chose—
The land, where, girt with friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will—

'A land of settled government—
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.'

Other countries are to be cited only as collateral examples; Germany, for the manner in which the immense accumulation of knowledge in the hands of a few has occasioned a wider gap between the modes of thought of the upper and lower classes than in any other country; America, for the opposite phenomenon; the total amount of knowledge there being comparatively slight, but held in solution amongst all ranks, so making a far

greater show, and influencing all far more; France, for the operation of what Mr. Buckle calls the protective spirit, that is to say, the interference of government with everybody and everything: and Spain, for the same reason, and the laws of ecclesiastical development. The different modes of investigation followed by various countries in their intellectual progress will be likewise illustrated, and the inductive method pursued in America and England contrasted with the deductive method employed in Germany and Scotland; examples being given of the effect produced by these causes on the abler writers in these countries respectively. The main body of the work, however, will be devoted to England. It is impossible not to acquiesce in Mr. Buckle's reasons for this selection; but this restriction of his horizon renders it all the more improbable that his labours will be crowned with success. Were there any trace, however slight, of the laws of human thought which it is desired to discover, an investigation of one section of mankind governed by those known laws might be attended with very brilliant results. But since the laws of human action must be considered to pervade all human creatures collectively, it will be found hardly possible to discover the laws of the science of civilisation from the experiences to be gained among the history of one people. Foreign modes of thought, foreign habits of life, are likely to be underrated when cited only as collateral examples.

The materials for all early history being found impracticable, Mr. Buckle passes onwards, and lands in England in the sixteenth century. After the remarks on the comparative non-influence of governments, it is rather striking to find at the commencement of the chapter the fact that the failure of the Reformation in Spain was due to the influence of the Church and the Inquisition, incidentally referred to. It is rather strange, too, that in this chapter, in which many inferior writers are named and quoted, Bacon is only slightly mentioned. We shall not do Mr. Buckle the injustice of supposing that this is owing to the whole spirit of the Baconian system being opposed to the method which he advocates; but it is rather remarkable. The rise of scepticism, the spirit of inquiry is traced; and the development of opinion in Hooker's works compared with those of Jewel, and Chillingworth's compared with those of Hooker. A little further on, the strength of the current of national thought is again gauged, by the difference manifested between the earlier and later works of Sir Thomas Browne. By scepticism we may understand, as Sir J. Stephen has said, the suspension of the judgment on each successive subject of inquiry, and 'that freedom of mind which, in the result of any

'such inquiry, can lay aside the most cherished preconceptions; 'and embrace truth, even if she at length presents herself in a 'form the most unexpected and unwelcome.' As the eighteenth century is approached, the movement becomes stronger; and after the establishment of the Royal Society in the time of Charles II., one feels one's self as it were in the presence of the lineal ancestors of our own chiefs of science. It was long, however, before the movement spread; and the eighteenth century was almost on the wane before there was such an institution in London as a circulating library; or such a thing, almost, as a printing-press out of the metropolis. We cannot here, in the narrow limits to which a review is necessarily confined, do more than merely advert to the striking picture which Mr. Buckle has drawn of the reign of George III. What is very remarkable, however, is the apparent forgetfulness of the principles laid down so shortly before. After the sweeping declaration of the small influence of kings and governments, we find, in speaking of Charles II., that the vast legislative reforms for which that reign is distinguished among other things, 'though the result of the intellectual march of the 'age . . . so far from being made in spite of the vices of the 'sovereign, were actually aided by them. . . . Thus the cha- 'racter of the king was eminently favourable to the growth of 'national liberty.'

'If we look only at the characters of the rulers, and at their foreign policy, we must pronounce the reign of Charles II. to be the worst that has ever been seen in England. If, on the other hand, we confine our observations to the laws which were passed, and the principles that were established, we shall be obliged to confess that this same reign forms one of the brightest epochs in our national annals. Politically and morally, there were to be found in the Government all the elements of confusion, of weakness, and of crime. . . . . .The weight of taxation was increased, while the security of the kingdom was diminished. By the forced surrender of the charters of the towns, our municipal rights were endangered. By shutting the exchequer, our national credit was destroyed. Though immense sums were spent in maintaining our naval and military power, we were left so defenceless, that when a war broke out, which had long been preparing, we seemed suddenly to be taken by surprise. Such was the miserable incapacity of the government, that the fleets of Holland were able, not only to ride triumphant round our coasts, but to sail up the Thames, attack our arsenals, burn our ships, and insult the metropolis of England. Yet, notwithstanding all these things, it is an undoubted fact, that in this same reign of Charles II. more steps were taken in the right direction than had been taken, in any period of equal length, during the twelve centuries we had occupied the soil of Britain.'

At a later period, when speaking of Burke and the disfavour in which he was held by the court till his declining years, we find the very noticeable admission that, 'in addition

'to the intrinsic interest of the subject, it illustrates the 'feelings of George III. towards great men; and it shows 'what the opinions were which in his reign it was thought 'necessary to hold. In the sequel of this work I shall trace 'the effect of such opinions upon the interests of the country, 'considered as a whole; but for the object of the present intro-'duction, it will be sufficient to point out the connexion in one 'or two more of those prominent instances, the character of 'which is too notorious to admit of discussion. Of these 'leading and conspicuous events, the American war was the 'earliest; and for several years it almost entirely absorbed the 'attention of English politicians.' A little further on, in speaking of the war with France at the period of the French Revolution, a contest the effect of which is even greater than that of the struggle with America, we find it ascribed in great measure to the same cause, the personal influence of the king.

The same fact meets the view at the very commencement of the next chapter, which is devoted to the 'History of the French 'Intellect, from the middle of the Sixteenth Century to the 'accession to power of Louis XIV.' France, we are told, is described after England, because, 'to understand the way in 'which the diseases of the first country were aggravated by the 'quackery of ignorant rulers, it was necessary to understand 'the way in which the health of the second country was pre-'served, by being subjected to smaller interference.'

We do not know how far he may be indebted to French writers; but it strikes us that Mr. Buckle has executed the sketch of this period with uncommon ability.

Ecclesiastical authority, at this epoch, was far more influential in France than in England; where the successive reversals of policy pursued by Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, had done much to weaken that power. It was not till the close of the sixteenth century that the Edict of Nantes, the first act of toleration in France, was promulgated; while the year 1611 was the last when any one suffered death in England for holding heretical opinions. Some twenty years previously, Montaigne had published his celebrated Essays. Mr. Buckle regards this writer as the real leader of French scepticism, not Rabelais, whose attacks on the personal vices of the Clergy, not against the system of which they were members, place him in a position somewhat similar, perhaps, to that of Chaucer. But graver occupations than literature soon occupied the French nation; a strong development of opposed religious feelings had created two great conflicting factions in the state. The great ability of Richelieu succeeded in detaching the Protestant leaders from their party. The fable of the contest between the Sun and the

Wind for the Cloak of the Traveller, was never perhaps so thoroughly realised as on this occasion.

While ill-treated by the Government, the Protestantn obility had, not unnaturally, clung to their party; when permitted to approach the Court, they desired the more completely to bask in the rays of favour. This circumstance threw the government of the main body of Protestants into the hands of their Clergy; men usually of narrower views, and animated on this occasion by a truly sectarian zeal. Forgetful that they were living under the first French government that had ever tolerated them, they desired to repress the Roman Catholics in the exercise of their religion; and 'declaring that it would be a crime to permit the idolatry of the mass,' they confiscated the property of the Roman Catholic Clergy. With the Government itself they interfered, both with the appointments that were made, and even in graver matters. Meanwhile, though claiming the right of private judgment, they vigorously controlled all freedom of action among their own people, even in almost incredibly minute details. The faithful were not to be allowed to let their hair grow long; they were to have no tassels to their dress; the fashion of their gloves was prescribed; they were to beware of wide sleeves. Two Christian names were allowed, though one only was better: names formerly used by pagans were not permitted. Yet, with all these littlenesses, these were the same people who held Rochelle against the united power of almost all France, and endured incredible hardships in the struggle. As soon as peace returned, Richelieu pursued the same policy as before, and granted terms to the vanquished as favourable as those he had offered when the tide had hardly yet turned in his favour. Nor did his wise and tolerant policy cease with his life; for twenty years longer, under Mazarin, it was the guiding spirit of the land. This period is brightened with the great name of Descartes, whose works alike indicated and inspired the tendencies of the progressive intellect of France. The fascination of his great ability, and great power of systematizing, appears to us to have drawn Mr. Buckle into a warmer admiration for Descartes than has usually been expressed by others who have had occasion to study him. The inference, too, which he draws from the well-known proposition of the proof of the existence of God from the evidence contained in the mind of man, seems to us also to differ in like manner. Mr. Buckle says that the ultimate proof of the existence of our Creator is our idea of it. 'This, then, is the order and prece-
'dence of things. The thought of each man is sufficient to
'prove His existence, and it is the only proof we can ever
'possess. Such, therefore, is the dignity and supremacy of the

'human intellect, that even this, the highest of all matters, 'flows from it, as from its sole source.' Compare this passage with Mr. Hallam's summary of the same argument, 'Descartes 'found within himself the idea of a perfect Intelligence, eternal, 'infinite, necessary. This could not come from himself, nor 'from external things, because both were imperfect, and there 'could be no more in the effect than in the cause.' Surely it is not on the perfection, but on the imperfection; not on the 'supremacy,' but on the subjection of the human mind, that the subtle reasoning in question is founded. Surely this is Descartes' own meaning when he says that 'de cela seul que Dieu 'm'a créé, il est fort croyable qu'il m'a en quelque façon produit 'à son image et semblance, et que je conçois cette resemblance 'dans laquelle l'idée de Dieu se trouve contenue, par la même 'faculté par laquelle je me conçois moi-même; c'est-à-dire que, 'lorsque je fais réflexion sur moi, non seulement je connais que 'je suis une chose imparfaite, incomplète, et dépendante d'autrui, 'qui tend et qui aspire sans cesse à quelque chose de meilleur 'et de plus grand que je ne suis; mais je connais aussi en même 'temps que celui duquel je dépends possède en soi toutes ces 'grand choses auxquelles j'aspire, et dont je trouve en moi les 'idées non pas indéfinement et seulement en puissance, mais qu'il 'en jouit en effet, actuellement et indéfinement; et ainsi qu'il est 'Dieu.' We differ from Mr. Buckle at all times with much hesitation; but the above, we submit, is the real version of the argument.

At this point, Mr. Buckle feels it desirable to describe the operation of what he calls the protective spirit of the Government in France. The manifestations of it with which an Englishman is most familiar are the requirements of the passport system. But this is only one point. The law of bequests, trials, the sale of food, education, the number who shall exercise a trade, are all controlled by the Government; which, in order to maintain the requisite *surveillance*, throws on the taxpayer the maintenance of an army of officials, reckoned at close on 800,000 persons. This system of perpetual repression is undoubtedly one of the main reasons why that people, when in the possession of power, have never known how to use it; why their free Governments have never been stable, their stable Governments never free.

'In France, everything is referred to one common centre, in which all civil functions are absorbed. All improvements of any importance, all schemes for bettering even the material condition of the people, must receive the sanction of Government; the local authorities not being considered equal to such arduous tasks. 'In order that inferior magistrates may not abuse their power, no power is conferred upon them. The

exercise of independent jurisdiction is almost unknown. Everything that is done must be done at head-quarters. The government is believed to see everything, know everything, and provide for everything.'

Mr. Buckle turns far back into history to trace the origin of this 'spirit of protection;' and he finds the germ of it in the immense power of the great vassals of the Crown from the earliest periods of the monarchy. This he compares with the comparative weakness of the English nobles; from which weakness, and its consequent effects, he states, 'it naturally results 'that the people imbibed that tone of independence, and that 'lofty bearing, of which our civil and political institutions are 'the consequence rather than the cause. It is to this, and not 'to any fanciful peculiarity of race, that we owe the sturdy 'and enterprising spirit for which the inhabitants of this island 'have so long been remarkable.' Expressions so strong as these excite some interest in the primary cause of that 'weakness of the English aristocracy,' which is thus marked by Mr. Buckle as the hinge on which all the destinies of England have turned; and after his remarks on the comparatively slight influence of rulers, one is really surprised to find that he ascribes it to the personal character of William the Conqueror. It is suggestive of much thought to trace the slight hold which municipal and parliamentary institutions have had in France, as compared with England. This too, doubtless, had much weight in the formation of the 'protective spirit;' to the influence of which Mr. Buckle proceeds to ascribe the failure of the Fronde, the great rebellion in France. Like the analogous movement in England, this was an aspiration for increased liberty; unlike it, a war of factions, not of classes, it did not stir society to the roots, and failed. Strangely the earnestness of feeling in England contrasts with the trifles which actuated the leaders of the Fronde, among whom questions of etiquette and precedence were invested with an importance which marked such points as almost their highest objects in war, and in life. Shortly after the suppression of the Fronde, Louis XIV. took the government directly into his own hands. The most brilliant chapter, perhaps, in the whole of Mr. Buckle's work is the one in which he describes this event; the manner in which the Grand Monarque carried the protective spirit into every department within the reach of his sceptre; and the decrepitude which overclouded every institution in his kingdom before the close of his long and chequered reign. It has long been the custom to reckon this period as the Augustan age of France; Mr. Buckle, however, shows the utter fallacy of this opinion. A long array of dates and authorities proves that the great thinkers and investigators of natural laws, whose names adorn this epoch,

were for the most part dead before the King assumed the government in reality; many before he had even grown up. The wreath of artistic excellence likewise exhibits many of its flowers blighted by the same breath of court favour. 'The 'poets, dramatists, painters, musicians, sculptors, architects, 'were, with hardly an exception, not only born but educated 'under the freer policy which existed before.' Nothing can be more forlorn than the picture of the close of the reign which, though touched externally with a shadowy film of glory, yet within was rank with the elements of corruption; a reign during which it has been characteristically observed, that the word *honnête* exchanged its primitive for its actual meaning. We trust that this chapter at least will be allowed to cross the Channel by the 'protective spirit.'

'Both in the civil service and in the military service, everything had fallen into disorder. At home there was nothing but confusion; abroad there was nothing but disaster. The spirit of France succumbed, and was laid prostrate. The men of letters, pensioned and decorated by the court, had degenerated into a fawning and hypocritical race, who, to meet the wishes of their masters, opposed all improvement, and exerted themselves in support of every old abuse. The end of all this was, a corruption, a servility, and a loss of power, more complete than has ever been witnessed in any of the great countries of Europe. There was no popular liberty; there were no great men; there was no science; there was no literature; there were no arts. Within, there was a discontented people, a rapacious government, and a beggared exchequer. Without, there were foreign armies, which pressed upon all the frontiers, and which nothing but their mutual jealousies, and a change in the English Cabinet, prevented from dismembering the monarchy of France. Such was the forlorn position of that noble country, towards the close of the reign of Louis XIV.'

His death was the signal for a reaction not less decided than the repression preceding. While the majority endeavoured to indemnify themselves for a forced hypocrisy by the wildest excesses, the thinking few who sought to devote their country to the enjoyment of freedom, now lost, turned their eyes to England, the only land where freedom was to be found. During the reign of the Grand Monarque all affected to despise English literature; but of the two generations which intervened between his death and the French Revolution, there was scarcely a man of note who did not visit England, or learn the language. Here, we may observe, Mr. Buckle's wealth of information comes into full play; and he gives a colossal list of the examples on which he has inductively framed an opinion which a less able writer would have enunciated without proof. Many English books were translated; and questions of politics and religion discussed with the utmost freedom. The Government, however, not having participated in these views, a collision became

inevitable; and if a list were made of the men of letters who lived at this epoch, it would be found that not one out of ten escaped fines or imprisonment. Thus, Voltaire was incarcerated in the Bastille for twelve months on account of a libel which, after all, he had not written; he was afterwards arrested for having adopted some of the views of Locke, and was not suffered to publish a translation of the works of Newton. So little did the Government understand the temper of the times, that in 1764 a decree was issued prohibiting any book in which questions of Government were discussed: in 1767 it was made a capital offence to write a book tending to excite the public mind, or to attack religion, or to inquire into matters of finance; and at last in 1780 it was seriously proposed to annihilate all publishers, and to suffer nothing but emanations from a Government press to appear. The extreme vigilance with which the ruling powers repressed all attempts to criticise their shortcomings turned the current of literature with more virulence against the Church; and here their poisoned shafts worked the speedier destruction from the diseased state into which that body had fallen. During the reign of Louis XIV. the *personnel* of the priesthood was respectable; in his successor's time it participated unfortunately in the prevailing vices of the day. The inherent loyalty of the French nation long repelled the assaults made on their devotion to the Crown. The glory of the people seemed bound up with the greatness of their King; and no other system than a monarchy appeared possible. At last the growing taste for political economy showed how injurious the interference of Government was in matters of trade. Hence an opinion rose and spread, that in other matters as well the same interference might be injurious. The sympathy with American independence, the triumphant return of the officers and men who had ventured their lives in that great struggle, fanned the spark into a flame. Then arose that fierce and ever-memorable contest between the spirit of the past and the spirit of the present. In vain concessions were made to popular fury; in vain the States-General convoked; in vain Necker recalled to power;—the moment when the evils might yet have been averted had passed, and passed for ever!

'If Louis XIV. had not interfered with the natural progress, France, like England, would have continued to advance. After his death, it was, indeed, too late to save the Clergy, against whom all the intellect of the nation was soon arrayed. But the force of the storm might still have been broken, if the government of Louis XV. had conciliated what it was impossible to resist; and, instead of madly attempting to restrain opinions by laws, had altered the laws to suit the opinions. If the rulers of France, instead of exerting themselves to silence the national literature, had yielded to its suggestions, and had receded before the pressure of ad-

vancing knowledge, the fatal collision would have been avoided; because the passions which caused the collision would have been appeased. In such case, the Church would have fallen somewhat earlier; but the state itself would have been saved. In such case, France would, in all probability, have secured her liberties, without increasing her crimes; and that great country, which, from her position and resources, ought to be the pattern of European civilisation, might have escaped the ordeal of those terrible atrocities through which she was compelled to pass, and from the effects of which she has not yet recovered.'

It is now scarcely possible to discover whether any skill in government could have averted the French Revolution; but whether this is so or not, Mr. Buckle's views on the line of conduct on the part of the French sovereigns, which in his opinion might have averted that catastrophe, form an interesting commentary on his own statement of the small influence exerted by the ruling powers.

One might have thought that to have set forth this panacea for the troubles which distracted Europe at the close of the last century would have been sufficient for the self-confidence of any man. But further, while furnishing the clue to the policy which would have enabled Louis XVI. to thread the mazes of difficulty which environed his reign,—which would have secured to the descendants of Hugh Capet the throne of yet unrevolutionised France,—Mr. Buckle has leisure to read the clergy, not only of that but of all lands, a lecture on their true position. At a previous page he has informed them of the subjects on which they had better not preach; he now proceeds to intimate what they may or may not do. Without doubt they will be extremely pleased to learn that so long as they conduct themselves in such a way as not to offend against Mr. Buckle's regulations, he is prepared to tolerate, and even, under certain conditions, actually to encourage them.

'So long as our Clergy confine themselves to the beneficent duties of their calling, to the alleviation of pain and distress, either bodily or mental, so long will we respect them as the ministers of peace and of charity.'

Mild medicines and milder advice may be dispensed; but let them beware of imagining themselves entitled, by virtue of their success in either capacity, to attempt any further influence.

'If they should ever again entrench on the rights of the laity,—if they should ever again interfere with an authoritative voice in the government of the state,—it will then be for the people to inquire, whether the time has not come to effect a revision of the ecclesiastical constitution of the country.'

Having thus shown that he can pickle a rod as prettily as

any one, Mr. Buckle has even a kind word for those over whom he has, in imagination, been holding the scourge:—

'We look on the clergy as a body of men who, notwithstanding their disposition to intolerance, and notwithstanding a certain narrowness incidental to their profession, do undoubtedly form part of a vast and noble institution, by which the manners of men have been softened, their sufferings assuaged, their distresses relieved.'

We should scarcely have noticed this digression of Mr. Buckle's, but that it furnishes a curious, though by no means singular, instance of the manner in which he allows himself to dogmatize at all seasons and on all subjects.

Want of space, to our great regret, compels us to do no more than advert to the last two chapters of the volume, which contain an inquiry into the 'State of Historical Literature in 'France, from the end of the Sixteenth to the end of the 'Eighteenth Century,' and the 'Proximate causes of the 'French Revolution after the middle of the Eighteenth Cen-'tury.' Yet this is better than to attempt a summary which, however full, could not do justice to the width of information and indefatigable research which has presented so brilliant a picture of an age, which is one of the most remarkable the world has ever seen.

It would be far more pleasant if the praise justly due to so much learning and so great ability had not to be qualified by any words of censure; and we have refrained from making remarks of the sort while engaged in examining the literary merits of the volume, because the faults lie so completely on the surface of the work that they need hardly detract from its usefulness to any reader. Stripped of its adjuncts, the doctrine enunciated appears to us scarcely more than a morbid form of predestination; according to which our Divine Maker has little or no real influence in the government of His creatures, whose guidance is under the control, not of Providence, but of the self-made circumstances that environ them. Whenever Mr. Buckle approaches religious subjects, his tone becomes either more vague or more captious than usual; and it is difficult to reconcile the expressions used either with each other or with what one has been accustomed to consider the standards of opinion on these topics. Thus, for instance, in one place we are informed that 'in our country the truths of religion are rarely attacked except by superficial thinkers.' Is Mr. Buckle content to be considered a 'superficial thinker,' or are the contempt which he is, unfortunately, never weary of expressing towards the Old Testament, and the depreciatory remarks which he makes on the New, consistent with a genuine respect for the

truths of religion? Yet Mr. Buckle himself is capable of a deep, we may truly say, of a reverent frame of mind at times. The interesting passage towards the close of the volume fully shows this: the same feeling which induced him to record the memories of perplexities which he could not unravel, and doubts by which he was overcome, might have led him to perceive that a captious tone is not the height of philosophic grandeur; and that to point a sneer at institutions which the wise have generally agreed to speak of with respect, is not to accelerate the march of true civilisation. While penning those profane remarks at p. 344, on the superstition evinced by supposing that the weather may be influenced by the intercession of man, he might at least have remembered the striking words of Descartes, who, while indicating the road which, he considers, will the surest lead to knoweldge by the right conduct of the mind, says, 'ce qui néanmoins ne nous 'empêche pas de croire que les choses qui nous ont été révélées 'par Dieu sont les plus certaines de toutes nos connaissances.' The secondary laws which govern the rain may be tabulated by the intelligence of the observer; but need that hinder us from believing that the fertilizing showers have been given, and withheld, at the prayer of 'a man subject to like passions as we are?' The fallacy (for so we must consider it) into which Mr. Buckle appears to have fallen here, seems analogous to a parent's supposing that because, say, one boy in a thousand is annually taken up for stealing, therefore it is useless for him to warn his own son against that crime. But we will not dwell longer on these opinions of Mr. Buckle's. Could he free himself from his reckless habit of dogmatizing on all possible subjects, on many of which his information must be incomplete; could he cease from endeavouring to talk down, as it were, by sheer force of mere words all whose opinions do not exactly coincide with his own; we should not be without hope that the promised continuation of the work would be not only distinguished, as it doubtless will be, by much ability and considerable research, but that it might even rise to the calm tone of sound philosophy. Our remarks on the volume itself have mainly resolved themselves into showing the author's commentary on his own statement of the slight effect produced by governments on the actions of men, and consequently of the value of his assumed law, that the progress of mankind is due to the development of the intellect solely. We have endeavoured to conduct this inquiry with the strictest impartiality; and on the evidence of the book itself, we think most readers will return with us a verdict 'not proven.' The actions of men may be governed, as Mr. Buckle thinks they are, by certain fixed laws; and if so, those laws

may be discovered. But at least no sign of them has ever yet been discerned to exist; and when they are found, it is at least highly improbable that they will be traced by investigating, however closely, the works of the intellect alone. Were all the actions of man the results of the purest intelligence, the law would undoubtedly hold good; but as long as human nature lasts, the intellect will be only one element in the composition of man. This, indeed, is Mr. Buckle's own view: what we think is, that he greatly overrates the prevailing authority not less than the permanent progressiveness of that element. To discover the rules which govern human actions, the passions, the feelings, and everything that can bias a human creature must be studied as well. Nor will it be sufficient, unless the teachings of religion, the results of education, the influences of climate, and the indestructible characteristics of race are included in the inquiry. Nor will the laws be true, unless they are proved to influence every tribe and every nation, from the snows of the North to the luxuriant life of the Tropics.

Mr. Buckle's book presents another peculiarity; it is a scientific treatise without a definition of the subject investigated. Throughout, we gain no idea of what he considers civilisation to consist in. Though he is far from stating his views with clearness, yet we think we are not wrong in gathering from his work that even he would not be satisfied with intellectual progress alone. Nor does he lead us to imagine that he thinks any country, even our own, to have made all the progress possible. However far in the vanward of material movement, how small are the results achieved even among our own people, to what they should be! How many are smitten down by the swift wheels of the car of civilisation, and trodden under foot by the shouting multitudes who follow in the train of the goddess! Can any person pass down but one of our streets, and compare the contrasted groups of magnificence and misery, 'the wasting pleasures, and still more wasting cares,' the want of consideration engendered by overwhelming wealth, the want of feeling engrained in the very spirit by overwhelming poverty, and consider we have reached the highest pinnacle of a real civilisation? Contrasted with the closing half of the last century, the first fifty years of this show, we hope, some improvement; and aspirations after more. More recently still, while stroke has followed stroke with a rapidity perhaps never equalled, has appeared, we think, in times of national as of domestic troubles, an indication of a desire to sink minor differences in the face of larger dangers, and to pass from the feverishness of faction to the loyalty due to the State; and when the gathering gloom is dispelled, and returning confidence gives, as we trust it may, a

fresh impulse to commerce, and furthers industrial art with an impetus unknown before,—may it not be hoped also that the lessons of the past will not be entirely forgotten in the successes of the present, and real progress gain more hold over the mass of our people. Every fresh conquest of mind over matter; every fresh accumulation of prosperity; is a fresh addition to the obligation on the part of those who most fully receive the benefit of those advantages to promote the well-being of the nation at large,—to direct power by right; to discipline intellect by conscience.

ART IV.—*A Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow.* By L. E. RUUTZ REES. London: Longman & Co. 1858.

THERE are many circumstances connected with the Indian mutiny which wholly distinguish it from any former experiences of the world's history. The horrors committed, the sufferings endured, have been in themselves as shocking and heart-rending as the worst and most savage passions of human nature could, in any age, perpetrate or inflict; but these have been tenfold aggravated by the highly sensitive condition of those whose sad fortune it has been to encounter this great tide of human woe. Nor only have we to observe this special acuteness of their sufferings, but also the unprecedented opportunities they possessed of imparting to the world all the minute details of such mental agony as they endured. A marvellous chapter is thus added to the history and the experience of the human mind on the whole subject of pain and suffering, body and mind. History tells us of sufficient horrors, but in no other case would it be possible to see concentrated upon one set of victims so many aggravating causes. The recent introduction into India of quiet, peace-loving men, occupied with the inventions of physical sciences, such as railroads and telegraphs; the refinement of civilised and Christian life pervading all classes; the home and family character of the resident English; the vast numbers of women and children; all combined to make the wounding knife of savage human passion cut with peculiar sharpness into the very quick of the soul. And we *know* all these things. They are not covered over in the great general tomb of human affliction; which, though ever replenished, ever open-mouthed, is for the most part dumb and silent; though ever absorbing, yet imparts a very small share to the world at large of the inner details connected with the philosophy of pain. The most remarkable and distinguishing feature, indeed, of this whole mutiny, as an historical event, is the full and detailed account we possess, from the sufferers themselves; written during the various stages of their prolonged suspense, their increasing torments, their racking and frightful alarm, closed only by those last scenes of death itself, to describe which is beyond all mortal power. But the inner details comprehend not only the *sufferings* of our fellow-countrymen, and our own intimate acquaintance with their feelings at the time; we also have to witness their extraordinary powers of endurance, and their true heroism in the highest and noblest sense of the word. In the English soldier we expect this as a matter of

course, and from men in civil professions, we should never have anticipated a much lower standard; nor again from English-women should we have foretold any want of courage or dignity. But we can truly say, that no one can have had a right to *expect*, as a matter of course, that high tone of character exhibited as a general rule, by all classes of men and women, during the whole mutiny. We had no right to *expect* it in that sense which would have made their conduct blameable if so high a standard had not been attained. But having witnessed this heroic endurance; having had this opportunity of knowing the courage and virtue of English residents in India, it is the duty, as it must be the patriotic instinct, of us all, to record for the honour of the human race, and as a testimony to the Christian religion, the very great triumph, if so we may express it, with which this ordeal has been crowned. There are features, indeed, which we could gladly have spared; not because we think them reprehensible, or that we feel ourselves in a condition to criticise them; but because feelings and thoughts of this kind are in themselves injurious, and leave a stain behind them; we mean, of course, the bloodthirsty spirit of vengeance, the recklessness of human life, the intense enjoyment of individual and promiscuous slaughter, and the general encouragement given to the most savage instincts of the heart.

Let us, then, briefly enumerate what appear to be the special aggravations of the pain and mental torture endured by our fellow-countrymen in the mutiny. The long reign of peace in Central India had been the means of bringing together a large quiet, confiding, respectable body of Englishmen and women, taken from the educated industrious middle classes, connected by every association of their minds with the love of peace and the prospect of its enjoyment. No body of Englishmen, in any part of the world, were, at the commencement of this mutiny, so exclusively belonging to the educated classes; and for two very sufficient reasons. All menial and laborious offices were performed by native hands, while the English were only masters and officials; and, again, Indian patronage and promotion, both in the army and the civil service, has been far better managed, regulated far more according to qualifications and merits, than at home. The army in India has been a *profession*, not a fashionable pastime; and civil offices have generally been bestowed on young men, whose very desire to live the best part of their lives in India, is some proof of industry, character and energy. With the utmost confidence in the existing order of things, looking upon the native army as a stout and faithful bulwark to their position, these foreigners from a distant land spread themselves over a vast extent of country, amid a very

dense native population, conscious that, if they belonged to a conquering race, yet also they were benefactors. British India was acknowledged, indeed, to be one of the most singular institutions of the world; but, if singular, it was a success and also a fact. As such the world took it, and placed confidence in it. Ladies, equal in refinement to any who stayed at home, enjoyed and imparted all the comforts and pleasures of social life, as freely, as quietly, as securely, as in any part of their native country. Thus it happened that 600 English resided in Delhi, among a population of 150,000, with as little care or thought of harm, as if in England. But when this security was discovered to be mistaken—when the army, that great stay of all their positions, suddenly turned against them, were transformed from submissive and faithful servants into wild, infuriated savages—how intensely aggravating to their dangers and alarms, would all the peculiarities of this situation at once become. Their fewness among so great a multitude; their scattered places of residence; their dependence, in an uncongenial climate, upon artificial luxuries; their distance from home, and the consequent impossibility of securing women and children from approaching danger; all must have added tenfold to the strange mysterious dread which naturally follows the suddenly uprooted confidence of years; a dread at one time increased rather than calmed, by the facilities of communication around them; as witnessed by the frightful, indefinite rumours spread far and wide by the electric telegraph. For instance the following:—

'On the morning of Monday, May 11, the telegraph at Umballah spoke from Delhi:—"The Meerut troops have come over. There is a disturbance in the city. Several officers said to be killed." A little later it spoke again:—"General massacre of the Christian inhabitants. I can stay no longer. I am off." And telegraphic communication ceased.'

It would be an undertaking worthy of this fearful outbreak, and also gratifying to our national character, to collect together the whole mass of information, public and private, received from India descriptive of the revolt. Volumes might thus be compiled without inserting anything unworthy of a place. We have consulted chiefly those letters which appeared in the *Times*. *Our own Correspondent* has had but little share in the work. The professional artist in words would have been out of place; the authentic annals of the Indian mutiny are something different from Mr. Russell's fancy pictures. One pen could do little when the stage was so wide, and the chief scenes so sudden, so accidental, or so unapproachable. But, happily, there were many correspondents; and the distinctness, the vividness of their writing, especially of ladies under the most exciting pangs of fear, is no small proof of the

very great literary talent which exists in the educated classes of this country, only waiting an opportunity and sufficient stimulus to bring it out. The material thus acquired is enough for our purpose; indeed, it will be impossible to compress even the salient points of interest into the space now at our disposal, and we are almost puzzled how to begin. Perhaps our best mode of proceeding will be, to consider first what our correspondents tell us of the chief centres of interest, Delhi and Cawnpore. We shall then take a survey of the widely-scattered scenes of mutiny through various parts of Bengal, and conclude with Lucknow; entirely abandoning any attempt at an historical narrative, but confining ourselves strictly to inner details and personal scenes.

The first symptoms of bad feeling on the cartridge question were observed at Barrackpore and Berhampore, in the month of March. In April came the incendiary fires near Umballah, and then, at the beginning of May, the first outbreak at Meerut, a day's journey from Delhi; for which offence eighty-five troopers were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, with the following self-congratulation on the part of the authorities:—

'"The court is over," wrote the presiding officer on the 9th of May, "and those fellows have got ten years a-piece. You will hear of no more mutinies."

'The convicted prisoners were, in the course of the most ordinary routine, made over to the civil gaol.'

On the evening, however, of the next day, May 10, the gaol was broken open, and the whole place was in declared mutiny. Several officers were killed in the scuffle; and then commenced also that dreadful sacrifice of ladies and young children which forms the saddest feature of the whole story. And now trace the spark, from the comparatively small fire, which, when reaching Delhi, produced so sudden, so tremendous a conflagration. We turn to Delhi on that same Sunday evening, the 10th of May:—

'At Delhi, on that night, the Europeans slumbered peaceably, and the large cantonment, garrisoned exclusively by native troops, was undisturbed; but in the morning came news that some cavalry troopers were crossing the bridge of boats on the Jumna. The number who first arrived was very small. It is said that thirty troopers have revolutionized India. They took possession of the bridge of boats, rushed into the city, and created a riot there. The 54th Native Infantry was ordered down to preserve order, and the Colonel marched at their head in the fullest confidence in his regiment. When they got into the city, a mere handful of troopers—about fifteen, it is said—came galloping up; the Sepoys did not resist them, and the troopers pistolled the European officers, who had, generally, no fire-arms. Confusion followed; the 54th joined the rebels, the scum of the population of the city did the same, and, in brief, from that time Delhi was in possession of the rebels, and all the Christian population within the walls, with the exception of the few who by various chances escaped, were massacred. The chief civil officers fell; the banks, printing-press, and

other non-military establishments (at Delhi the civil station is, in fact, within the city walls) were plundered, the inmates murdered, and the slaughter of inferior Europeans, half-castes, and Christians living in Delhi must have been great. In fact, it may be generally remarked throughout the massacres that, though in so many instances the prominent Europeans, possessed of superior means, have escaped, and little notice has been taken of the fate of the inferiors, the massacre of clerks, half-castes, &c., and their families, has been frightful. These people seem to have seldom escaped.'

And yet, with all this, there seems to be little evidence of any preconcerted conspiracy; in fact, the Sepoy regiments in Delhi joined the mutineers with every appearance of hesitation, as if borne along by some fatal instinct rather than by choice. They remained with their officers the greater part of the day, and 'only gradually and passively went over or refused to act.'

The officers and ladies who had escaped were now collected in one spot, anxiously looking out for assistance from Meerut. Mutineers enough arrived, but no friends:—

'Some thoughtful mutineer—whether in mercy or in triumph we know not—sent up in a cart and deposited before the survivors the bodies of the officers killed in the city. Bitter indeed must have been the feelings of those who remained.'

After this they determined on flight, and encountered a series of adventures about which we shall presently hear from their separate pens. At this point, the writer we are quoting truly says:—

'Fortune had indeed favoured the mutiny. On that Monday morning a company of Europeans at Delhi would probably have put down the riot, and the Meerut affair would have been but an isolated mutiny; as it was, in a few hours the mutiny found itself a strong political power, with a great fortified city, the most ample munitions of war, abundant treasures, and a king bearing a great name.'

Then commenced before the walls of Delhi that long and tedious siege, the daily personal horrors of which may be judged of by the following specimen:—

'Immediately on jumping over, I had the satisfaction of seeing three fellows coming with a rush at me; the first, a great tall fellow, evidently excited almost to delirium by bhang, opium, and churries, raised his sword and made a slashing back-handed cut, which, had it taken full effect, must have rolled my head off. However, my usual good luck came to my help; and instead of cutting at my friend, I had just time to change the cut into a guard. My good cavalry sword stood well, though a deep cut was made in the steel; however, my guard having been hurriedly made, and my opponent a stronger man than myself, my sword was beaten down and my cheek laid open. After the blow I had my turn, and gave my friend one across the head, which did not cut him down to the shoulder, as I had imagined (the skull being a very tough article); at the same moment one of our men bayoneted this fellow, and Daly cut him down too. As I got my cheek cut I felt a cut, just below my hip. The man who did it was instantly bayoneted, and a moment afterwards a third fellow rushed at me —a rather short little scoundrel; he made a vicious cut at my head too,

but, being much taller, I easily guarded it, and, as I stepped a little forward after his blow, I had full time to raise myself, arm, and sword to their full stretch. My sword caught him at the back of the neck and down across the shoulder a fearful gash, and he fell on his face to rise no more, for a dozen bayonets were stuck into him in a moment; at this instant a number of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles came up, and after a little more fighting the enemy were all shot down or bayoneted. After this I fainted from the profuse bleeding of an artery which was cut in my face, and remember no more till I was picked up and carried back to camp. I was at once patched up by the doctors, and was so well next day that I managed with a little difficulty to go out scrimmaging again; on both these days a good number of the enemy were killed, and our loss was somewhat severe too.'

The testimony universally borne to the skill of the mutineers in the use of artillery is important. One writer, well able to judge, says:—

'They are splendid gunners, and pitch their shells with most disagreeable precision. One round shot the other day killed one officer and six men, and wounded two others, I believe mortally, besides a few others who were bruised by the stones it knocked up. I was sitting in the battery the day before yesterday, smoking a pipe, when a shell came bang behind, and burst in the parapet.'

Graphic touches like the following make a scene of this kind stand out with great life and reality:—

'Whenever we are working under fire, a man is stationed on the look-out, who as soon as he sees the smoke of a gun from the city, calls out, "Look-out!" when everybody immediately ducks down behind the nearest cover, and as soon as the shot has gone past, up they get again and go on with their work. The most disagreeable things are the shells, as after the smoke is seen it takes a minute or two before they reach the ground, and, as they come down vertically, it is impossible to get out of their way.'

Well might another writer reflect thus on the past; on 'this 'picture and on that':—

'I saw some of them quite close, working their firelocks perfectly. Then they were the genuine Sepoy brutes, who a few months before were licking my feet, and with the most exquisite acting expressing all that one could wish to see in those under one.'

But let us now follow the more wandering adventures of those who effected their escape on the first outbreak of the mutiny. The conclusion of the siege we shall return to afterwards. We have before us two very long and most vividly descriptive letters in this second act of the great Delhi drama. One is from a surgeon of a native regiment; the other from a lady. As the great charm of these histories consists in reading the very words of the sufferers, we shall attempt no other method than that of simply laying before our readers such passages as our space will allow. We begin with the surgeon's letter, signed S. H. Batson. As to the propriety of his temporary confession in favour of Mahomet, we shall not provoke a discussion. The religious tone usually adopted in all the letters

before us is genuine and unaffected; and we shall not stay to consider whether it was the surgeon's absolute duty, as a Christian, to fall a martyr to his religion at a particular stage of his adventures, when an act of dissimulation was able to save his life, and effect the object he had in view, of conveying a letter to Meerut applying for aid :—

'Brigadier Graves gave me the letter, and after taking leave of my wife and three daughters in the tower, with the rest of the ladies, I went to my house and assumed the garb of a fuqueer, colouring my face, hands, and feet. I rushed across the parade ground, and was fired at twice by the Sepoys. I got as far as the garden near the canal, when I was seized by some villagers and deprived of every particle of clothes. Before I had proceeded a mile I saw two sowars, who had evidently failed in overtaking their officers. They rode up to me with drawn swords, and exclaimed, "Ferungee! hy! maro, maro!" I threw myself in a supplicating position, and, being intimate with the Mahommedan religion, and speaking the Hindostani, I commenced uttering the most profound praises in behalf of their prophet Mahomet, and begged they would spare my life if they believed that Imam Mendhee would come to judge the world. I made every moral appeal to them (after escaping the first cut they made at my throat, which I did by falling down—they, being mounted, could not well reach me), my entreaties were listened to, and they let me go, saying, "Had you not asked for mercy in the name of the prophet, you should have died like the rest of the Kaffirs." I was dreadfully excited, and could scarcely stand; but as I felt that I must proceed, I continued my journey. About a mile further I again met a lot of Mahommedans, who rushed up to me, and said, "Here is a Ferungee; kill the Kaffir." They then said to me, "You Ferungees want to make us all Christians." They then dragged me away to a village, about a mile or more from the road, and tied my arms behind me; after which one of them said, "Kurreem Bux, go and fetch your sword, and we will cut off the Kaffir's head." While Kurreem Bux was gone to fetch his sword that was to launch me into eternity, a cry of "Dhar, dhar," was made by the villagers, and the Mahommedans who were keeping me, ran off to look after their own interests. I rushed off and ran with all my strength to the road again, and escaped from these unmerciful beings.'

He then fell in with more friendly villagers, and took advantage of his medical knowledge to propitiate their good will. They concealed him for a time, though with a caution that made his sufferings rather to be increased than otherwise.

'I was removed at night from the village to a small mango tope, where I was left night and day alone. I was visited at night by some one or other of the villagers, who brought me bread and water in a ghurrah. I am unable to describe my feeling during this trying time; I was all day in the sun, in the extreme heat, and alone at night, when the jackals, &c. came prowling about and crying. It is only God and myself know what I have endured. After five days and nights in this tope of trees, I was again taken back to the village and concealed in a bhoosa house; I was here shut in for twenty-four hours; the heat and suffocation I cannot find language to describe. I did not know which was the greatest misery, the tope of trees in solitude or the bhoosa kotree.'

He pursued his journey under a disguise.

'This Fuqueer dyed all my clothes and gave me necklaces of beads (oodrach), &c. to assume the garb of a Fuqueer myself. After making all preparations to pass as a Fuqueer, I commenced my pilgrimage with him. He took me to several villages and passed me off as a Cashmeeree, "Dadoo Puntee, Fuqueer Jogee." In all the villages that I passed I was cross-questioned; but, understanding their "Jotish" religion and oaths, I met with every kindness, some giving me pice, others food. The Hindoos all expressed the most merciful feelings towards the Ferungees, while the Mahommedans could not disguise their murderous feelings.'

At length, he arrived at head-quarters.

'I had been twenty-five days wandering about in villages, topes, &c., and were it not that I speak the Hindostani language as fluently as I can English, I must have been murdered. I look upon my escape as the most miraculous and providential possible. I am unable to describe what I have endured.'

We now come to the adventures of the lady. So destitute of warning was the alarm at Delhi, that ladies only gradually realized their danger.

'Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Paterson, and myself began to consider that we were in rather a precarious position ourselves, and we were advised to go forthwith to the 38th hospital, and there find protection through the guard stationed there. We all three ladies started in Mrs. Paterson's carriage, taking with us Mrs. Paterson's two little girls, and my dear boy. On our reaching the hospital, we were told that all the ladies had taken refuge in the Flagstaff Tower, and that we had better go likewise. We found the native gunners, who were standing about, most rude; but the Sepoys in general were as respectful as usual.'

After this, they most kindly attended to a wounded officer; and as the day wore on, had dreadful testimony to the events that were taking place.

'About five P.M. a cart, drawn by bullocks, arrived at the Flagstaff Tower, and I heard it whispered that it contained the unfortunate officers and eight sergeants, who had been so brutally killed in the city. The cart was covered over with one or two ladies' dresses, to screen the dead from view; but one of their arms was distinctly noticed by myself, as it was hanging over the side of the cart. . . . . Alas! one or two of these ladies were then widows, although they knew it not.'

Then came the start itself, made strangely real to our minds by the association of horses and carriages with scenes of such wild and tragic interest.

'Night was fast closing in, and the bugle was at last sounded for the retreat to Kurnaul. Here a fearful scene presented itself; carriages of every description were in waiting. . . . . Everybody, with the exception of one or two ladies and gentlemen, were by this time fairly off on their way to Kurnaul and Meerut. One gentleman, seeing me standing by, offered me a seat in his carriage, and, as I had my little boy, I placed him in with him, thinking to follow him with Mrs. Wood. Major Paterson's coachman made off with his carriage and horses immediately we quitted it, and she was left, like Mrs. Wood and myself, to depend on friends. Fortunately two empty buggies were close by, and Mrs. Wood and I took one,

but Mrs. Paterson and her children were in another. Mrs. Paterson, I am happy to say, got away with the others; and after Mrs. Wood and I had proceeded a short distance, we met her husband, who was being carried on a bed, he unfortunately having been shot in the face by, it is supposed, his own regiment, the 38th.'

A dismal journey, indeed, for two 'unprotected females;' yet up to this time there was a strange hesitation and chance about the behaviour of the Sepoys.

'When we left the parade ground, it was about half-past six P.M., and we were the last ladies to leave the station. We had only proceeded a short distance on the Kurnaul road, when some men came to us and begged of us not to proceed any farther on the road, as the whole of the officers and ladies who had gone before us had been murdered, and that we should meet the same fate if we persisted on our journey.'

A fearful suspicion now overtakes the fugitives.

'We had only walked our horses a short distance, when the thought struck me, that the men who were surrounding us, were nothing less than robbers themselves. This thought was very soon confirmed, by the men coming up to us and asking for rupees. I had a few rupees in my jewel-box, but was afraid to open it, lest they should see what it contained, and therefore told them to go to our house, and take anything they took a fancy to.'

Suspicion is succeeded by the commencement of violence.

'Mrs. Wood had a black velvet head-dress on, and as it had some bugles about it, it glittered a good deal in the moonlight; and when they saw this, they lost no time in tearing it from her head, and at the same time struck her rather heavily with one of their sticks. We had by this again reached the Grand Trunk road.'

They meet some gunners, and have a gleam of hope.

'I called out to the trooper, fearless at the time of being murdered, to assist us, by directing us our safest road. The answer I received was, "Go that way," pointing to Kurnaul, "you will get murdered. Come this," pointing to Delhi, "and you will meet the same fate."'

After this they find a very brief refuge.

'The gardeners then locked us inside; but we had scarcely been shut up, when another band of robbers, about fifty in number, made a rush at the door. We kept quite still, thinking they might leave us, but we heard them determine on breaking the lock, which was soon effected, and into the hut they rushed. I went up to one of them and implored him to save us. He asked for what we had.'

Their carriage and horses were now taken from them, also their bonnets and cloaks, and they knew not where to go. At length, with the sick doctor, they reached a village at three o'clock on the morning of the 12th, where they obtained shelter and some milk, though sleep was out of the question.

'We were in the open air till daybreak, when the head man of the village, a Hindoo, advised our going into a cow-shed, the cattle having been

taken out for our reception. Fortunate, indeed, it was, that the good old man took these precautions, for soon after daylight one of the women ran to the shed and begged of us to remain quite quiet, as some Sepoys were just entering their village. I at first thought she wished to frighten us, and the first thing I did was to look over the mats which formed the door, and sure enough there stood a Sepoy; and had he been standing with his face towards the shed in which we were secreted he must have seen me.'

This alarm, however, passed off, and they received much kindness in the village, the women bringing them food and water; and at six o'clock P.M. they were accompanied for a short distance by a young man, who took them to the high road.

'Here he parted from us, and five or six horrible-looking ruffians approached us. We told them that we had lost everything, and that we were then on our way to Kurnaul. They asked several questions, and each question was replied to most civilly by me. When they found, from making a search on our persons themselves, that we had really nothing to be robbed of, one of the men inquired of one who had a tulwar (or sword) when he would take our lives. This I heard most distinctly, and, seeing him who had made the above-mentioned remark turn back with all but this one man, who, by the way, assured his friend that he would murder us, to use his own words, "a little farther on the road," I went boldly up to the man and told him to spare me, as I had one little boy who had gone ahead, whither I knew not, and that I had left my husband on the parade-ground at Delhi the night before, and had not heard of him since; and as I wanted to hurry on in search of my child, I begged of him to spare my life. He appeared rather undecided, and I thought of my wedding-ring, which I still possessed, and at once took it off my finger and gave it to him. He took it, bade us good night, and went in the same direction as ourselves, in advance.'

At four o'clock next morning they encountered others. There must have been a strong power and energy about this lady thus boldly to face and thus often to escape danger.

'The men who here attacked us were very powerful-looking fellows. One of them I noticed as having an officer's sword, of which he appeared proud, for he drew it from its scabbard, and told us that the King of Delhi had ordered every European, either man, woman, or child, to be murdered. The doctor, who was very weak and exhausted, was then prostrate on the ground, and I fell on my knees with the drawn sword over my head, and begged of him to save us. They insisted, before they allowed us to depart, on my giving up my dress. This I did; but after I had given it up to them I begged they would again return it to me, and, most astonishing to say, they did so.'

What a strange vacillation of purpose does this imply, when viewed in combination with subsequent atrocities! Their next adventures were of much the same kind, After various wanderings and alarms, they had lain themselves down, utterly fatigued, under some trees near the road.

'It was about one o'clock in the morning when I heard the distinct sound of horses' feet, and apparently a great number of people all talking at once. They were at so great a distance, that I could not, on first hearing

them, make out which way they were going. I, however, listened most attentively, and assured myself that they were on the road to Delhi. I then awoke Mrs. Wood, and told her to listen to the tramp and clatter of horses' feet; and as the horsemen were then very near to where we were lying, we drew an old dirty sheet over us to prevent them from seeing our white, or rather, black petticoats. I should say that there were at least one hundred horses and ponies, and as part of them had already passed us, I began to hope that the rest would pass on without observing us. Scarcely had I so hoped, when one of the men shouted out, "Who are you lying down there?" I immediately went forward to him. By this time the horsemen were at a stand-still. I approached the man, not uttering a word, when he exclaimed, "Why, it's a maine Sahib," or in English, "a lady." Finding that he spoke very kindly, I felt new life, as it were, in me, and told him that we were refugees from Delhi, and as we had a wounded man, we could only travel at the rate of about four, or at most, five miles during the night, and that we were taking a little rest by the road side.'

Again they started forth, and that day received great kindness in a Hindoo village; but, from fear of the Sepoys, this could not last. At their earnest persuasion, however, a Brahmin concealed them in a dark room.

'We had only been inside the room about half an hour, when about 150 Mussulmans came to the door with sticks, tulwars, and other rude weapons, and commenced fighting among themselves. Their evident wish was to murder us, for the Brahmin, whom I before mentioned, begged of us to leave the village, there and then; and in so great a hurry were they to get quit of us, that they would not allow us time to fill our water vessel. Although we had been from Delhi some five days, yet we were not more than about ten miles on our journey.'

Their next shelter was in a stable.

'We remained in quiet, save that hundreds came and went away again, till one sly fellow, with a most horrible tulwar, became most impertinent to us; and, knowing that we could not harm him, he took advantage of us, by drawing his tulwar from its sheath and running his finger along the edge of it; at last he became unbearable, and Dr. Wood, who is a Roman Catholic, took his gold cross from his breast. The brute, seeing it, at once threatened our lives, if we did not at once make it over to him.'

At length the writer came across a welcome companion indeed, who had been through similar adventures.

'I heard that another very thin gentleman had reached the village, and that he had heard that his wife was marching along the road; and that he was in search of her. This gentleman proved to be my husband. When he came to us he was greatly altered, having been blistered from head to foot by the heat of the sun. He had of course lost everything, like ourselves, and, strange to say, in the same garden, and nearly at the same time. The robbers took everything off him, with the exception of a banyan and a pair of socks.'

The ultimate fate of this lady we know not. Surely we may recognise her, among others, in the following extract from an officer's letter:—

'I think I never told you how splendidly the ladies behaved at Meerut. You should have seen them to appreciate the whole thing,—how cheerfully

they took every mishap. Though they were all packed within a smallish square place, surrounded by high brick walls, none of them ever grumbled or apparently became frightened. On the contrary, they used to be dancing about the place (we were at work fortifying it), offering us tea and all sorts of refreshment.'

Meanwhile, what was going on around Delhi? Its siege continued with the same ferocity shown at the beginning; and an officer thus writes in August:—

'Our men are mad for revenge, and there is not a soul who does not feel the same thirst for the blood of these ruffians. Three months ago I could not have looked on and seen fifteen men tied up and shot down in cold blood, without sickening; but now I see my men do this in a most brutal way, without a qualm. At a village near the Kurnaul road, a poor little child's feet were found; they had its little shoes and socks on, and some devil in human form had cut them off with a tulwar. What death can be too cruel for such wretches?'

The continual mention of young children is one most sad portion of all these letters. No one can now tell the multitudes of these poor innocents slaughtered at all times and places, or perishing from want and exposure. An occasional rescue is a most grateful relief. For three months had the following little family party been hidden by villagers:—

'I cantered on, and overtook a country cart, escorted by some villagers, one of whom carried a poor little boy, about four years old, on his shoulder. In the cart I found a nice-looking young woman with a little infant. The poor creature seemed overjoyed to see a European face.'

The siege goes on, week after week, and the eye could hardly imagine a wilder or more picturesque scene than the following description of the camp, written August 11th:—

'What a sight our camp would have been to those who visited Sebastopol! The long lines of tents, the thatched hovels of the native servants, the rows of horses, the parks of artillery, the English soldier in his grey linen coat and trousers (he has fought as bravely as ever without pipe-clay), the Sikhs with their red and blue turbans, the Affghans with their red and blue turbans, their wild air, and their gay head-dresses and coloured saddle-cloths, and the little Ghoorkas, dressed up to the ugliness of demons in black worsted Kilmarnock hats and woollen coats—the truest, bravest soldiers in our pay. There are scarcely any Porbeas (Hindoos) left in our ranks, but of native servants many a score. In the rear are the booths of the native bazaars, and farther out on the plain the thousands of camels, bullocks, and horses that carry our baggage. The soldiers are loitering through the lines or in the bazaars. Suddenly the alarm is sounded. Every one rushes to his tent. The infantry soldier seizes his musket and slings on his pouch, the artilleryman gets his guns harnessed, the Affghan rides out to explore; in a few minutes everybody is in his place.'

As each letter follows another, in the order of time, so does its deep, revengeful tone seem to increase in power.

'On my honour, I do not exaggerate. I have seen my brother officers cruelly murdered and mangled, and as an Englishman I must thirst for the

punishment of such animals; which, as God exists, will come to pass. Heavy will be the retribution. It is a work of extermination which has been going on now for months. And thus have we punished them. One entire regiment have been killed by the rope, the sword, the cannon, or starvation. Thousands have been blown away, and thousands have been hanged.'

It must indeed be remembered, that if the guilt was on the one side, yet the suffering was not so.

'I cannot recognise Delhi; it is a mass of ruins. Not a door, not a piece of wood, not a sign of the enormous wealth of the place—men without arms and legs—dead men—men dying of fever—men like ghosts. Our men have been night and day for months under a fearful sun and torrents of rain, and we shall have to fight for months to come. This will then be a reconquered country and the people ruled. I always sleep dressed, and have not done otherwise since the 11th of May. There go the twenty-four pounders—bang! bang!

We said before, that, in this warfare, there seems to have been a strange revival of those old hand-to-hand struggles, which, it was hoped, were almost forgotten in the use of fire-arms. We are carried back to the heroes of the Iliad, and indeed to bloodthirsty savage fighting, in its worst and most revolting features. We have long imagined that a soldier's work in battle was to shoulder his musket and fire in a line, unconscious of effects, or very occasionally to make one dashing charge, the general excitement of which would supersede anything like individual animosity, and preclude any definite recollection of actual slaughter committed. But now read the following cool and collected narrative, and remember that its writer was an English gentleman, with all that regard for human life which is the result of education and mental refinement. The scene was before Delhi, towards the end of August:—

'I gave him such a swinging back-hander, that he fell dead. I then went at another fellow rushing by my left, and sent my sword through him, like butter, and bagged him. I then looked round, and saw a sword come crash on the shoulders of a poor little boy; oh, such a cut, and up went the sword again, and the next moment the boy would have been in eternity, but I ran forward and covered him with my sword and saved him. During this, it was over with seven men. Ward had shot one with his revolver, and the other four were cut down at once. Hugh, I found, was all right, only a slight cut just above the wrist. Having polished off these fellows, we held an impromptu court-martial on those we had taken, and shot them all—murderers, every one, who were justly rewarded for their deeds.

'I put my spurs into Cavalier's sides, and quickly overtook the rearmost man, and equally quickly polished him off. I then went after the other, and caught him up, when he had the impertinence to try and frighten me by presenting his matchlock at me; but this was too good, seeing that he had just fired it at me. I rode at him and gave him a cut on the neck, which he did not like at all, and he struck me over the shoulders with his matchlock barrel, which I returned by a second cut, which dropped my

fine fellow from his saddle; but he was not done for yet, and I turned my horse and rode at him; he came at me in a furious rage, and made a terrific cut at my leg, which I guarded, and as cool as a cucumber, and in the most scientific manner, returned "point one." And now can you fancy the trick he played me? He actually seized my sword in his hand, and before I could get it out, cut me over the head; but, as that was ensconced in a basket helmet enveloped in a most voluminous Guide pugree (turban), the blow did not take effect. I was not going to give him another chance, and drove my horse right at him, and sent my sword into him, as far as I could; the consequence was, he had not room for a cut at me, but hit and wounded my gallant little horse on the cheek. One of the guides then came up, and he was soon disposed of, but fighting to the last.'

The taking itself of Delhi is beyond our object to describe. The scene at the Cashmere Gate is well known. There is, however, a passage from the letter of an eye-witness, that we feel unwilling to pass over. There is a touching reality about it, that helps very much to bring the scene to our minds. The writer had been laid up with a bad sprain for some days, and could not be actively engaged in the attack.

'Of course, stopping in bed was out of the question, and as my charger was *hors de combat*, I had no choice but to mount my little pony, Donald. I had my doubts about my new charger, a very pretty little beast, and perfect in every respect except courage, being one of the most determined shyers that I have ever seen. However, I had no choice for it; so I mounted, and in due course of time I found myself at Cashmere Gate. Our columns had entered, and one had even penetrated as far as the Bank; but being unable to withstand the murderous fire, was compelled to retreat. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could keep my seat, for on reaching the branch roads outside the Cashmere Gate, the bullets and shots of all descriptions were flying about like hail, and one which struck close to the hoofs of my pony frightened him so that he became quite unmanageable. However, I got him through the gate, and a fearful sight it was that met my eyes. A portion of our troops had escaladed the bastion walls, close to the gate; others had scrambled up two large breaches in the walls and bastion near the Treasury. The remainder had entered at the gate itself, which had been blown open by one of our officers.'

The writer thus describes the gallant manner in which this feat was achieved, and continues:—

'Seeing the port-fire well alight, the whole party jumped into the ditch, and the enemy, little dreaming of what had been done, continued firing till the explosion took place, so you may fancy what effect it took. Twenty of the mutineers strewed the road inside the gate, not one of whom it would have been possible to recognise, and this was the first sight that met my eyes at the gate. Little wonder that Donald refused to move; however, finally he did, and got as far as the centre of the main guard, beyond which nothing would urge him. It was perfect agony keeping my seat, and I would have given worlds to dismount—but walking was out of the question; it was anything but an agreeable fix to be in. I felt how perfectly useless I was; and being the only mounted man there in the open space, fully accounted for the number of bullets whistling past my ears. There was no help for it, so I had to make my way back to camp as I best could, fully convinced of my own folly.'

Luckily, perhaps, for both sides, the escape of nearly all the inhabitants prevented that scene of vengeance which had long been dwelt on. There were, however, some victims left; and from their fate, we may test the sincerity of previous intentions:—

'Thus at last, with the help of the Almighty, we have taken this blackguard place, where so many fearful deeds were committed. The King has been caught, and his two sons slain; also his grandson, Aboo Bukkur. Their bodies, naked and full of bullet-holes, were cast in the Chandni Chouk (the swell Regent-street of Delhi) before the police-station, and were visited by hundreds, myself included. We daily find hidden in the houses Sepoys who were unable to escape from sickness or wounds; they are all put to death on the spot. . . . Our vengeance cannot be appeased, for we found several of our men who had been merely wounded on the 14th in the assault, and overlooked by us, lying dead, *minus* their heads, and fearfully gashed with sabre cuts; and so we spare no one. Every Sepoy we catch, "Shoot him" is the word.'

The following pictures of the person and the palace of the King of Delhi must conclude our notice of this place:—

'On the 21st I rode down to see the Palace; the wall and entrance are the finest part. The interior is dirty, filthy, and in great disorder, Pandy having revelled in its cool archways. The hall of justice and the king's throne are entirely built of white marble; the latter is inlaid with stones and mosaics. I went over all the state apartments and the harem. The latter is a curious place, and had a remarkable appearance; its floor covered with guitars, bangles, &c., and redolent of sandal wood. The fair daughters of Cashmere had their swing in the centre of the room. They had left in a great hurry; dresses, silks, slippers, were lying on all sides.

'On leaving the Palace I met a doolie, surrounded by some cavalry and a few natives on foot. Its inmate was a thin-faced, anxious-looking old man. This was the new King of Hindostan, the descendant of the Great Moguls, entering his Palace in the hands of his enemies. He was captured some distance from the city. Being eighty-five years of age, his life is to be spared. He will be kept a close prisoner for life.'

And now we come to the great Cawnpore massacre. This may be called the wildest terror of the whole mutiny, the great and lasting type of a whole year's ferocity, the one dreadful fact that will stand out, so long as the world continues, not only as the crowning barbarity of this particular year, but an everlasting witness of heathen cruelty and Oriental perfidy.

Everything has a beginning, middle, and end; and this great Cawnpore drama has its three acts, which, when viewed in their true succession, cannot fail to leave upon the mind an extraordinary sense of completeness in the study of human cruelty and human suffering. The first act represented on this too real stage, is that of suspense, of expectation. We see before us educated, refined, affectionate, and religious women looking forward to approaching horrors, talking about them, writing

about them; we see wives and husbands, mothers and children, spending days and nights, anticipating every hour some dreadful catastrophe to arrive, that would rend all ties asunder, with every painful circumstance which the gloomiest imagination could forebode. After this act of long-strained suspense, comes a moment of imagined relief, forthwith succeeded by the overwhelming climax of perfidy, in the murderous attack upon those whose surrender had been accepted under the most binding promise of personal safety. At this stage of the affair are action, violence, and fearful excitement; also courage and presence of mind in the face of present danger, as before there had been suspense and depressing uncertainty. But what is the third and last act? We may call this the passive scene. We know less about this than about the others; not indeed about the mere facts, but about the inner details of mind, the secret workings of thought. And why do we know less? The reason is soon told. With regard to the former scenes, we have the words themselves of the sufferers to tell us what passed; but of this last act no such memorials exist, for they who suffered died, then passed away from this cruel world to another, from which no mortal words, no written description can ever pass. Those tongues that would have told, those hands that would have written, were no longer the instruments of a living spirit, when the time came that the Cawnpore massacre could be described as a thing of the past. We need hardly remind our readers that the scenery of these three acts, is, first, the interior of a besieged city, after that a river with its banks, and lastly the low Eastern building used as a prison-house, with that dreadful well so fatally near at hand.

And now we propose, as briefly as possible, to illustrate these several acts in their natural order. First, the period of suspense and of fear. We shall illustrate these by passages from Mr. Ewart's letters, written at the end of May and beginning of June:—

'Until the 21st we thought everything was quiet here, but on that day rumours of an unpleasant nature regarding the mutinous spirit of the regiments here, especially of the 2nd Cavalry, were prevalent. A rise was expected on that night. Thinking it might reassure the men if they showed confidence in them, John, who commands the first, and Major Hillersdon, who commands the 53d, determined to go and sleep at the quarter-guards of their respective corps.'

And while these officers were at their posts, what were their wives to do?

'It was not safe to remain in our house unprotected, and with no gentleman to direct in case of need; so, as agreed to beforehand, we took our poor little babes out of their beds and drove over to the barracks of the European depôt, about a mile from this. No need to dwell upon the

sickening dread and agony of suspense we went through on that night, you will imagine it all from the recital of facts.'

Night and day had equal trials.

'Friday the same uncomfortable reports came pouring in, news of fresh defections of corps at other places, threatening words uttered by men of the 1st, and at nightfall I took leave of my husband, fully prepared never to see him alive again. As he has since told me, he quite expected himself to have received his death-stroke on that night. We heard his voice early in the morning outside our tent, and I could scarcely believe he was still unharmed.'

The presence of children and the apprehension of harm to them, was a care and torture of mind, that kept the keen edge of suffering ever unblunted.

'I know not how our poor little ones could go through the trial. Sunday passed off, so did Monday, without open disturbance; Tuesday the same, but sad reports and intelligence from other stations.'

Here is a moment of calm reflection about past, present, and future:—

'We can scarcely believe in the change which has so suddenly suspended all the pleasant repose and enjoyment of life. Here we are almost in a state of siege, with dangers all around us—some seen, some hidden. We can only put our trust in God, and try to maintain an even and tranquil spirit to go through all our trials and perform all our duties as long as God sees fit to assign us any. Major Hillersdon joins us daily at our four o'clock dinner, and we stay together till half-past seven, when we go to our melancholy night-quarters, behind guns and entrenchments. My husband betakes himself to his couch in the midst of his Sepoys; and you can fancy the sort of nights we have to pass. These are real trials, but we have not experienced much actual physical suffering yet.'

Troubles seem to close in.

'The barrack is fearfully crowded, so we should be no better off there. You will scarcely be able to realize the fearful state we are in; we can scarcely do so ourselves. No one can say how or where the trouble is to end. Mrs. H—— is a sweet companion in affliction; we shall stick close to each other as long as it pleases God to spare us. Last night, after much fatigue, mental torture and several nights of imperfect rest, I fell quite into a state of stupefaction. Body and mind alike refused to be longer active; it was necessary—just nature asserting her rights to restore the exhausted powers. And there was my child, so restless! and Mrs. H—— took her and walked about with her, and soothed the little thing, that I might not be disturbed.'

A crisis is even looming.

'Every note and every message comes pregnant with events and alarms. Another fortnight, we expect, will decide our fate; and, whatever it may be, I trust we shall be enabled to bear it.'

Occasionally there is a more cheerful tone for a brief interval.

'We are more cheerful, in spite of the great anxiety and suspense; our family party is really a charming one; we feel better able to meet difficulties

and dangers for being thus associated. Dear Mrs. Hillersdon is so quiet, and gentle, and calm—never giving way to hysterical movements, nor, on the other hand, showing any want of sensibility.'

But quickly followed by the gloomiest reaction.

'The crisis is apparently near, and all we can do is to pray for courage and strength to meet it. The troops have mutinied at Lucknow; several officers have been killed and some wounded. This happened last night.... Dear A——, I am so grieved to have such sad news to send you, but it is useless to shut our eyes to the dreadful probabilities. We must meet them, and implore our Father in heaven to enable us to keep up a firm and tranquil spirit.... At any rate, dearest A——, we cannot hope to weather the storm without disaster; so let us be prepared.'

We cannot omit the conclusion of this letter.

'If these are my last words to you, my dearest sister, be assured that we think of you with most grateful and affectionate feelings, and that we consign to your charge our dear boy, with the utmost confidence that you will ever be a mother to him, and do your very best for him. My sweet one here will share whatever is my fate, most likely; and that I trust to our Almighty Father, without venturing to look forward beyond the present hour.'

Another letter, descriptive of the same period, tells the same tale.

'We are living in awful realities, and we cannot see the end of them.... For ourselves I need only say, that even should our position be strong enough to hold out, there is the dreadful exposure to the heat of May and June, together with the privations and confinement of besieged sufferers, to render it very unlikely that we can survive the disasters which may fall upon us any day, any hour.... Oh! I cannot dwell upon the harrowing thoughts, I must pass on to events. News came in of the 9th Native Infantry having turned. Now we believed our crisis had arrived.... The next day (Friday) was one full of agony and dread; and the night was more than poor human nature, unassisted, could endure. When my husband left me that night to go to his post, I never expected to see him alive again, for some of his men had been overheard wildly talking of mutiny and murder, and had made a proposal to destroy their officers!'

The same transient calm as before mentioned.

'After that miserable night, the Saturday following seemed like heaven, for we went to our house and spent the day quietly there; at least with such quietness as was possible with the most terrible rumours coming in throughout the day, and reviving all our saddest apprehensions.'

Strange confusion of events does the following describe.

'On Monday morning our minds were somewhat reassured, by all the Mussulmans of the 1st Regiment coming in a body, according to custom, to salaam to Colonel E—— after their prayers, and they expressed their intentions of fidelity, &c., all of which are very well, but not to be depended on now-a-days. We returned to those melancholy night-quarters; oh! such a scene. Men, officers, women, and, children; beds, and chairs, all mingled together inside and outside the barrack; some talking or even laughing, some very frightened, some defiant, others despairing. Three

guns in front of our position, and three behind, and a trench in course of formation all round. Such sickening sights these for peaceful women.'

Again, the agonising thoughts of maternal fears.

'My dear little child is looking very delicate; my prayer is, that she may be spared much suffering. The bitterness of death has been tasted by us, many, many times during the last fortnight, and should the reality come, I hope we may find strength to meet it with a truly Christian courage. It is not hard to die oneself, but to see a dear child suffer and perish, that is the hard, the bitter trial, and the cup which I must drink, should God not deem it fit that it should pass from me. My companion, Mrs. H——, is delightful; poor young thing, she has such a gentle spirit, so unmurmuring, so desirous to meet the trial rightly, so unselfish and sweet in every way.'

We close this first act with a sad and too literal foreboding of the trials that were waiting.

'We must not give way to despondency, for at the worst we know that we are in God's hands, and He does not for an instant forsake us. He will be with us in the *valley of the shadow of death* also, and we need fear no evil. God bless you!'

We think indeed of the fatal well, at these last words.

The second act is that of violence and excitement. For about three weeks after the above letters were written, the suspense still continued; but at length the long-feared crisis came, made tenfold worse by a deceptive herald of release and present safety. No longer able to hold out, they agreed to surrender; and about seven o'clock on the morning of the 27th of June, the memorable procession of boats started under the most solemn promises of security. The account of what followed is written by one of the party, one of the few who escaped; and brings the whole scene before us with the same reality as if only describing a common water-party, such as every one could recall.

'Two guns that had been hidden, were run out and opened on us immediately, while Sepoys came from all directions, and kept up a fire. The men jumped out of the boats, and instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. Only three boats got safe over to the opposite side of the river, but were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. Before these boats had got a mile down the stream, half our small party were either killed or wounded, and two of our boats had been swamped. We had now only one boat, crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. The two guns followed us the whole of the day, the infantry firing on us the whole of that night.'

The chief wonder is, that the whole party were not at once killed. But prolongation and suspense meet us in every stage of the affair.

'On the second day a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, and opened on us at Nuzuffghur, the infantry still following us on both sides. On the morning of the third day the boat was no longer serviceable. We were aground on a sandbank, and had not strength sufficient to move her.

Directly any of us got into the water, we were fired upon by thirty or forty men at a time. There was nothing left but to charge and drive them away. So fourteen of us were told to go and do what we could. Directly we got on shore, the insurgents retired; but having followed them up too far, we were cut off from the river, and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded. We could not make for the river, but had to go down parallel, and came at the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank, should we attempt to cross the river. On the bank of the river, just by the force in front, was a temple. We fired a volley, and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, one man being killed and one wounded. From the door of the temple we fired on every insurgent who showed himself.'

It was indeed a strange and fierce scene which succeeded this.

'Finding that they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round and set it on fire. When we could no longer remain inside on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off the clothes we had, and each taking a musket charged through the fire. Seven out of twelve of us got into the water, but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot. There were only five left now, and we had to swim, while the insurgents followed us along both banks, wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and not knowing in what direction he was swimming, got on shore and was killed. When we had gone down about six miles, firing on both sides ceased, and soon after we were hailed by some natives on the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore, and said they would take us to their Rajah, who was friendly to the English.'

And thus, wonderful to relate, there were some few survivors even from all these perils.

Whilst, however, this strange hunt far down the river was going on, another and more bloody scene was being enacted upon those who were taken prisoners out of the boats. The first object was to destroy the officers and men, reserving the ladies, whose suspense we have already witnessed, for a still longer endurance of their trials. The beginning of these final trials was that they themselves should witness the murder of their husbands; this scene, worthy of the wildest tragedy, is thus recorded by a native spy.

'Then said one of the maine-Sahibs,—the doctor's wife she was; I don't know his name, but he was either superintending-surgeon or medical store-keeper,—"I will not leave my husband; if he must die I will die with him." She then ran and sat down behind her husband, clasping him round the waist. Directly she said this the other maine-Sahibs said, "We will also die with our husbands;" and they all went and set down beside their husbands. Then their husbands said, "Go back," but they would not. Whereupon the Nena ordered his soldiers, and they going in forcibly pulled them away, seizing them by the arm; but they could not pull away the doctor's wife, who there remained. Then, just as the Sepoys were going to fire, the padre (chaplain) called out to the Nena and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nena granted it. The padre's

bonds were unloosed so far as to enable him to take a small book out of his pocket, from which he read; but all this time one of the Sahib-logs, who was shot in the arm and the leg, kept crying out to the Sepoys, "If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it quickly and get the work done? Why delay?" After the padre had read a few prayers he shut the book, and the Sahib-log shook hands all round. Then the Sepoys fired. One Sahib rolled one way, one another, as they sat; but they were not dead, only wounded; so they went in and finished them off with swords. After this the whole of the women and children (that is, including those taken out of other boats), to the number of 122, were taken away to the yellow house, which was your hospital.'

His version of the tragic fate of Miss Wheeler we are glad to record.

'As they were taking the maine-Sahibs out of the boat, a sowar (cavalry man) took her away with him to his house. She went quietly; but at night she rose and got hold of the sowar's sword. He was asleep; his wife, his son, and his mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house. In the morning, when the people came and found the dead in the house, the cry was, "Who has done this?" Then a neighbour said that in the night he had seen some one go and throw himself into the well. They went and looked, and there was Missee Baba, dead and swollen.'

And now, if all this can be surpassed, we come to the final act of all, the dread scene of that concluding massacre, which must for ever remain one of the gloomiest events in the history of the British Empire.

The most touching and concise account of this awful calamity is that given by Mr. Shepherd. He omits some disgusting details mentioned by the 'Special Correspondent;' but as these additional horrors are for the most part only repeated from rumours, and do not occur in the letters of eye-witnesses, we feel bound to give the relatives of these suffering victims the benefit of any doubt, and also to spare our readers a list of such passages as the following. A well-known letter in the *Times*, professing to be the result of actual and minute inquiries on the spot, discredits all, or nearly all, these tales of outrage.

'Children have been compelled to eat the quivering flesh of their murdered parents, after which they were literally *torn asunder* by the laughing fiends who surrounded them. Men in many instances have been mutilated, and, before being absolutely killed, have had to gaze upon the last dishonour of their wives and daughters previous to being put to death.'

Mr. Shepherd's account is as follows:—

'The poor ladies were ordered to come out, but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so close that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers therefore brought muskets, and after firing a great many shots from the doors, windows, &c., rushed in with swords and bayonets. Some of the helpless creatures in their agony fell

down at the feet of their murderers, clasped their legs, and begged in the most pitiful manner to spare their lives, but to no purpose. The fearful deed was done most deliberately and completely, in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. There were between 140 and 150 souls, including children, and from a little before sunset till candle-light was occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the buildings were then locked for the night, and the murderers went to their homes. Next morning it was found on opening the doors that some ten or fifteen women with a few of the children, had managed to escape from death by falling and hiding under the murdered bodies of their fellow-prisoners. A fresh order was therefore sent to murder them also; but the survivors, not being able to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound, and, seeing a well there, threw themselves into it without hesitation, thus putting a period to lives which it was impossible for them to save. The dead bodies of those murdered on the preceding evening were then ordered to be thrown into the same well, and 'jullads' were employed to drag them away like dogs.'

We have no letters from these ten or fifteen women, recounting their sensations during that night of nights. A diary was found containing but one kind of event: the deaths of a whole family, all but one. Of his *own* death, no one can write. There is but little to be said of a scene like this; each account is like the other; and it is a remarkable fact in writing, that any final climax is more generally described by the use of common-place expressions, than a far less misfortune. Neither language nor imagination, the parent of words, seem ever to be quite at home in these last extremities of all. The fancy hardly knows where to go, and runs aground high and dry. The 'Special Correspondent' remarks of this scene that 'it 'beggars description.' There are, however, some very natural and graphic accounts of what appeared after this deed was over.

'I have been to see the place where the poor women and children were imprisoned and afterwards butchered. It is a small bungalow close to the road. There were all sorts of articles of women's and children's clothing. Ladies' hair, evidently cut off with a sword, back combs, &c. There were also parts of religious books. Where the massacre took place it is covered with blood, like a butcher's slaughter-house. One would fancy nothing could be worse than this, but in the well at the back of the house are the bodies and limbs of the poor things. I looked down and saw such a sight as I hope never to see again. The whole of the bodies were naked, and the limbs had been separated. I thought of the two Mrs. —— and the three poor girls, and felt very sad. By all accounts the women were so ill-treated that death, even such a death, must have been welcome to them. I will not enter into more details. I have told you enough to cause you to make allowance if I write savagely. I have looked upon death in every form, but I could not look down that well again.'

One more in the same strain:—

'I have seen the fearful slaughter-house, and also saw one of the 1st Native Infantry men, according to order, wash up part of the blood which stains the floor before hanging. The quantities of dresses, clogged thickly with blood, children's frocks, frills, and ladies' under-clothing of all kinds,

also boys' trousers, leaves of Bibles, and of one book in particular, which seems to be strewed over the whole place, called "Preparation for Death," also broken daguerreotype cases only, lots of them, and hair, some nearly a yard long; bonnets all bloody, and one or two shoes. I picked up a bit of paper with, on it, "Ned's hair, with love," and opened and found a little bit tied up with riband. The first fellows that went in, I believe, saw the bodies with their arms and legs sticking out through the ground. They had all been thrown in a heap in the well.'

General Neill describes the part he adopted on arriving at the scene:—

'The chief rebels or ringleaders I made first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of women and children took place. To touch blood is most abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think by doing so they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a subahdar, or native officer, a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed; but I made the provost-marshal do his duty, and a few lashes soon made the miscreant accomplish his task. When done, he was taken out and immediately hanged, and after death buried in a ditch at the road-side. No one who has witnessed these scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre can ever listen to the word "mercy," as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies—alas! containing upwards of two hundred women and children—I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave.'

The number of victims in this massacre is thus computed:—

'Eighty-eight officers, one hundred and ninety men, of Her Majesty's 84th Foot, seventy ladies, one hundred and twenty women and children, of Her Majesty's 32d Foot, and the whole European and Christian population of the place, including civilians, merchants, shopkeepers, engineers, pensioners, and their families, to the number of about four hundred persons, were the victims of this Satanic deed.'

We conclude this story with the bitter lamentation of Mr. Shepherd:—

'Oh! when I think of it, how my heart breaks. I get beside myself, and wish I had not been spared to hear of such dreadful accounts. Oh! my poor dear Polly! how must they have killed you. So sweet a child never existed. How will I ever forget you! The faces of all I have lost are ever before me. Oh! how dreadful is my state of mind. God Almighty have mercy on me! Oh, God, help Thou me, whom Thou hast spared. My infant was shot in the head by a spent musket-ball on the 12th of June, while we were in the entrenchments, and died in great agony, after forty-eight hours.'

The various acts of this drama were now over. Suspense had been followed by violent activity, and then by passive submission. Those whose words of fear and apprehension we have read, at length found rest; rest and peace 'in the valley of the shadow of death,' in the well of Cawnpore.

If, leaving these great centres, Delhi and Cawnpore, we now cast our eyes upon some few scattered scenes of mutiny through

the whole of Bengal, we shall find the same thing going on in all its several stages of alarm, and flight, and perpetrated horrors. The escapes are as wonderful as the attacks. Many descriptions are before us of the first outbreaks. They are uniformly most creditable to our officers, and are conspicuous for three most valuable qualities of the human heart—presence of mind, domestic affection, and a strong sense of duty. The following is descriptive of an outbreak in the Punjaub; it is written by a lady:—

'The next morning, when it was the time for taking the pickets off, C—— observed a body of troopers going towards our lines, and thinking it suspicious, and our men getting unsteady, he collected them and marched to the parade; but as they came near it, they fairly left C—— and rushed down to their lines. C—— galloped up to our house and entered into my room, saying quietly, "Get up and dress, for I think there is something wrong going on in the lines, but don't be frightened; I will order the buggy; you go direct to the fort." He then went and gave the alarm to our neighbours. By this time I had hurried out and met him in the verandah. I shall never forget those fearful moments. Suffice it, that in spite of all I could say, I could not shake him in his determination of going to the lines to reason those wretches back to a sense of their duty, and as my buggy left by the one gate, he galloped out by the other. The fort was distant two miles, and Maharaj Missur (a Sepoy), who had taken charge of me, conducted me by a by-road. On the other two roads the troopers were chasing and killing all they overtook. There were only four or five in the fort, one of them the poor Brigadier, wounded and dying; before an hour it was full of fugitives. My dear ——, you cannot imagine the horrors of that fearful day. No one could tell me how it fared with C——. On my arrival, I let the Sepoy go to C—— to take care of him, and it was he that sent the dobee to tell me that C—— was safe.'

Again, it is a lady who writes from Agra:—

'On Sunday, the 14th of June, just as we were going to bed, about half-past nine, our servants rushed in, and said the Sepoys had risen. We dressed as quickly as we could, and then walked to an officer's bungalow, to learn what we could do to escape. We found the family in a state of great alarm; as we were talking to Mrs.——, her husband's horse rushed by, and they said he had just been shot. We then went and hid in the garden under some trees for about three hours; the shot was flying round us in all directions, and the houses were burning. The servants then hid us, that is, my husband, Mrs. ——, and myself, in one of their houses. Here we lay hid some time, expecting every moment to be discovered and dragged out. The Sepoys came in once or twice, but did not see us; at last, about five o'clock in the morning, they found us. They were afraid to come in at the door, so they pulled the roof off, and fired in upon us; we then went to the door, and begged them not to kill us. When my husband went to the door, they fired twice at him. There were about twenty of these horrid-looking men, and quite drunk. He was not wounded, and rushed on, they pursuing him, and fired at him as he ran. I then rushed forward too, and at first they fired at me as well, but then they dragged me away. I never saw —— after this; but I have since heard that he was killed, two or three compounds farther on. I got an officer here, who escaped, to make all the inquiries he could. It is not known if the bodies

were buried or not, but it is believed they were all thrown into the river. I can scarcely write or think, so fearful is it all.'

She continues:—

'After, I suppose, they had killed ——, the Sepoys came back to us; they pushed all the ladies into a little hut that was near, and then they all crowded in and mocked at us, and threatened us with death, worse than death. They then took us to the lines. After keeping us there some time, they said they would not kill us, as we were only women, and they had killed our husbands, and so they crammed about six ladies into a carriage and sent us away. I cannot tell you the misery of the five days it took us to reach Agra. Our lives were in danger the whole time, both from villagers and from parties of Sepoys we fell in with. They held loaded pistols and naked swords over us again and again. Our party altogether consisted of eight ladies, besides four sergeants' wives and a number of children. We had nothing but grain to eat and water to drink.'

The mutiny here was very fierce; and, judging from the following letter, was not unavenged on the spot:—

'I've already fairly killed, with my sword, between twenty-five and thirty of them, besides having cut down a good many more. My only wound of consequence is a sword-cut in the left arm, which I received when storming a village on foot. The fellow fought well, but I at length killed him with a blow which nearly cut his head in two. This was on the 1st instant, just before our regiment mutinied. I was very savage that day. Just as I had done with the chap I wounded, I had a turn up with four more. They knocked over the only sowar who was with me, with a sort of battle-axe. I had one pistol with me, with which I blew the head of one of them to pieces, and then turned and ran; but my foot slipped, and down I came. Luckily, I was up again before they could polish me off; but I felt too done to run any more, so turned on them, and wounded two in a moment. To my intense delight they ran off, but were met by some sowars hunting for me, and all killed.'

From Murree, in the Punjaub, a noble-hearted girl of nineteen thus describes her first experience of the mutiny, and her spirited self-possession:—

'I was in my own room, in the large house, about half-past seven o'clock in the morning. I was saying my prayers, and the ayah was getting my bath ready, when I heard her say, "Oh, I wish you would make haste—I would you had done!" When I had finished, I got up and asked her what she meant. She said that my aunt had sent word for me to dress as quickly as possible, and that the Sepoys were on guard all round the compound. When aunt L—— and I went out into the verandah, these men were loading their muskets and sharpening their bayonets, and looking not a little pleased at the prospect of a "row." Aunt said to one, "If these mutineers come up to this house, shall you let any of them escape?" The man smiled grimly and said, "Not one." I did not feel at all frightened, I am glad to say, though it was enough to make one fear when one knows how they cut the ladies at Delhi into pieces before each other's eyes; and as for the poor children, they set them in the burning sun with nothing on their heads, and gave them no water, till they went mad! It makes me so ferocious to think of it, I long to go and fight the wretches myself.'

A letter from an officer at Mynpore represents an exciting picture:—

'As we approached, they faced towards us and halted; and when we had cantered up to within about fifty yards of them, one or two of the native officers rode out to meet us, and said in a low voice, "Fly, Sahibs, fly." Upon this poor Hayes said to me, as we wheeled round our horses, "Well, we must now fly for our lives," and away we went with the two troops after us like demons, yelling and sending the bullets from their carbines flying all round us. Thank God, neither I nor my horse was hit. Hayes was riding on the side nearest the troopers, and before we had gone many yards I saw a native officer go up alongside of him, and with one blow cut him from his saddle. It was the work of an instant, and took much less time than I have to relate it. On they all came shouting after me, and every now and then "ping" came a ball near me. Indeed, I thought my moments were numbered, but as I neared the road at the end of the maidan, a ditch presented itself. It was but a moment I thought, dug my spurs hard in, and the mare flew over it, though she nearly fell on the other side; fortunately, I recovered her, and in another moment I was leaving all behind but two Sowars, who followed me and poor Hayes's horse tearing on after me.'

Two more scenes, connected with the first outbreak of the mutiny, we must record. The first is specially sudden and desperate:—

'The next moment some half-dozen of their muskets were staring me in the face, and a whole tempest of bullets came whizzing into me. Two passed through my forage cap and set my hair on fire, three passed through my trousers, one just grazing my right thigh, but none properly hit me. I rushed headlong at one of the fellows whom I had noticed more especially aiming at me, but had scarcely advanced three paces when a second volley of bullets saluted me. One of these (and I assure you their name was legion) entered my right shoulder about one-sixth of an inch to the outside of the arm-pit, and passing diagonally through the shoulder, came out in my back. This was the "severe" wound. It brought me to the ground for about fifteen seconds, and in the course of that short time I had the pleasure of seeing every one of the Sikhs dash across the parade-ground and charge the Europeans. Knowing full well that in a few seconds they would be repulsed by the latter, and sent helter-skelter back towards where I lay, I made what haste I could along the parade-ground towards my bungalow.'

His perils were not yet over:—

'When one fellow charged towards me with his sword in the air, I was most mercifully preserved. I threw my sword at him with my left arm; but just as the weapon left my hand I fainted from the pain produced in my wound, and fell quite unconscious.'

From Jubbulpore we have a letter representing a new and melancholy feature in these tragedies, and one which, we rejoice to add, was not frequent:—

'At Futteghur the wife and child of Mr. Tucker, being about to fall into the hands of another rebellious set, she called to her husband to shoot her at once. He did so, his child also, and then himself. A Major Robertson has also shot his wife and children and himself, under similar circumstances.'

The many narratives of wonderful escapes are specially interesting and romantic. There was, indeed, great stimulus to escape, when we remember from *what* they escaped. We are told this in very touching words:—

'Nine poor little ensigns doing duty with the regiment were bayoneted to death in the mess-room, and three of the officers who escaped heard their cries as they passed! Poor boys, who had never given offence to any native, nor caused dissatisfaction to the Sepoys.'

We will give extracts from three of these flights; the first from Arrah:—

'I shall never forget that night as long as I live. We held a consultation, and determined to retreat, as the enemy was at least 3,000 or 4,000 strong, and had, besides, several cannon. Directly morning dawned we formed order, and began our retreat. The whole distance, sixteen miles, we walked under a most tremendous fire; the ditches, the jungles, the houses, and, in fact, every place of cover along the road was lined with Sepoys. We kept up a fire as we went along, but what could we do? We could see no enemy, only puffs of smoke. We tried to charge, but there was nobody to charge; on all sides they fired into us, and were scattered all over the country in groups of tens and twenties. Dozens of poor fellows were knocked over within a yard of me on my right and left, but, thank God, I escaped in a most wonderful way. The last five miles of the road I carried a poor wounded fellow, who begged me not to leave him; and though we had had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours, and I had had no sleep for two nights, I never felt so strong in my life, and I stepped out with the man as if he had been a feather, though he was as big as myself. Poor fellow! the men, most of them more or less wounded, were leaving him behind, and the cowardly Sepoys, who never came within two hundred yards of us, were running up to murder him. I got the poor fellow safe over the nullah; I swam out and got a boat, put him in, and went over with a lot of others. The poor fellow thanked me with tears in his eyes. At the crossing of the nullah we lost a great many men; they threw away their muskets to pull the boats and to swim over, and were shot down like sheep.

'I never before knew the horrors of war, and what I have gone through I hope will make a lasting impression on my mind, and make me think more of God and His great goodness to me. I am sure God spared me because He knew I was not fit to die; and I pray God that He will prepare me, for we can truly say that we know not what a day may bring forth.'

The next is from Fyzabad, and represents a very vivid scene of disturbed repose:—

'We began our flight towards Goruckpore on foot, with only the clothes we had on. Our ayah (woman servant) and kidmutgar (table attendant) accompanied us; we stopped often under trees and at wells, and had proceeded about six miles, it being now ten o'clock, when we halted at a village, and having got a draught of milk, prepared to rest during the heat of the day. We were, however, soon disturbed, for a horseman advanced over the country, armed to the teeth, having a huge horse pistol in his hand, which he cocked, and levelling it at my head, desired me to follow him to the camp of the 17th Native Infantry, and make no delay, for he was to get a reward of 500rs. for each of our heads!'

From Futteghur we have an admirably sustained narrative of an escape by water, similar in some respects to the Cawnpore river, but with its peculiar features of interest. The enemy having brought their guns to bear upon the house where the

ladies and children were assembled, their position became desperate:—

'We began to look to the boats as our only mode of escape, the river having risen considerably by the rains. After due consideration it was determined to evacuate the fort. No time was lost in getting everything ready for a start. The ladies and children were divided into three parties. At midnight they were got safely into their respective boats. We started in very good order; but no sooner did we pass the fort walls than showers of bullets were sent after us, and a cry raised that the Feringhees were running away. The Sepoys followed us for about a mile, firing all along, but doing no harm, for we were a long way out of range.'

One boat had to be abandoned, as too large and heavy:—

'A little delay was thus caused, which the Sepoys took advantage of to bring a gun to bear upon the boats; the distance, however, was too great; every ball fell short. As soon as the ladies and children were all safely on board we started, and got down as far as Singheerampore without accident, although fired upon by the villagers. Here we stopped a few minutes to repair the rudder of Colonel Smith's boat, and one out of two boatmen we had was killed by a matchlock ball. The rudder repaired, we started again, Colonel Smith's boat taking the lead.'

Sufficiently irritating at all times is the following common mishap in boating parties. But *what* at this juncture?

'We had not gone beyond a few yards when our boat grounded on a soft muddy sand-bank; the other boat passed on; all hands got into the water to push her, but, notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not manage to move her. We had not been in this unhappy position half-an-hour when two boats, apparently empty, were seen coming down the stream.'

And now came the crisis, which for wildness and misery equals anything in the whole affair:—

'They came within twenty yards of us, when we discovered that they carried Sepoys, who opened a heavy fire, killing and wounding several. Mr. Churcher, sen., was shot through the chest; Mr. Fisher, who was just behind me, was wounded in the thigh. Hearing him call out, I had scarcely time to turn round, when I felt a smart blow on my right shoulder; a bullet had grazed the skin and taken off a little flesh. Major Robertson was wounded in the face. The boats were now alongside of us. Some of the Sepoys had already got into our boat. Major Robertson, seeing no hope, begged the ladies to come into the water, rather than to fall into their hands. While the ladies were throwing themselves into the water, I jumped into the boat, took up a loaded musket, and going astern, shot a Sepoy. I loaded again, but finding no cap, was obliged to retreat, as the enemy were now coming in in great numbers. Lieutenant and Mrs. Fitzgerald were at this time sitting in a corner of the boat, with their child. Lieutenant Fitzgerald had a loaded musket, with the bayonet fixed, in his hand. Mr. Churcher, sen., still lay weltering in his blood. The others had all got out of the boat into the water, Major and Mrs. Robertson, with their child and Miss Thompson, were standing close to each other beside the boat; Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Churcher, jun., were near them also; I all this time lost sight of Major Phillot, Ensign Eckford, and a few others: I suppose they were killed. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher were about twenty yards from the boat; he had his child in his arms, apparently lifeless. Mrs. Fisher could not stand against the current; her dress, which acted like a sail, knocked her down when she was helped up

by Mr. Fisher. I now resolved to make an escape, if possible, to the leading boat, which I knew could not have proceeded far, so at once I struck out into the stream. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher continued in a distressing position when I passed them unable to render any assistance. I saw Mr. Fisher again, alone, floating on his back, but soon lost sight of him, as it was getting dark. I continued swimming for about an hour or more, when at some distance I saw the other boat. . . . . We repaired the rudder, which had been damaged, and continued our voyage with heavy hearts all that night. Early the next morning a voice hailed us from the shore, which we recognised as Mr. Fisher's. He came on board and informed us that his poor wife and child had been drowned in his arms; his wound was very painful, the ball having passed through the middle of the left thigh. We continued our voyage the whole of that day.'

In the description of another water-party we are told:—

'All the ladies got ready to throw their children into the river, and jump after them.'

Incidental notices, occurring in various letters, bring vivid scenes and ideas to the mind's eye; darting from one thing to another, from one place and group, one kind of misfortune to another, with an endless variety that is the surest proof of the depth and vastness of this whole calamity. Here, for instance, is a scene of conjugal fidelity:—

'As a number of ladies and children have left the station, I have been repeatedly urged by folks at Kamptee to send Mrs.—— and the little ones there; but the wife has determined to remain to the last. Once I said she must go; but when I found she was more likely to die if she went than if she stayed, I changed my mind, and now, from the state of affairs at Kamptee, I really think we are as safe here as we should be there.'

Again there is an awful scene of father and daughter:—

'Your doctor—Graham—on hearing the disturbance, flew with his daughter to their buggy, and unfortunately they took the public road to the fort. The cavalry met them, and shot him dead. She was brought to the fort, and her anguish on that awful day is past an attempt, even at description.'

We have also an especially touching instance of that chivalrous devotion which an English soldier is always so capable of feeling:—

'A European private was the other day bearing a wounded ensign, a mere boy, from the field, or rather the suburb before Delhi. A mutineer fired from the upper windows of a house. Deliberately the soldier placed his senseless officer under shelter, walked to the house, tramped upstairs, dashed in the door, and shot the man. Two other mutineers were with him; and before they came to their wits, two rapid thrusts of the bayonet had finished their course. The soldier then walked coolly back, and resumed his burden.'

Amidst all the tokens of misery and all the causes of affliction, it affords a curious study of the elasticity of the human mind to be suddenly introduced within the precincts of domestic cheerfulness and almost festive scenes:—

'We muster about fifty at dinner, ten of whom are ladies, and we have fifteen children in the house. Our numbers are nearly a hundred, includ-

ing the uncovenanted. We have included some spacious outhouses in our intrenchments, which gives them accommodation. We are lucky in having a small room to ourselves. In one room three ladies and a child sleep in one bed. If you could look in upon us, you would not think we were a very lugubrious set, but rather that we were met on some festive occasion. At this moment I hear the piano and singing. We are a queer lot, we Britons; day after day we hear of atrocities too horrid to write about, and of the murder of friends and relatives, and never seem to think of our own fate. Laughing, talking, eating, drinking, music, singing—all seems to go on much as usual.'

This is quite *cheering;* but meanwhile let us look to another sense in which this word is used:—

'Here is what I call a cheering incident; I relate it as it is from an eye-witness, and it may not appear in the newspapers. A party left Benares in search of rebels; they soon came upon them; there were about 700 of them drawn up in a mass. The first two shells from our guns fell in the midst of them, and killed fifty-five of their number.'

One fatal element against any lasting reconciliation between the English and our native Indian subjects, is the ever-recurring perfidy of the Oriental mind. There is a total absence of truth and honour, which, we fear, forbids any trust. The English mind is very sensitive on this point; and if once thoroughly deceived, loses all confidence, acquiring in its place a deep and lasting aversion. The following is an instance of so dastardly a violation of the laws of honourable warfare, that we have no difficulty in accounting for the subsequent refusal of all quarter:—

'Abbott joined the charge, and, his horse being fresh, he managed to get up with one of the mutinous officers, who, seeing no chance of escape, put his sword between his teeth, dropped his reins, and held up his hands in token of submission, and as a sign for quarter. Abbott lowered his sword, and the brute, as he passed him, drew his pistol and fired it straight at his face. A motion of the horse saved him, and he drew his pistol and fired two shots at the ruffian, but missed him. He was caught later in the day, and hanged next morning before all the troops.'

The frequent mention of hanging is a painful feature of this peculiar warfare. Cold-blooded, but necessary, judicial executions are not of the routine of honourable war. Death in its most revolting form seldom presents itself to the soldier's eye. But in India the provost marshal's place was no sinecure. Our enemies were all rebels, and murderers. Yet, just and necessary as were the frequent executions, their effect on common minds cannot fail to have been injurious.

'The gibbet is, I must acknowledge, a standing institution among us at present. There it stands, immediately in front of the flagstaff, with three ropes always attached to it, so that three may be executed at one time. Two additional gibbets were erected, with three ropes to each, but they have been taken down. Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the

vigour with which the miscreants are dealt with. The swiftness with which crime is followed by the severest punishment strikes the people with astonishment.'

A curious instance of this rapidity is in one place related:—

'What a wonderful mercy the telegraph communication has been kept up in the Punjab; here is a use it was put to:—A letter was intercepted at Pindee, which said, "Three natives of high rank (giving names) sit in council to-morrow to decide what to do against the English." Telegraph said, "Let a spy attend and report." This was done; and in a few minutes after, the outlines of the plot were before Lawrence. Telegraph again, "Hang them all three." In fifteen minutes more they were hanged. Short work.'

One letter, dated Ahmedabad, October 26, describes an execution with a terrible degree of reality. It is too long to extract, though singularly graphic and vivid. The writer was eye-witness to the execution of eighteen men, condemned by court-martial after full inquiry. They suffered at early dawn, ten by hanging, three by the musket, and five at the cannon's mouth, the most awful mode of all. He saw the gallows and their victims white and shadowy against the pale sky. He then saw the firing party advance to the distance of but twelve paces from the *three*, who knelt down, with their eyes bandaged and their hands tied.

'Meanwhile the doomed five had been marched to the five fatal guns. They were bound by the arms to the wheels, but their legs were free, and the end man—the only one whom I could entirely see from my place on the flank—leaned his back against the muzzle, as loungers lean against a mantelpiece.'

And now for the effects of one short moment of time:—

'I fixed my eyes intently on that man, not fifty yards away, and in a moment the signal was given. There was a roar, and the whizzing of a bullet, far away from the firing party; a bank of white smoke, and a jet and shower of black fragments, sharp and clear, which leaped and bounded in the air; this and a fearful sound from the spectators, as if the reality so far exceeded all previous fancy that it was intolerable; then a dead stillness. I walked straight to the scattered and smoking floor before the guns. I came first to an arm, torn off above the elbow, the fist clinched, the bone projecting several inches, bare. Then the ground sown with red grisly fragments, then a black-haired head and the other arm still held together. This was the man I had watched.'

Further details of this ghastly scene we must forbear quoting. With a stern love of truth, the writer describes every object that met his eye; every portion of frail humanity in its lowliest dust. After thus carefully surveying the ground, he once more looks up.

'And only now—there was so much more terrible—did I look up to the ten white figures slowly swinging and revolving over this scene of blood. I hope they died quickly, but the ropes were very short. The troops immediately marched off, and I rode home at speed; and when I dismounted, the dogs came and licked my feet.'

With reference to the reported mutilations and excessive barbarities, it is necessary to make some further allusion. Bad as things were, there was doubtless much exaggeration in the early accounts of the mutiny. We have before us many letters on the subject, describing the horrors which have been committed in *other places*, but there is little direct testimony from eye-witnesses. The most fearful details are from a clergyman at Bangalore, describing violence and mutilations on ladies and children; but he says,—'we ourselves have been mercifully 'kept from alarm or danger.' A staff officer from Benares is equally explicit in his details; and no doubt there was enough foundation for the widely-spread tales of horror; but it must still be remembered, that even in the letters we have quoted, descriptive as they are of bloodthirsty violence, there are wonderful instances of escape, and the absence of personal atrocities even where every opportunity existed. The more, indeed, we examine the state of mind which the mutiny develops, the more does it appear in the light of a wild, irresistible, dreamy influence, the promptings of fatalism and superstitious fanaticism, far more than individual selfishness or hatred. There is less appearance of personal enmity towards the English as individuals, than of a general indefinite impulse to shake off English power in the abstract. With this object religiously in their minds, the mutineers stopped at nothing which might promote it; and once embarked on a course of violence, all their wildness and ferocity of nature was aroused; but brutal sensuality, so far as the more trusty letters before us are able to reveal, does not seem to have been the characteristic of this revolt. The same degree of recklessness, the same desperate acts of murder, the same wildness of excitement, would, in the natural constitution of the European mind, have been accompanied, we think, by a greater amount of mere animal sensuality and riot, among the lower elements of such an insurrection, than is here found. The student of history can recall incidents in Welsh and French rebellions and outbreaks, which are exact parallels of the worst accounts from India. The conviction that such is the case in popular insurrections, is one source, perhaps, of the many rumours which were scattered about, and which appear in letters as well-authenticated facts. The crime of murder—determined, exterminating slaughter—springs up in the Oriental mind in very natural harmony with their fearfully dark notions of Providence and Divine guidance. Their instincts of caste, their habits of associating the ways of men with a gloomy, revengeful mythology, impart to them a disregard for individual human life which, being felt equally for themselves and for their enemies, in great measure explains the fearful suddenness

with which murders and assassinations are committed. Their acts are more demoniacal, than sensual or self-willed. Cruelty and a disposition to inflict torture, an idea from which every feeling we possess in Europe recoils as abhorrent to our minds, comes very naturally to the Oriental. He inflicts torture on himself, in submission to some avenging deity whose favour he thereby hopes to propitiate; and therefore it is not wonderful that he should inflict the same on others. With regard, however, to the facts of the late mutiny, we have very positive denials, from good quarters, of the fearful tortures that were reported.

We take the following from the *Guardian*, guaranteed by that paper to come from a most trustworthy source, though we cannot but think that the denial is too wholesale:—

'I am quite astonished to find M—— not only believing, but bent on believing, whether with or without reason, all those vile accounts of atrocities committed by the Sepoys and others which were published in the English papers. I thought no one put faith in a newspaper, but M—— clearly does; and I feel doubtful how far the poison may have infected you and my father, &c. But you will be more reasonable than he is, for he actually wants me to disprove the stories, and resolves to believe all until they are disproved! One at least I was able to disprove—that account of the tortures and massacres said to have occurred at Allahabad, and reported by an eye-witness. I was able to disprove it by adducing the fact, well known to us all here, that not a European woman at Allahabad was injured or hurt in any way, although the Sepoys had it all their own way for the whole night. The women said to have been tortured and cut to pieces were in reality protected all night, and arrived in Calcutta perfectly well and uninjured. The actual fact is, that the stories you have seen in the papers are, in many cases, mere hearsay and exaggerated in the repetition, or are malicious inventions made up to rouse the feeling of the English people, just as they published here, and circulated carefully to all the new regiments, a picture of the massacre of the women and children at Cawnpore, which was, of course, entirely supposititious. Now *we* know, from the numberless accounts we have had in all ways from the various places, that no one of the horrible stories, beyond the murder indiscriminately of men, women, and children (which is sufficiently horrible), has ever been authenticated in any way, by any person who is deserving of credit. When men commit atrocities in such an outbreak, we naturally conceive that they are capable of perpetrating other crimes and other cruelties. And I do not wish to deny that the Sepoys and natives are quite capable of doing the worst things which have been ascribed to them. But we have to do with facts; and there is no reason why the unhappy friends of the murdered should be harassed in addition by the thought of women subjected to torture and outrage before they were put to death, when such has really not occurred. There is no reason to believe, because the evidence of all witnesses goes to show the contrary, that even the ladies, &c., at Cawnpore, who were ultimately massacred, were in any way tortured or subjected to ill-treatment beforehand. They were locked up and starved, and deprived of everything, so that their days must have been spent in prolonged misery; but there is no real foundation for the stories of women stripped naked and flogged with bamboos, and all the *et ceteras*, beyond the imagination of one or more of the writers or repeaters.'

Lady Inglis, writing from Lucknow, in the immediate pre-

sence of the Cawnpore horrors, speaks only of ten massacres. This is no small consolation, if we can credit it, to the feelings of those at home, who had relatives and friends in the midst of these scenes, and whose last hours must for ever be veiled from human knowledge. It is no use making things worse than they are; and it must also be remembered that, as far as suffering goes, the mutineers may almost be said to have had their share. Their slaughter and their loss, from many causes, is untold. They have perished by uncounted thousands; and if the proportion, both of the resident English, and of the mutineers (the *dramatis personæ* at the beginning of the mutiny) who have perished or been driven from the country, could at all be estimated, we believe that the resident survivors would be found surprisingly few. The governing or the protecting force of British India will, in fact, have changed hands. One year will have swept off a whole generation, and both official and military life in India must now start afresh; never, we hope, again to encounter so disastrous an issue.

Another scene of the mutiny still remains for our notice. We have said nothing as yet of Lucknow, the place which has absorbed more universal interest than any other. We take this last, because, however full of exciting and heroic memoirs Lucknow must ever be, it affords less material for our present subject than many places of far less general interest. In the first place, it remained for months in so close a state of siege that no communications were carried on with its inhabitants. Full as the newspapers were of letters from other parts, there were none from Lucknow, simply because none could come. Again, Lucknow, from the very fact that it maintained its siege so nobly, does not afford those agonising scenes of a personal kind between Europeans and Sepoys, which it has been our object to record. Europeans were shut up to themselves, and the Sepoys in vain attempted to repeat upon them the massacre of Cawnpore. We are happy therefore to say, that as Lucknow was not delivered over into the hands of the Sepoys, we have not to record their doings; still, there are many interesting details connected with that prolonged and frightful suspense in which our imprisoned countrymen for so long were kept. A personal narrative of the siege, by L. E. Ruutz Rees, a Calcutta merchant, who was there on his travels when the mutiny began, has just been published; and also a very interesting letter appeared in the *Guardian*, which concentrates into very short space a remarkably vivid account of the sufferings endured within this ill-fated city.

We give some extracts from this last-mentioned letter:—

'From the 6th June, which was the day the Sepoys mutinied at Cawn-

pore, we were totally cut off from all communication with the outer world. I never shall forget that fearful month; the suspense was almost worse than anything we went through afterwards. Every day came fresh news of murders and massacres which had taken place in the district; and fugitives, flying for their lives from the outlying stations, arriving perfectly destitute in Lucknow. On the morning of the 30th June that most fatal action at Chinhut took place which brought things to a crisis, and the enemy down upon us sooner than was anticipated. Our devoted troops encountered an overwhelming force, were surrounded, taken at a disadvantage, cut to pieces, and the survivors obliged to retreat with the loss of five officers, 200 men, and several guns. The remnant who returned were no sooner within the Bailey Guard than the gates were closed, and half an hour afterwards we were closely invested, and the siege, which was destined to last so many weary months, had commenced.'

Three days after this, Sir H. Lawrence was mortally wounded; and the writer was in attendance at his bed-side. She thus records his noble end:—

'His sufferings were most painful to witness; his Christian resignation and humility could not be surpassed. You may imagine what an affecting scene it was to witness such a deathbed; the whole time he was dying the house seemed to be the mark for the enemy's most deadly fire. The heavy cannonading and volleys of musketry never ceased for an instant.'

From June to September was a long time for this suspense to continue. The scene, however, of Havelock's first attempt at rescue is one that will ever be memorable in the history of sieges. It affords a splendid subject for a grand historical picture.

'The evening of the 25th September, they succeeded, after tremendous fighting and a terrible loss of life, in making their way to the Residency; and the scene of their arrival baffles all description. I am sure it will never be forgotten by any of those who witnessed it. We had no idea they were so near at hand, for though we had been in a state of excitement the whole day; hearing the firing going on in the city, we had no idea they would make the rush they did; but fancied they would work their way through gradually, and we might not see them for some days. Suddenly the musketry fire came quite close, then we heard tremendous cheering sounding from all sides of the entrenchments—the excitement was intense. An instant after, we saw the soldiers rushing wildly up the road; our compound and verandah was filled with Highlanders, the bagpipes playing triumphantly, and we found ourselves sobbing, laughing, shaking hands violently with officers and men, exchanging fervent "God bless you's" with all, embracing each other, hugging the children, and doing all sorts of frantic things easy to be imagined. The emotion displayed by the soldiers was most affecting, at the sight of the women and children they had rescued from the fate of those at Cawnpore. They seized the children from our arms and covered them with kisses; and "God bless you, ma'am," "Thank God we are in time to save you," resounded on every side. The poor fellows were so dreadfully exhausted, we could not supply them with water fast enough. Some of us rushed down and made tea, but we had not much else to offer in the way of refreshment, for we had long been on very short commons; and after this great increase to our force arrived, without bringing with them any increase of supplies, our rations were still further reduced.'

The following is a picturesque account of subsequent domestic arrangements:—

'We used always to take our meals in a dark under-ground room, called in India, a "Tye Khana;" it was a most vault-like place, a receptacle for cobras and rats, and so dark that as long as our store of candles lasted we always were obliged to burn one during breakfast and dinner. For the first two months of the siege, the ladies and children of our party lived entirely down in this horrible cellar. We used to sleep on the floor, fitting into each other like the bits in a puzzle, and the rats and mice running races over us. When the rains began, however, the room became so damp it was impossible to stay there; every one got so ill, we all declared it would be much better to risk the bullets up-stairs, to the certainty of sickness by remaining below; so the gentlemen barricaded the windows with every available box and mattress, and we came up to sleep in the dining-room, which, being in the centre of the house, was tolerably safe, and there we managed to arrange two rows of bedsteads, which placed us in comparative luxury.'

When their final rescue was at length secured, they settled down into quite home ways and all the social claims of life.

'Mr. —— and I have set up a school in the barracks, for the soldiers' children, since we have been here. We went there the other day and found them all running wild, and their mothers telling us "as how they'd lost all their larning," and were getting fast unmanageable; so, in absence of school or schoolmistress, we took possession of an empty room, and invited the children to come and be taught, every day at two o'clock.'

The personal narrative of Mr. Rees contains a faithful account of the general progress of the siege, enlivened by many anecdotes and casual observations. There are also some very interesting extracts from Lady Inglis's journal, printed for private circulation. This lady, in addition to all the anxieties of the siege, was attacked with the small-pox. Thus she lay confined to her bed through the sad day of the battle of Chinhut. Her account, however, of the return of the army into the city is very graphic and touching.

'I posted myself at the window—for remaining in bed was out of the question—and watched the poor men coming in; a melancholy spectacle, indeed; no order; one after the other; some riding; some wounded, supported by their comrades; some on guns; some fell down and died from exhaustion, not half a mile from our position.'—*Journal*, p. 13.

The following passage from the same source is full of that simple-minded piety, the characteristic of English ladies.

'I never shall forget the first morning after the siege commenced. The enemy, having stopped firing at night, recommenced at daylight, and made an effort to storm the gate. Every man was at his post. We could gain no information as to what was going on, and to our inexperienced ears the cannonading and musketry sounded terrific. We all thought the place would be taken, and tremblingly listened to every sound, when Mrs. Case proposed reading the Litany, and the soothing effect of prayer was marvellous. We felt different beings, and, though still most anxious, could feel we were in the hands of our Heavenly Father, and cast our fears on Him.'—*Ibid.* pp. 16, 17.

The sufferings of the wounded and sick in the hospitals are described as very severe. Men got callous to pain as to danger, and there was more work than could be got through both for nurses and medical men. Honourable testimony is given to Mr. Polehampton, the chaplain, for his unremitting attention to the hospital: but he was wounded by a bullet, and after lingering a few weeks, at length died of cholera. In addition to the many evils which the sick had to endure from want of sufficient bedding, close air (for every window was barricaded), and crowded rooms, there was one infliction almost more intolerable, both to the sick and those in health, than any devices of the enemy—we mean, the flies. Lucknow is celebrated for these pests of human life; and in the siege there were many things favourable to their troublesome existence. The ground was black with them.

'We could not sleep in the day on account of them. We could scarcely eat. Our beef, of which we get a tolerably small quantity every other day, is usually studded with them; and while I eat my miserable dall and roti (boiled lentil soup and unleavened bread), a number of scamps fly into my mouth, or tumble into the plate, and float about in it, *impromptu* peppercorns and—I was about to say something wicked—but really even the reminiscence of this annoyance is enough to make a saint swear.'—*Ibid.* p. 167.

The besieged and besiegers were in sufficiently close quarters to carry on conversation; and the remarks occasionally made were characteristic of the situation. On the 5th of August, there was great rejoicing and shouting among the besieged, it being confidently believed that reinforcements were at hand. Next morning they were undeceived by a voice outside, 'So 'you think your reinforcements have come, do you? reinforce-'ments, forsooth! why we have beaten them long ago, and we 'have crowned our king. The rule of the Feringhees is over.' Mines and counter-mines were in close proximity. On one occasion, when a mine was ready under a house full of mutinous riflemen, a brick-bat was thrown over in the court-yard. The numerous responses that were sent in the direction whence this had arrived, convinced the officers in command that it was a seasonable time for the explosion, and instantly the whole place was one mass of ruins, burying beneath them forty or sixty of the enemy.

Mr. Rees had an eccentric friend with him, a Frenchman, who had previously been acquainted with the Nana of Cawnpore; and the latter sent a letter by messenger to him, offering him the command of his troops and a fortune, if he would come over. This he refused to do, but respected his former friendship so far as not to reveal this correspondence, and let the messenger depart safely. He was thus known by those out-

side, and the following scene is reported as occurring at a battery:—

'"Come on!" would he often shout in his broken Hindostanee; "come on, ye cowardly sons of defiled mothers! are you afraid to advance? Are you men or women?" And then the reply. "Cursed dog of an infidel! I know thee! Thou art Deprat the Frenchman, living near the iron bridge. We 'll yet kill you. Be sure of this. Here goes!" and a rifle-ball would whistle past his ears.'—*Ibid.* p. 218.

Among some ruins outside the gateway, was an old clock-tower, for a long time the haunt of a desperate sharpshooter, an African eunuch. There he remained, picking off every man that came within sight. Attempts were made to shell him, and the shells fell with the utmost precision; but from the very midst of the smoke and explosion, he would send a rifle bullet whistling through the air, as if in defiance of their efforts. At length, however, he was killed, and the mystery solved. By the use of a telescope, he could watch the preparation of the shells, and retire down some steps into a cavern when he saw that one was coming. He then rushed up the moment after the explosion. When found dead, his rifle and telescope were by his side. What a life, what a death!

A very lively and interesting account is given of Mr. Kavanagh's adventures, written by himself. He undertook to convey despatches from Lucknow to Sir Colin Campbell, through all the surrounding mass of the rebels. With the help of an efficient native guide, disguised and coloured, he worked his way all night through many perils, and at length succeeded. The story would lose its interest if we attempted an abbreviation.

The remarks of Mr. Rees, on the effects of a siege on character, in bringing out the varying dispositions of men, are very good and thoughtful:—

'A siege is certainly the best school to learn character. People show themselves in their true light, and throw off the mask they wear in society. One's good or bad character becomes apparent at once. Many a kind action here I have seen performed by people whom I had considered harsh and proud; and men with smiling faces, polite, and noted for their obliging disposition, proved themselves selfish in the extreme.'—*Ibid.* p. 201.

There were some, he tells us, who could enjoy delicacies before his face, to whom on previous occasions he had given many luxuries, and yet offer nothing.

'It was infamous! Self, self, self,—how general that feeling was, especially among the rich.'—*Ibid.* p. 201.

Pride and cowardice were not wholly forgotten vices, and surliness not uncommon.

'A siege sours one's temper considerably. One or two officers, whom I shall not name, were like rabid dogs, snapping at whoever addressed them. But the generality could bear scrutiny well enough, and yet not suffer in estimation. There are many good men with us still.'—*Ibid.* p. 202.

And what is to be the end of all these things, these infinite calamities, public and private? Surely so great a storm must be succeeded by a calm. But what sort of calm? The mutiny is now almost subdued, but the task of reconstruction yet remains. We sincerely hope and trust that the renovated condition of India will bear a more Christian aspect than the former. The state of India has long been felt a great blot on the religious character of England, and men have ardently desired, with almost a prophetic boldness, for some *change*, some *social revolution*, that might usher in the conversion of its vast heathen population. A change has come, with an impetus and violence that for a time compelled even the most ardent reformer to become nothing but a dismayed spectator. As the excitement of this mutiny does however by degrees settle down, we may fairly estimate the advantages to be hoped for from such a mighty storm. It is at least an opportunity, and there are two features in it which deserve special thought. Heathenism has been exposed before the whole world in its base, revolting, unnatural character. There was a growing enlightenment in the higher native minds, even before this outbreak, which we hope may now lead on to some feeling of self-conviction, some calm reflection, that their religion has been found guilty, by the judgment of all mankind, of opposing every interest, every good part of our nature. The second feature is the positive testimony borne to the spirit of the Christian religion by the martyrdom of its professors. If the Oriental mind can ever learn to 'abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is 'good,' now surely may that lesson be taught them with illustrations of prodigious force. In no great movements ought we to be impatient; we must always feel that a higher Providence than we are able to comprehend, is the actual motive-power in all religious agitation; yet for this very reason we may see hope in times like the present. True it is, that we know not how India is to be converted. Men of the world may say that it is as impossible as ever. But, 'that which is impossible with 'man, is possible with God.' And why should we despair? We have possessed India as yet but a short time; a time, be it remembered, of extraordinary religious deadness at home. As, however, the revived spirit of later years extends its branches, and deepens its roots, we see every reason, from history and analogy, to presuppose that a country like India, related as it is to ourselves, should partake of this improvement. And, if

a great divine judgment is about to come on the ancient heathenism of India, what more natural, or what more to be expected, than that the evil spirit, about to be cast out, should give vent to one vast tearing struggle, after the manner of the demoniacal possessions of the Gospel. If this was to be expected, here indeed we have it. We cannot see the prospect that lies before us, nor can we foretell the time, which is in His hands, of such mighty changes; but still we may hope, and we must *act.* Martyrdom and suffering, endured with resignation and patience, have ever been productive of good, have ever been fruitful to the Church. If therefore, on due reflection upon the late awful trials to which our countrymen in India have been subjected, we can honestly and conscientiously arrive at the conclusion that good testimony has thereby been given to the strength and beauty, the divine and spiritual character of the Christian religion; we may then no longer doubt that new life will be imparted to the Church's work. No one can read the inner details of this mutiny without being conscious that, upon the whole, there was a high tone of religious character, a real trust in Providence, and real courage springing from a Christian hope, made generally manifest, as the characteristic of those who professed the religion of Christ. The contrast afforded by them with the demoniacal fury of Mahommedans and Hindoos, is now before the world as a living picture, from which, in God's due time, we augur great and potent events. It is a good sign that, at this critical time, the long-hoped-for increase of the Indian Episcopate seems likely to be granted in the natural course of things. We trust that the whole machinery of the Church will now stand on a far bolder footing; will no longer be ashamed to uphold the Cross of Christ before the heathen. The blood of those who have fallen victims—in some cases shot down while in prayer, or in the very act of singing praise—ought to sweep away all false timidity in proclaiming the great Name of their and our living Master. They made a good confession, and may their successors on the Indian scene carry on the good work with vigour and with resolution; trusting to His power who, in the hour of trial, has shown so many tokens of His presence, and will do the same also in the time of active service for the building up of His Church.

ART. V.—*Sancti Irenæi Episcopi Lugdunensis Libros Quinque adversus Hæreses, textu Græco in locis nonnullis locupletato, versione Latinâ cum codicibus Claromontano ac Arundeliano denuo collatâ, præmissâ de placitis Gnosticorum Prolusione, fragmenta necnon Græce, Syriace, Armeniace, commentatione perpetuâ et indicibus variis, edidit* W. WIGAN HARVEY, S.T.B., *Collegii Regalis olim Socius.* Tomm. ii. Cantabrigiæ: Typis Academicis. 1857.

THESE beautiful volumes, which have recently been issued from the Cambridge University Press, call for notice at our hands, if it were only to register the fact of a new edition of the works of one of the great witnesses to the faith received in the primitive Church, having been published by the University of Cambridge, and to observe the progress in theological learning made in it.

We shall first speak of the edition itself; its merits in design as compared with previous editions, and its execution; and add a few remarks on the good to be extracted from the works of S. Irenæus, and their special value in relation to the turn men's thoughts are taking at this day.

The beauty of paper and type, and the excellence of the general execution of these volumes, are manifest at first sight. The Greek is free from the contractions which have been so hindering to modern readers, and the notes are in English. The editor has had the advantage of all the previous great editions—those of Feuardentius, Grabe, and Massuet, and of that recently sent out by Stieren: and he has used them. Instead of reprinting the notes of the earlier editors, the course usually taken hitherto, he has written new notes of his own, often giving the substance of what was valuable in those who went before him, and at times their words.

Stieren, on the other hand, with whom it is most obvious to compare him, has reprinted most of the notes of these editors; the principal dissertations of Massuet, the Prolegomena of Grabe, and other editors, and the whole of the long notes on the 'Pfaffian Fragments,' and the controversial treatises on their genuineness; the best part of Semler's essay, and Walch's reply; so as to give in one volume all, or almost all, that a thorough student of Irenæus would require.

In all these respects Mr. Harvey has certainly simplified the study of Irenæus. The notes, which look so formidable in other editions—pages on pages of Latin, deterring the cowardly young student from the very attempt to read an author of

whom the explanation seems to require so much labour—have now disappeared: and we have English notes, which are by no means formidable either from depth or difficulty, designed to tell us, as the saying is, just what we want to know and no more. The new edition in this respect is specially qualified for the end for which, we apprehend, the Cambridge series of editions of the Fathers is intended—viz., for the use of ordinary students, who may thus find the first difficulties of their authors removed, and be attracted rather than repelled, by the labours of the editor. For those, however, who wish to make deeper investigations, not to be mere passive students, nothing can be substituted for the exhaustive dissertations and notes of the earlier editors, and for the wonderful stores of learning which are to be found in them. One original dissertation by Mr. Harvey is prefixed —on Gnosticism; and a notice of the life and writings of S. Irenæus, which, though the former contains reference to much of new views and new matter, does not compensate for the absence of the dissertations of Massuet.

The critical notices of previous editions, and of the different MS. authorities in Stieren, are, as might be expected in a German edition, more full, and superior to Mr. Harvey's.

As to the text, Stieren's great contribution was the re-collation of the Vossian MS. of the Latin version, in which version alone, we need scarcely remind our readers, the great work of S. Irenæus has been preserved. Mr. Harvey's is the re-collating of the two most ancient representatives of this same Latin version, the Clermont and Arundel MSS., both of which MSS. are preserved in England; the latter in the Library of the British Museum, the former in the valuable collection of Sir Thomas Phillips of Middlehill. This circumstance of itself puts England under the obligation to publish the best edition of S. Irenæus. Of these we extract Mr. Harvey's description:—

'The Clermont MS. upon which principally Massuet formed his text, is fairly written in an Italian hand of the tenth century; possibly, however, two transcribers were employed upon it, a second hand being observable, as it is imagined, from fol. 189 to 274. The entire MS. is in good preservation, though it is defective at the end, and exhibits occasional omissions from careless copying, with a more lengthened *hiatus* in the Fifth Book.' —Preface, pp. 3, 4.

'The Arundel MS. is in a bold Flemish hand, and is of later date than the Clermont MS. by perhaps two centuries. Its readings, however, are very valuable as marking a different family of *codices*, from that represented by the Clermont copy. This MS. also is imperfect towards the end, the defect being caused, not by its own original loss, but by mutilation of some antecedent copy; thus the last column is left partly blank. Grabe's text represents the readings principally of the Arundel MS.'— *Ibid.* p. 4.

Mr. Harvey, we are glad to see, vindicates old Grabe—whom

we may consider almost an English scholar—from the guilt of the inaccuracies of collation in the Voss MS. discovered by Stieren, by observing that he did not make that collation himself; it was done for him by Dodwell. Mr. Harvey himself corrects mistakes and oversights of Stieren.

Of the Voss MS. collated by Stieren, Mr. Harvey gives the following account; and at the end of it passes on to speak of the principles which he had himself adopted in forming a text, and the principal object of his notes, which, it will be observed, is explanatory and illustrative, rather than critical. These it is best to give in Mr. Harvey's own words:—

'The Voss copy is later again than the Arundel, and does not date earlier than the fourteenth century. Still it is the only perfect copy; or rather, it contains as much as any other MS. that has been known since the discovery of printing. It being no longer necessary to report in the present edition every difference of reading, the text has been formed upon a comparison of these three MSS. with previous editions; the more remarkable variations being expressed in the notes. The principal object of the notes has been to explain more clearly the mind of the author by reference to contemporaneous authority, such as the *Excerpta* from Theodotus, or the *Didascalia Orientalis*, subjoined to the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria; Hippolytus in his *Philosophumena*, and Tertullian in his Treatise *c. Valentinum*. The notions, against which the great work of Irenæus was directed, have so many points of contact with Greek philosophy, that occasional illustrations from this source have been found necessary.'—*Ibid.* p. 5.

Each editor has prefixed pages of lithographed fac-similes of the MSS. he has employed, a very creditable and most useful mode of illustrating and beautifying the editions, from which, so much better than description, we may judge of the quality of a MS. Stieren's are of the Voss MSS., and some others; Mr. Harvey's, which are very superior in point of execution, consist of exquisite representations of the Clermont and Arundel MSS., and of three specimens of the Syriac MSS., from which some of the fragments are taken, dated, one A.D. 562; one of the seventh or eighth century; one A.D. 715.

The passage last cited from Mr. Harvey's preface, indicates *the* advantage which the present edition has over any previous edition of S. Irenæus, for supplying, correcting, and illustrating the text, in that it uses the work of S. Hippolytus, 'Against all Heresies,' of which, as is well known, large portions are directly copied from S. Irenæus, or, with some modifications and alterations, derived from him. The existence of that work was not known till after Stieren had sent out that part of Irenæus for the correction of which it is valuable. His first fasciculus was published before the Philosophumena. He promised a separate dissertation on the subject, as a supplement to his edition; but

this could not anyhow compensate for the want of its being used in the work itself; one of the uses of the treatise being, that it supplies the Greek of some passages which was not known before, and enables us to correct that which was already preserved for us in other ancient writers.

To appreciate this edition, we must remember the history of the work of Irenæus, which is, in many respects, almost unique, and carries us back to a very peculiar condition of society, in regard to language; the work being valuable for the linguistic history of these times, as well as the ecclesiastical. We are brought at once among the three languages spoken in France in the second century. S. Irenæus, a Greek from Asia Minor, comes to Lyons. He is by no means the only Greek; for the names of the Christian Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne—the letters they wrote, with the history of their sufferings, in Greek and to Greeks—the Greek remains which are found in France, such as the Autun inscription—show that Greek was used, not only as the common language of civilised society, but as the proper language of a considerable portion of the inhabitants. In Greek S. Irenæus wrote: but he says he was writing *ἐν βαρβάροις*. And there is a patent proof of it. His work was translated, we conceive, very soon after its publication, into Latin, if Latin it can be called. It is a unique language; and we should find it difficult to justify the introduction of the words used by the translator of Irenæus, into any dictionary, except it were of provincial or colonial Latin. The Latin of Africa, as represented by Tertullian, comes most near to it. In the words of Mr. Harvey, 'The translator must have been one to whom neither Latin nor Greek was his mother tongue'—a Gaul, one of the Celtic race, who undertook this work—and considered it most safe to translate the Greek words by those Latin ones which in etymology, or primary meaning, were most like them; and to be so strict in his renderings as to sacrifice the idiom of the Latin to that of the Greek text before him. Thus *subjecit* is the translation of *ὑπέθετο*; *suspiciones* of *ὑπολήψεις*; *unum quod non*, of *μόνον οὐκ*; *καθ' αὑτὸν* (by himself) is translated by *secundum eum; οὐκ ἐτράπησαν* by *non conversi sunt.* Hence the received rule for making out the sense of Irenæus is, to translate the Latin back again into Greek, and then see what it means. To help us in this, the indices appended to editions of this author, giving the Greek and Latin words which the translator treated as equivalent, are most valuable; and we recommend any beginner in Irenæus to study these well; they are curious, even amusing, as well as instructive. Such was the Latin which was published in Southern Gaul in the latter end of the second century; which was read, and which has been transcribed again

and again, through so many centuries. It is this Latin version, of which we have now nearly the whole, in different MSS.

The Greek which is extant we owe to another circumstance: a feature in the *Hereseological* literature, at least, of the ancient Christians, which is remarkably illustrated, and, to some extent, brought to light, in connexion with this work of S. Irenæus. We mean the extent to which writers on these subjects copied from one another.

S. Irenæus wrote his work about A.D. 187. Very probably, it was within twenty years after this that Tertullian sent out his book against the Valentinians. He uses Irenæus largely throughout: much of the work may be regarded as a compilation from Irenæus; considerable portions being almost word for word transcribed from it: and it appears that, besides having the Greek, he ordinarily used the curious Latin version of which we have spoken. Indeed, he himself (§ 7) professes that he derives his materials from the great writers who had preceded him, the contemporaries of the heretics, Justin Martyr, Miltiades, Irenæus, and Proculus: so that in him we have actually preserved to us the substance of earlier writers.

Not so the next copier from Irenæus, S. Hippolytus: he transcribes largely from the Greek, abridges, embodies, enlarges what he finds in this great historian of heresies; but without the acknowledgments which we find in Tertullian. Here then is a work in which the Greek itself is preserved, but unfortunately chiefly from the same places which had been extracted, and so preserved by others; viz. from the first book; being the account of the Gnostic or Valentinian doctrines. In the fourth century, Eusebius extracted much both from the work against heresies, and from other treatises now lost, bearing on general ecclesiastical history; and Epiphanius copied great part of the first book into his work against heresies. Extracts were made by John Damascene, the compilers of Catenas, and others; Theodoret used it; as did almost all writers on heresies, directly or indirectly.

We must regard the first book of S. Irenæus as having been the great storehouse of information for the ancient Christians on the subject of the Gnostic doctrines. He had examined their writings with diligence, and brought the result of his researches systematically together. And if we would appreciate the value set upon his work, we must suppose that the opinions of the Gnostics would probably be about as little understood by the Christians of those days, as those of the Mormonites, or even the Irvingites, are by most clergymen now. Hence the value of such a book as this of Irenæus.

Accordingly portions of S. Irenæus are found in divers

writers,—Greek, Syriac, and Armenian, as it seems,—and the discovery of the work of Hippolytus added a fresh and to some extent a novel collection of extracts, the use of which makes this edition superior so far to any other.

In connexion with this subject of the heresies, we may observe that Mr. Harvey's edition does not contain the collection of extant fragments of the Gnostic writers, which heretofore has been appended to all editions of this author. There we might read the very words of Valentinus and Ptolemæus; and might see, from their plausible and able writing, the cause of the success they met with, in influencing the opinion of their contemporaries. It may be more correct not to include them with S. Irenæus. But we apprehend that, in some respects at least, the Gnostics would be better understood by these fragments than by any dissertation. They would speak for themselves: and, though we should not see the analysis of their errors, we should look on the external features, which they in their own works presented to their contemporaries.

We ought to add that Mr. Harvey has appended, in the place where we looked for the heretics, a collection, in Syriac, of portions of S. Irenæus, and an Armenian fragment—partly such as we have already in Greek or Latin, partly new; the new being of questionable genuineness. Especially there is one fragment in Armenian and Syriac, which Mr. Harvey does not seem aware has also been attributed to Melito: an error attributable to Mr. Cureton's having, of the two copies of this same passage contained in a Syriac MS. in the Museum, given to Pitra that in which it was attributed to S. Irenæus, and himself published that in which it was called Melito's. If Mr. Harvey refers to Mr. Cureton's 'Spicilegium Syriacum,' he will find the passage he has printed as S. Irenæus' under the name of Melito; and will also, we think, change his view, as to the large portion which he omits, though contained in the Armenian, being an interpolation, when he reads it in Mr. Cureton's Syriac.

The introductory Essay on Gnosticism might, we think, well have been dispensed with, at least in this place. The reason, no doubt, for introducing it, is the additional information which is given on the subject, in the work of S. Hippolytus; and also the views put out by Bauer, Neander, Matter and others, which Mr. Harvey seems to have studied. But with all respect for the stores of learning which are exhibited in it, we, for our own part, had much rather have had this new matter used and embodied in a separate work, which might well be a pretty large one; and, if it might be, written by one who could combine the genius

with which Neander has thrown himself into the mind of the Gnostics, with the careful, truthful, accurate and diligent research, and fair statement of all the facts, which distinguish more dull but more reliable authors who have written on this subject. We say this, because every one who thoroughly investigates the subject must find that though he gain invaluable suggestions from Neander, who theorises beautifully for us, and has no difficulties, yet that we must not rely on him alone for a just account of Gnosticism. We must be content very patiently to make our way through dull, dry, and seemingly contradictory facts, if we would truly master the subject. Mr. Harvey is himself one of the more matter-of-fact school. His 'Dissertation' has very much of the dryness which seems necessarily to belong to a legitimate treatise on the Gnostics; and it does not appear to be in his line of thought, to enter into the inner principles of the system. There is a curious evidence of this in the opening of the Essay, where he goes about to show, from the book of Genesis, the external handing down of the primeval revelation, by way of proving that certain religious truths were believed by those who were external to the Jewish Church—Persians, Egyptians, &c.; underrating the fact that there are religious sentiments and ideas, which are somehow or other congenital with the human mind, and are ineradicable from it. It is to man's inner nature, and the ideas and feelings which live there, that we must look for the interpretation of the riddles of Gnosticism.

We give the opening of the essay as a specimen of Mr. Harvey's style of thought and expression:—

'The Gnostic system, in its original development, marks an earnest endeavour on the part of the human intellect to recur to certain primary principles, that gave a starting-point to the philosophical theories of Greece, and that subsisted among other races also, in proportion to their civilisation, as the arcane soul of their faith in things unseen. That glimpses of truth, of which man had an unclouded view in Paradise, were still retained in the earliest ages of the world, is very evident, so far as the Bible has revealed to us the religious history of the various families of the human race after the deluge. For a time, at least, the traditions of Paradise held their ground; nor had they wholly died away when Christ appeared. Gnosticism applied itself to collect and rearrange these fragmentary portions of truth; although, as might be expected of a work performed without reference to Divine Revelation, the materials were thrown together in much grotesque confusion, and presented at the best a rude and undigested mass of dimly appreciated truth. The Persian theosophy of Zoroaster; the Cabbala, learned by the Jews in Babylon; the Isiacal traditions of Egypt, as refined into a system of harmony by Plato; the arithmetical theories of Pythagoras, possibly of Indian origin, and symbolizing the abstract truth and unlimited power of the Deity,—were severally laid under contribution. They were amalgamated successively by the Gnostic schools, and eventually all met in the Valentinian theory.'

The work of an editor of Irenæus is one of immense difficulty, from the strangeness of the Gnostic notions, and their running out into connexion with the varied schools of Greek philosophy, and the dreamy reveries of Oriental theology; this difficulty is enhanced by the strange Latin and the condition of the MSS. Perhaps this is the most difficult of all the fathers, except Tertullian: the more credit, if he is edited well. Mr. Harvey's illustrative notes show much diligence. The *Variæ Lectiones* are, as far as we can see, well given; the readings adopted are good, and the text generally is quite *the best we have;* while the short notes selected from Grabe and Massuet, or embodied in Mr. Harvey's own, seem to be generally well chosen, and introduced with modesty and good taste. The moral qualities of the editor, his sincerity, faithfulness, and earnest wish to do his work well and honestly, strike us very forcibly. Honesty,—real honesty,—is no unimportant quality now-a-days in editors and critics; and Mr. Harvey shows his honesty throughout.

In commenting on defects in the work, which we seem bound as honest critics to do, we wish particularly to have it understood that we do not wish to detract from the merit of the work as a whole; or to speak otherwise than with entire respect of the editor, whose sound views and general right-mindedness we esteem highly.

It appears to us that it would have been better if more time had been devoted to the preparation of the work, which might well have been the employment of many years of the life of a most accomplished editor; and for the proper editing of this work accomplishments are required that are, perhaps, not often found combined—nice scholarship, acuteness, clearness, and comprehensiveness of mind, a familiar acquaintance with patristic writings, and the views and language of the ancient Christians, together with a knowledge of the most advanced criticism of our own day, both on the philosophic theories of the Gnostic schools, on the text of Holy Scripture, and the history of the Church in this early period. Mr. Harvey is known as the author of a valuable selection of patristic writings in proof of the catholicity of the Thirty-nine Articles, in three volumes, called *Vindex Catholicus;* and an original work on the History and Theology of the Creeds; but it is not more than might be expected, that he should not always prove equal to all the requirements which we look for in an editor of S. Irenæus. His knowledge seems to be accumulated rather than really digested and made his own.

Some defects there are which would strike every one, which, though seemingly trifling, it may be right to notice, which, as they enter into the plan on which the work is constructed, might, we think, have been provided against.

The most obvious of these is the principle on which references are made. The principles usually adopted are, to give references to the best editions for original authorities; and for illustration, or further information, to the greatest and best-known writers on the subject. But Mr. Harvey's references are almost always made to his own publications. If a subject is opened, and needs fuller development or illustration, we are referred to the 'History and Theology of the Creeds.' If a Father is referred to, the passage will be found in the *Vindex.*

Thus in vol. ii. at p. 21, note 1: 'Upon this particular text 'see the Rabbinical Gloss. at p. 267 of the editor's work on the 'Creeds.' At p. 31, note 1: 'The reader may consult the 'remarks upon this text in the editor's work upon the *Creeds*, 'p. 278.' At p. 41, note 1: 'Cf. Hist. and Theol. of the 'Creeds, 1—33;' and so *passim.*

Again, in references to Fathers. Of so common a work as the Epistle of S. Clement, we are told, at p. 11, note 3, 'The epistle is found in vol. iii. p. 89, of the editor's *Vindex Cath.*' In the next page, note 3, 'The account of the martyrdom of 'S. Polycarp is found in the editor's *Vindex Cath.* vol. iii. p. 74.' In p. 13, 'S. Polycarp's epistle is cited, with the reference, '§ 9, Vind. Cathol. vol. ii. p. 192.' In the pages 205—10: on a few lines of S. Irenæus on the Eucharist, are notes occupying almost the whole of each page, containing very large extracts from different Fathers; the notes being *disproportioned* to those given elsewhere; but containing almost exclusively passages with references to the Vindex Catholicus; with a general intimation in p. 209, after a long list of treatises, that 'some of these treatises are found at length in the Vindex Cath.' This does not seem to us desirable, for few readers probably possess Mr. Harvey's works; and in a book published by the Cambridge Press, the individual editor should not be so prominent.

A second defect, and a subject of regret in so nice an edition, is, that, as it appears, the work was sent to the press before the editor had finished it, and that the notes were written as he went on. At any rate, he corrects himself to a degree which is not usual with scholars of such mark as editors of S. Irenæus. We meet, for instance, with such oversights as the following. In vol. i. p. 82, note 3, we read:—

'Monogenes was called the son of Bythus, but *we do not find elsewhere* that the Word was derived by Valentinus from Monogenes by filiation; it is perhaps the author's *own inference.*'

This is rather a bold view to take of S. Irenæus' very exact statement—'καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Λόγον υἱὸν τοῦ Μονογένους:' and accordingly we find it corrected at p. 312 of this same volume,

where, on the words 'per Logon, qui et primogenitus erat 'Monogenûs,' there is this note:—

'*I. e.* Nus I. i. 2, cf. III. § 6, and correct thereby the statement p. 82, n. 3.'

And again, in vol. ii. p. 40, note 7, on the words 'et initium 'quidem esse Monogenen; Logon autem verum filium unigeniti,' the editor honestly repeats the acknowledgment of his error, and says—

'Logos, therefore, was from Μονογενὴς by filiation; and the opinion stated vol. i. p. 82, n. 3, must be modified. See also vol. i. p. 312, n. 2.'

On the more grave errors contained in a 'hasty note,' in vol. ii. p. 54, retracted at p. 413, we will not dwell; but surely it would have been much better to have cancelled the leaf when the blunders were discovered; and all other errors should have been corrected in a table of *errata*, not in subsequent notes, which a reader might not read in the course of his studies.

The third fault we would observe on in the method of the work, is the adoption of a new division of chapters and sections. It was bad enough before, when one could never know whether lib. i. c. xii. was Grabe's chapter xii. or Massuet's. Two divisions were bad enough. Now we have a third; and in future times careful writers will have to say, 'lib. iii. c. xi. ed. Grabe; c. xxiv. 1, ed. Massuet; c. xxxviii. 1, ed. Harvey,' if they quote a passage on which we have accidentally opened at in vol. ii. p. 131, so greatly do the divisions vary. The fact that there were two divisions already, was no reason for making a third, seeing there is no principle, no objective truth at stake; but it was a reason for taking one of the two, and trying to make that the received division, as Stieren had done by adopting Massuet's division.

These are defects in the plan of the work. There are others in the execution of it. We conceive that we may not be doing an unacceptable service, if we point out a few places among those we have met with in reading the work, in which we think Mr. Harvey has erred, or overlooked what he ought to have noticed. And first, of some connected with S. Hippolytus.

The most important accession to any new edition of Irenæus at this time was evidently to be derived from that work; and Mr. Harvey has been very diligent in his use of it. But he does not seem to have observed the circumstance that the tenth book of the Philosophumena goes over the same ground as the earlier books, and is to a great extent an abridgment or summary of them. Hence we may find many of the errata in the MS. of the former books corrected by the latter; and, by a reference to this

part of the work, Mr. Harvey would have been able to correct some of his own conjectures, and to convert others into facts.

Thus, in one instance, the account of a heresy in the tenth book is quite as full as in the seventh,—we mean that of Cerinthus: we will show its use; and illustrate, by a specimen, Mr. Harvey's editorial difficulties.[1] The chapter of our author on this heresy was hitherto extant only in Latin. But Hippolytus, in his work (vii. 33), transcribed the words of Irenæus. Our MS. of Hippolytus, however, is faulty here; and Hippolytus himself seems to have omitted some words, and altered others. The tenth book, c. 21, however, supplies the

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[1] To make the subject more clear, we subjoin the three texts, setting the *Vetus Versio* in the middle.

HIPPOLYTUS, lib. vii. c. 33, pp. 256, 257, with Mr. Harvey's emendations.

Κήρινθος δέ τις [καὶ] αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς, ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου [*suppl.* Θεοῦ] γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινὸς κεχωρισμένης, [*suppl.* καὶ ἀπεχούσης] τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα Θεὸν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ὑπέθετο μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, [.....] γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας οἷον [*l.* υἱὸν,] ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δικαιότερον γεγονέναι [INT. καὶ φρονιμώτερον] καὶ σοφώτερον. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν [*l.* ἀπὸ] τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας, τὸν Χριστὸν, ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς. Καὶ τότε κηρῦξαι τὸν γνωστὸν [*l.* ἄγνωστον] πατέρα, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει, ἀποστῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ[1] καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐγηγέρθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ διαμεμενηκέναι πατρικὸν ὑπάρχοντα.

IRENÆUS, lib. i. c. 21, pp. 211, 212.

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a Virtute quadam valde separata et distante ab ea principalitate, quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum, qui est super omnia, Deum. Jesum autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est,) fuisse autem eum Joseph et Mariæ filium similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia et prudentia, et sapientia ab hominibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab ea principalitate, quæ est super omnia. Christum figurâ columbæ; et tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes perfecisse: in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse, et resurrexisse; Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse existentem spiritualem.

HIPPOLYTUS, lib. x.' c. 21, pp. 327, 328.

Κήρινθος δὲ ὁ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀσκηθεὶς αὐτὸς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ τὸν κόσμον γεγονέναι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινὸς ἀγγελικῆς, πολὺ κεχωρισμένης καὶ διεστώσης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα Θεόν. Τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν λέγει μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγεννῆσθαι·[1] [.....] γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας υἱὸν, ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ διεννοχέναι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ συνέσει ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς λοιπούς. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατεληλυθέναι εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας, τὸν Χριστὸν, ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ τότε κηρῦξαι τὸν ἄγνωστον πατέρα, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει τοῦ πάθους ἀποπτῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ· πεπονθέναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ μεμενηκέναι πνεῦμα Κυρίου ὑπάρχοντα.

[1] MS. Χριστοῦ.

[1] Cod. γεγενῆσθαι.

It will at once be seen how much Mr. Harvey has lost by only using the Greek of the first column. It also shows how far Hippolytus altered the words of Irenæus. The corrections υἱὸν for οἷον, ἄγνωστον for γνωστὸν, Χριστοῦ for Ἰησοῦ, had, Mr. Harvey intimates, been pointed out by Bunsen and Dr. Scott.

defects and corrects the errors: *e. g.* (see vol. i. p. 211, line 2, of Mr. Harvey's Irenæus), in the words *οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου* [*suppl.* *Θεοῦ*] *γεγονέναι*, the *Θεοῦ*, which Mr. Harvey rightly supplies, as *Deo* occurs in the Latin, is found in S. Hippolytus, lib. x. So for Hippolytus' *ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινὸς κεχωρισμένης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἐξουσίας*, the corresponding Latin is 'sed 'a virtute quadam *valde* separata, et distante ab eâ principali-'tate quæ est super omnia.' Mr. Harvey finds in lib. vii. of Hippolytus the Greek as we have printed it, and he conjecturally inserts *καὶ ἀπεχούσης* after *κεχωρισμένης*. But the tenth book of Hippolytus would have supplied the Greek for *valde*, in *πολὺ κεχωρισμένης*; it would also have given the original words for *et distante* in *καὶ διεστώσης*, which will at once be recognised as an improvement on *καὶ ἀπεχούσης*: and it would have shown that probably the true original for *principalitate* is *αὐθεντίας*; indeed, that word is found again a few lines below in both places of Hippolytus, where the Latin is *principalitate:* the entire passage runs thus in lib. x.—*ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινὸς ἀγγελικῆς, πολὺ κεχωρισμένης καὶ διεστώσης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας*. A few lines lower down, the *οἷον* of lib. vii. is correctly *νἱὸν* in lib. x. The true original of *et plus potuisse justitia, et prudentia, et sapientia ab hominibus*, is found to be not *καὶ δικαιότερον γεγονέναι* [INT. *καὶ φρονιμώτερον*] *καὶ σοφώτερον*, which Mr. Harvey found in the seventh book, and completed by the conjectural addition in []s; but *καὶ διενηνόχεναι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ συνέσει* (*ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς*). In the following lines, for *ἀπὸ*, which Mr. Harvey conjecturally inserts as the original of *ab* (instead of *τὸν*, an obvious erratum of a transcriber of the Philosophumena), *ἐκ* is found in lib. x.; for the erroneous *γνωστὸν* of lib. vii., the true reading *ἄγνωστον*; for *ἀποστῆναι*, which Mr. Harvey has incorrectly retained for the Latin *revolasse*, he would have found the true reading *ἀποπτῆναι*; and so would have avoided the error he has made in the hasty note, vol. ii. p. 54, which we have before referred to, and would have recognised that Grabe's correction was well founded,—and lastly, he would have found a confirmation of the most true substitution of *πνευμάτικον* for the mistaken *πατρικὸν* of the text of the Philosophumena, in another mistake, *πνεῦμα Κυρίου*.

Mr. Harvey's overlooking this valuable passage is the more strange, as in the very next page of his work he cites the tenth book of Hippolytus to clear up the account of the Ebionites,—nay, in the Preliminary Dissertation, p. lxxi. note 3, he actually cites *the very words* of lib. x., *which we have just been adducing*, and yet makes no allusion whatever to their bearing on the text of lib. i.

To turn to the last-written part of the work, the Preface, we find another and still more surprising instance of Mr. Harvey's overlooking matter supplied by Hippolytus.

In the Editor's Preface, p. 8, we read:—

'These quotations indeed will not justify the conjecture that Hippolytus was the friend, at whose instance the work "of Irenæus" was written, for the chronology of the two writers makes the supposition wholly untenable; Hippolytus must have been as young, when the work was written c. Hæreses, as Irenæus was when he heard Polycarp. If this was written before A.D. 190, *we know that Hippolytus was in his vigour* A.D. 250, *when he wrote against Noetus.*'

How do we know this? where do we find any evidence about it? where does Mr. Harvey go for the facts to settle this point? To Hippolytus' own account of himself in his work, in the now-celebrated contest in which he engaged with the Pope? To the arguments alleged from chronology to prove that the Philosophumena was not Origen's? No. Mr. Harvey goes to Epiphanius! He neglects the original, the highest contemporary authority: the writer's autobiography which connects him with several historical personages, and clearly establishes the period at which he lived; and infers his age from the statement of the age of Noetus, made by one who wrote 130 years afterwards.

The evidence of the assertion, startling to a reader in the year 1857, that Hippolytus 'was in his vigour A.D. 250, when he wrote against Noetus,' is contained in two notes which we give entire:

'1. EPIPHANIUS writing A.D. 375, says that NOETUS became heretical about 130 years before; *οὐ πρὸ ἐτῶν πλειόνων, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ χρόνου τῶν τούτων ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω.* Hær. lvii. i.

'2. *ἦν δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα κατὰ αἱρέσεων λβ' ἀρχὴν ποιούμενον Δοσιθεανοὺς, καὶ μέχρι Νοήτου καὶ Νοητιανῶν διαλαμβανόμενον.*'

To the latter extract no reference is attached; but we recognise it as part of a passage of Photius, about a certain little book written by Hippolytus against thirty-two heresies; 'beginning with the Dositheans, and going down to the Noe-'tians,' which Mr. Harvey alleges to prove *that Hippolytus wrote against Noetus.* It would have been more simple to have referred to the work against Noetus itself, which is extant, and has been well known for more than a century.

But the statement of Epiphanius is incorrect; the date of Noetus, given by him, can be rectified by this very work which the editor has had so much in his hands; whilst the date at which Hippolytus 'was in his vigour' can be pretty exactly ascertained from his own narrative of events, in which he took a most prominent part. Hippolytus says, that Noetus intro-

duced a heresy; that *his followers*, Epigonus and Cleomenes, propagated his doctrine during the episcopate of Zephyrinus; that is, at least, some time *prior to* A.D. 218, at which time also Callistus and Sabellius were promoting the like heresy,—all at Rome; and Hippolytus 'was in his vigour' opposing them. Further, it is generally supposed that Hippolytus was killed in the persecution, A.D. 235.

We must presume that Mr. Harvey has only *used* the work of Hippolytus, so far as it seemed to him to illustrate Irenæus, not studied it as a whole; and, further, that he has not taken any interest in the arguments about the authorship, since the personal history of the writer, and the chronology of the events in which he took a part, have so important a place among them, that one who had attended to the subject could not but have known the time at which Hippolytus flourished or Noetus lived.

We will only say further, in regard to this part of the subject, that we are glad to see that Mr. Harvey considers that the Appendix to Tertullian's Præscript. adv. Hæreses, is Hippolytus' early work; we agree with him, and suppose that what we have is a translation (not improbably by Victorinus Petavionensis, see Oehler's Tertullian, ii. 752), and most likely an abridgment of the original. And we are, also, glad to express our concurrence in his opinion that in a passage in Irenæus about a distinguished disciple of Valentinus, lib. 1. v. 2. (xi. 2. Mass.), ἐπιφάνης is an adjective, not, as maintained hitherto by the highest authorities, a proper name. See Mr. Harvey's note, vol. i. p. 102.

In general we think favourably of Mr. Harvey's text, and many of his conjectures as to the right readings are good. From some we wish to express ourdis sent. For instance, that in the following place. In the *Præfatio* to the third book, there occur in the Latin version the following words:—'propter 'quod cum sit unius operis *traductio* eorum et *destructio* in 'multis, &c. In secundo vero *destructa* et eversa sunt quæ ab 'ipsis male docentur, et nudata et ostensa sunt talia qualia et 'sunt.' (Vol. ii. p. 1, lib. iii. *Præfat.*) In a note on the word *destructio*, Mr. Harvey introduces the remark that, 'A more 'likely reading seems to be *detectio*, ἔλεγχος; and, in the 'sequel, I would certainly propose *detecta*, as being closely 'parallel to *nudata* following.'

This seems to us an unfortunate conjecture. What Mr. Harvey calls being 'closely parallel with,' is in reality being very nearly 'equivalent to;' and that is the strongest reason against reading *detecta*, which would make a very poor repetition of the same thought. But what we wish to observe is,

that Mr. Harvey seems to forget that *destructio* is the technical Latin term for 'disproving.' Hence, what are called *destructive* syllogisms, as opposed to *constructive* syllogisms. Accordingly, in the index of corresponding Greek and Latin words at the end of the volume, we have ἀνασκευάζων λόγος (vol. i. p. 89) as the Greek, for which the Latin translator put, *destructor sermo;* so also we have *destruens, destruxit, destructio,* used in v. 21. 2 (vol. ii. p. 381): in this and the allied sense of refuting.

On the other hand, ἔλεγχος, which Mr. Harvey would introduce here to represent the conjectural reading *detectio,* is already anticipated by the word *traductio:* which is the Latin term used by the translator for ἔλεγχος. Thus, soon after, in a passage (p. 17), the Greek of which has been preserved by Eusebius, the Latin word *traductus* (lib. iii. 4. 1) is found to be the representative of the Greek word ἐλεγχόμενος; nay, in lib. v. 21. 2 (p. 283), Mr. Harvey himself has the following note on the words,—'Dominus itaque *traducens* eum qui esset;' '*Traducens,* exposing, ἐλέγχων, τις ἦν.' (The accent has slipped away from τίς.) And in this very passage we have the words *destructionem* et *traductionem* brought together; as also (to mention no other places), in the same fifth book in the *Præfatio,* p. 313, we read .... *traductis* .... *traductione* et *eversione.*

There is, we need not say, ample scope for *doctrinal* notes on S. Irenæus: throughout his work important statements and views of doctrine occur, which always suggest, and often require, notes of illustration and explanation—sometimes to make the meaning clear, or remove erroneous impressions; sometimes to exhibit S. Irenæus' special line of thought; sometimes to confirm them by, or contrast them with, those of his own age. Mr. Harvey's notes are *very full* indeed on some portions, *i.e.* on the passage respecting the Eucharist, in which large numbers of extracts are made from other Fathers, expressing the same doctrines as S. Irenæus. In other places where notes seem equally needed, they are omitted, or cursorily written. Some we think we ought to notice particularly. Of course we need not say that Mr. Harvey's general views of doctrine are correct: but we think him at least careless in some important places.

For instance, in lib. iii. c. xx. H. xxi. G. xix. M. Irenæus urges that they who deny our blessed Lord's Divinity, cut themselves off from the benefits of that Incarnation which they deny, and 'continue and die in the bondage of their pristine 'disobedience, not being united (*commixti*) with the Word of 'God the Father,' (we intentionally avoid a literal translation

of *commixti*); and he proceeds to speak of the Incarnation in very beautiful words, that are cited by Theodoret; concluding with the following noble sentence, which contains those 'household words' among Christians, that ring in our ears in the familiar cadence of Hooker:—

Greek in Theodoret.	*Old Latin Version of Irenæus.*
Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἄνθρωπος, . . . ἵνα ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν λόγον χωρήσας, καὶ τὴν υἱοθεσίαν λαβὼν, υἱὸς γένηται Θεοῦ.	Propter hoc enim Verbum Dei homo; et qui Filius Dei est, Filius Hominis factus est, . . . commixtus Verbo Dei, et adoptionem percipiens fiat filius Dei.

In this place we are glad to express our concurrence with Mr. Harvey's very happy adoption of *et* before *adoptionem*, from the Clermont MS., against *ut* in all the others; and to consider with him, that the former clause of the apodosis is lost. But what we have to comment on is at the beginning of the note, where Mr. Harvey says, '*Commixtus* is a very inaccurate 'translation of χωρήσας, and bears the taint of Eutychianism. 'Grabe should be consulted; he supposes that Theodoret's 'orthodoxy may have caused him to substitute χωρήσας for 'συγκραθεὶς, or for whatever other word was read by the 'translator in the copy.'

We agree with Grabe's view that Theodoret substituted χωρήσας for συγκραθεὶς, whether from fault of memory or another cause. But we are startled by Mr. Harvey's note; and coincide only with one clause of it, viz. that 'Grabe should be consulted.' It will then be found that Grabe did *not* suppose that it was 'Theodoret's *orthodoxy*,' but his Nestorian sympathies, which made him avoid a word which had a Eutychian tendency. Massuet joins issue with Grabe; and defends Theodoret, by showing that he would not avoid the expression 'mixed,' of the two Natures, seeing that he himself uses and defends it. His words are:—'Vocabuli quondam exosi vindi-'cias ex professo suscipit, ostenditque κρᾶσιν non semper 'adjunctam habere σύγχυσιν seu confusionem: licet ea, quæ 'conjungantur, per totum invicem misceantur: ut in aere 'accidit,' &c. But Mr. Harvey most unfortunately says, that *commixtus* '*bears the taint of Eutychianism.*'

1. This expression is stronger than Grabe's; and it would have been better if Mr. Harvey had not published this without indicating that if his reader consulted Grabe, he would find a series of instances from primitive writers, who lived chiefly before the controversy on the Incarnation, by whom this very expression was used. Had he read Massuet's note, he would have found the catholicity of the word fully proved; and an instance of its use, as expressing a great doctrinal truth, by S. Leo, the

special maintainer of the true doctrine on this subject. 'Nec sic natura' (these are S. Leo's words) 'in societatem sui 'Creatoris est assumta, ut ille habitator, illa habitaculum 'esset; sed ita *ut natura alteri altera misceretur.*' So S. Leo.

2. Had Mr. Harvey appreciated the full force of the words he uses when he says, that 'the Greek indicates the loss 'of *ut homo* before the word *commixtus*,' he would have seen, we think, that Eutychianism does not *really* come into question at all. S. Irenæus is not speaking only of the hypostatic union of the human nature with the Divine in the Person of Christ, but of the union thereby of OUR human nature with the Word of God, that thereby we 'may receive our adoption, and become the 'sons of God;' the words *ut homo*, which are to be supplied, mean 'that *man*,' as such, 'being mixed,' &c. The same word *commixtus* occurs a few lines before, in the words we cited when speaking of those who deny the Incarnation. S. Irenæus says they are 'nondum *commixti* Verbo Dei Patris;' or, as Grabe, in the concluding words in the note alluded to by Mr. Harvey, opposing Erasmus' mistake that S. Irenæus here taught that 'Christ in His human nature was adopted to be the Son of God,' says: 'Quicquid de ista sententia vel phrasi statuatur, hic 'sane Irenæi locus pro illa haud recte allegatur: neque enim de 'humana Christi natura *in individuo*, sed *in genere*, sive de 'hominibus Christo per fidem junctis universè loquitur, uti 'post alios viros animadvertit Feuardentius;' as Grabe himself had already observed in a previous note on the words 'com-'mixti Verbo,' at the beginning of the chapter; which, in opposition to Feuardent, who explained them 'de communione 'Spiritus per fidem, spem, charitatem;' he understands 'de 'unione carnis nostræ in persona Christi.' We agree, then, that '*Grabe should be consulted;*' and whoever does consult him, will be amply rewarded.

As to the first words of Mr. Harvey's note, that '*commixtus* 'is a very inaccurate translation of *χωρήσας*,' let us only consider that the Greek is *χωρήσας τὸν λόγον*, and it will be manifestly incorrect to speak of '*commixtus Verbo*' being a *translation* of *χωρήσας τὸν λόγον at all.*

In the next page of Mr. Harvey's edition, we meet with the following passage:—

Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἵνα πειρασθῇ, οὕτω καὶ λόγος ἵνα δοξασθῇ· ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι, ... καὶ σταυροῦσθαι, καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν· συγγινομένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν, καὶ ὑπομένειν, καὶ χρηστεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι.

Sicut enim homo erat, ut tentaretur: sic et Verbum ut glorificaretur: requiescente quidem Verbo, ut posset tentari, et inhonorari, et crucifigi, et mori; absorpto autem homine in eo quod vincit, et sustinet; . . . et resurgit, et assumitur.

Here, again, is a grave discrepancy between Theodoret's Greek and the old version; Theodoret's words, *συγγινομένου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ*, being in the place of '*absorpto autem homine.*' Massuet's notion that Theodoret quoted from memory, is scarcely tenable; for, why should his memory fail him in the two most critical places in his citations, and fail him too in his own favour? We incline to think, that the alteration of the text of Irenæus was not accidental. We like the Greek phrase better; but we must consider the Latin correct: and that the expression '*absorpto*' is introduced as parallel to what S. Irenæus said a little before, of 'corruption being swallowed up of incorruption, 'and mortality swallowed up of immortality,' by our union with Christ: 'Quemadmodum autem adunari possemus incorruptelæ 'et immortalitati, nisi prius incorruptela et immortalitas facta 'fuisset id quod et nos, ut *absorberetur* quod erat corruptibile ab 'incorruptela, et quod erat mortale ab immortalitate, ut filiorum 'adoptionem perciperemus?' Here is a manifest allusion to the Apostle's own words, 'that death may be swallowed up of life.' And we see at once why the parallel should be here drawn out in Christ's Person; and in what sense the manhood was 'swallowed up' in the Divinity 'in the victory, and endur-'ance, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ;' in that its weakness and infirmity became as though they were not.

Mr. Harvey has two notes on this great passage: one on *ἀτιμάζεσθαι* being wanting in the Greek, the other on '*absorpto.*' '*Absorpto*, i. e. in the immenseness of the Deity.' But Christ's manhood was not absorbed in the immenseness of the Deity: its weakness and corruption were swallowed up in the power of the Godhead.

The whole chapter is one of the noblest testimonies to the doctrine of the Incarnation, and our being thereby united with God; and it deserves the most careful study. And we are obliged to say that Mr. Harvey's notes are not calculated to supply all that is required by a student. He must go to Stieren, who reprints *much* from Grabe and Massuet; or, still better, to Grabe and the other old editions, where these truly learned and pious notes are printed entire.

We must notice another note on a subject of ritual very nearly connected with doctrine. In vol. i. p. 163 (lib. i. c. ix. p. 3, Harvey; lib. i. c. xiii. p. 2, Grabe; lib. i. c. xvi. p. 2, Massuet), S. Irenæus incidentally uses the words *ἣν γνώμην καταφυσήσαντας καὶ καταθεματίσαντας*: 'quam sententiam digne exsufflantes et catathematizantes, &c.,' on which Mr. Harvey says:—

'As in Baptism evil spirits were exorcised and driven forth by ministerial *ex-sufflation*; a custom formerly of universal observation, as Gennadius says,

De Dogm. Eccl. 31: *Cum sive parvuli sive juvenes ad regenerationis veniunt sacramentum, non prius fontem vitæ adeant, quam exorcismis et exsufflationibus clericorum spiritus ab eis immundus abigatur.* So also CYR. HIEROS., *in Catech. Præf.* § 5: κἂν ἐμφυσηθῇς κἂν ἐπιορκισθῇς σωτηρία σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα νόμισον εἶναι. The origin of the practice is best expressed in the following rubric and commencement of one of the prayers in the Syrian order of Baptism:—*Insufflat in aquas tribus vicibus.* O Trinitas, da ipsis Domine, sanctum illum afflatum tuum, quem unicus Filius tuus insufflavit in sanctos discipulos suos.—SEVERI, *Patr. Rit.*'

In the first place, those are not Gennadius' words; they are found in the old editions of his 'De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' with much else, that was inserted in the middle of his little work, to contradict and counteract its Pelagianizing. They are the words of Pope Innocent, in his letter to the Bishops of Gaul, which will be found at the end of the tenth volume of S. Augustine's works. But it is a great mistake to connect the *in*-sufflation on the water in its consecration with the *ex*-sufflation of the evil spirits in the previous exorcism of the candidate, at Baptism. This exorcism was a rite 'of universal observation;' and ex-sufflation, a blowing away, as it were, of the evil spirits, was a significant part of it (as it was of any exorcism, see those words, in Tertullian's Apology, chap. 23, 'de contactu deque *afflatu nostro excedunt*'). The *in*-sufflation was an imitation of the act of our blessed Redeemer, when He 'breathed on His disciples, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost;' and symbolized the coming down of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the water, as the prayer evidently shows. There is something shocking in the juxtaposition of the two.

But, in fact, the ex-sufflation in Irenæus is to be connected with neither of these; but, as the early part of Feuardentius' note would have shown, and his citation from 'Dionysius Areopagita,' and the references to Tertullian, with the significant act used of old in repudiating the Evil One, by blowing at him, as it were, or spitting: as in Tertullian we have 'cum aliquid immundum *flatu explodis*' (ad Uxorem, ii. 5); and (De Idol. cap. 11) 'Quo ore Christianus turarius, si per templa transibit, 'quo ore fumantes aras *despuet* et *exsufflabit*, quibus ipse pro-'spexit?' Indeed, the word *exsufflare* passed, like *despuere*, into an equivalent for strong contempt and rejection. And of its special use in the form of renunciation in Baptism, a much later writer, the Pseudo-Dionysius, has preserved the record, whilst S. Irenæus' use of the expression here makes it not improbable that it was so used in his day. The Pseudo-Dionysius, *De Eccl. Hier.*, c. 2, says: 'After the candidate for Baptism has been 'undressed by the attendants, the Bishop, placing him with his 'face westward, bids him look in that direction, and strike his 'hands, and blow and spit at Satan twice, and thrice make his

'renunciation.' We think it *not improbable* that it is this special *ex*-sufflation at the renunciation of the devil and all his works, by the person to be baptized, which is referred to by S. Irenæus; though it may be only the general form of detestation and repudiation that he has in mind. But it is certainly not the exsufflation of exorcism, when the *person* exorcised was blown on; still less the insufflation of consecration, when the *water* was breathed upon.

Lastly, on Scripture interpretation we find a very peculiar notion put out by Mr. Harvey. In lib. I. i. 16, Harvey and Grabe; I. viii. 2, Massuet (vol. i. p. 69), the word ἐπεκταθεὶς occurs in the following context: *τὴν τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου θυγατέρα, ἣν ἐπιστὰς ὁ Κύριος ἐκ νεκρῶν ἤγειρε, τύπον εἶναι διηγοῦνται τῆς Ἀχαμὰθ, ἣν ἐπεκταθεὶς ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὸν* [*αὐτῶν*], &c. The word seems to express the supposed attitude of our Lord at the raising of Jairus' daughter, as if He had stretched out His arms over her; but Mr. Harvey has another view, and produces this singular notion on the evangelical history. He says: 'The geographical position of our Saviour, when He 'raised the daughter of Jairus from the dead, very possibly 'suggested a point of analogy to Valentinus. He was without 'the boundary of Palestine in the region of Gadara. . . . to 'which Christ, ἐπεκταθεὶς beyond the bounds of the Pleroma, 'was no doubt considered parallel.'

The wild dreams of Valentinus one often hears of; but this, we think, is too wild even for him. The word ἐπεκταθεὶς, which beautifully expresses the attitude of one leaning forward with outstretched arms, does not express a person's going beyond the limits of Palestine or the Pleroma; besides, it is absolutely certain that it was after our Lord had left their country at the request of the Gadarenes, and had passed over again to the west side of the Lake (see S. Mark v. 17—21, and S. Luke viii. 37, 49), that Jairus came to Him. Capernaum is usually considered the scene of the miracle; but whether it was there or not, it was most certainly not in the country of the Gadarenes. We think Mr. Harvey, on further consideration, will withdraw this conjecture.

There is one point of considerable interest in S. Irenæus, which we have reserved to the last: it is one of great importance in itself, and seems to be somewhat inadequately treated by Mr. Harvey; that is, the citations of Scripture, considered as evidencing the readings extant in the MSS. of that time. The Scripture extracts and allusions to Scripture are so many, and the use of Scripture language so pervades the writings of S. Irenæus, that

we might restore great part of the New Testament from his work. He becomes therefore, as the earliest Father whose citations are copious, a witness of great importance with respect to the *text* of the New Testament in the second century. The subject is one of great interest at the present time; and an editor of Irenæus ought not to pass it over. For instance, in lib. iii. 12 (§ 3, 4, Harvey, and Massuet), we have nearly the whole of the 3d and 4th chapters of the Acts of the Apostles extracted; and these remarkably correspond with the peculiar readings of D., the Codex Bezæ, as may be seen by comparing the readings of the two. Now, an intimation as to the MSS., Versions, and citations by Fathers, which agree with S. Irenæus, sufficient to indicate the amount of probability which there is that the variations in his quotations arose from the MSS. he followed, might have been easily made on the authority of the common collections of collations, and given in brief notes. Grabe and Massuet did this in their editions, according to the amount of knowledge possessed in their time.

Besides, there are questions which an editor or annotator who refers to such matters might deal with, to great advantage. For instance, are the Scripture citations in the Latin version of S. Irenæus translated from his Greek, or taken from the then received Latin translation of the New Testament, or accommodated by later transcribers to their text of the Latin Version? In other words, are the Scripture citations found in the Latin, evidences of the state of the Greek text used by S. Irenæus, or only of a current Latin Version? Grabe does occasionally notice these points, and Mr. Harvey also from him, but only occasionally.

For instance, in lib. iii. xvii. 2, on Rom. i. 3, the Latin in the quotation is, *prædestinatus est Filius Dei;* but in S. Irenæus' comment upon it, it is *destinatus;* and in the words that follow, the quotation is, *per Spiritum sanctificationis;* the comment of S. Irenæus, *secundum Spiritum sanctificationis.* Both the readings in each case have some other authority; but ὁρισθέντος is the reading of Greek MSS. and Fathers, *prædestinatus* of the Latin Versions.

Had Mr. Harvey passed by this subject altogether, we could have understood that he declined to grapple with it. But he is far from doing so. He continually refers to it. It forms so special and prominent a feature in this edition, that we are compelled to notice it. It is a favourite matter of his investigations; but unfortunately he seems to have used no sources of information, except a Syriac Version of the New Testament, and (as far as we can see) the notes of Massuet and Grabe. He seems not to have availed himself of the labours of critics during

the last 150 years. And he has a peculiar view about S. Irenæus' readings, which may probably be attributable to this ignorance. Mr. Harvey conceives that S. Irenæus was 'as 'familiar with some Syriac Version of the New Testament, 'as with the Greek originals;' and that he knew Hebrew very well. He says:—

'A point of some interest will be found of frequent recurrence in the notes; which is, the repeated instances that Scripture quotations afford, of having been made by one who was as familiar with some Syriac Version of the New Testament, as with the Greek originals. Strange *variæ lectiones* occur, which can only be explained by referring to the Syriac Version. It will not be forgotten that S. Irenæus resided in early life at Smyrna; and it is by no means improbable that he may have been of Syriac extraction, and instructed from his earliest infancy in some Syriac Version of Scripture. It is hoped also that the Hebrew attainments of Irenæus will no longer be denied.'—*Preface*, p. v.

That Irenæus was ignorant of Hebrew has hitherto been pretty well agreed on. Thus Grabe says (iii. 8, note), in connexion with a strange Hebrew interpretation, that 'Irenæus knew no Hebrew, and had been imposed on by some one;' and Stieren, '*Ex hoc aliisque locis apparet, Irenæum linguæ Hebraicæ 'parum peritum fuisse.*' There are grounds enough from which to form an opinion, from the references to names and sayings in Hebrew and other Oriental languages, which occur to one who is dealing with Gnostic genealogies; and we confess we do not think Mr. Harvey has disproved the generally received opinion that Irenæus was ignorant of Hebrew, as he is reduced to conjectures of altered readings, and other difficult resources, to explain his author's mistakes. And it certainly requires very strong evidence indeed, to show that a Greek Christian bishop in the second century knew anything of Hebrew.

But as to the theory that S. Irenæus' familiarity with a Syriac Version accounts for his readings, let us consider what a strait Mr. Harvey is reduced to, to make his view possible. Smyrna is much nearer Syria than Gaul; but that does not make it at all more likely that Syriac would be known there. And as to the 'Syriac analogies,' a very long list of which is given in the Index, it is plain that the chief part of them are utterly worthless. Those instances only can be adduced as evidence of S. Irenæus being imbued with the Syriac, in which S. Irenæus' reading could only be accounted for by *a peculiarity* of the Syriac, *i. e.* where a reading did not exist in the Greek, or in other versions, but only in the Syriac. Such peculiarity might arise from a mistake by the Syriac translator; or from a Syriac word having two meanings, or being very like some other Syriac word, and so being mistaken by a reader or copyist. On this we are to suppose that S. Irenæus—(who, it is not

denied, knew the Greek original, and was so very familiar with it that his whole style is saturated with Scriptural expressions)—that S. Irenæus went out of his way to make a mistake; that the Syriac Version he had known in his infancy was running in his head; and that, as it might be, he followed the mistake of the Syriac translator, or took the wrong meaning of the equivocal Syriac expression; or read the wrong word where the two Syriac words were very much alike. All this is a monstrous accumulation of improbabilities; the more so, since Irenæus must be supposed to have retained these mistakes,—mistakes of ear as well as eye,—through his whole life, from his 'earliest infancy' onwards; that is, all the while that he was habitually and most familiarly studying the Greek originals.

The instances which Mr. Harvey adduces seem to us to be mere fancies, unworthy of notice; and out of the many set down in his Index, very few indeed are really instances: we must except against nearly the whole of his 'Syriac analogies' on the following ground. The places in which S. Irenæus' citations agree with the Syriac are *almost all* places where the Syriac agrees with some early Greek MS., or with some other early version; especially is this agreement found with the early Latin Version. This correspondence of versions made about the same period is a fact very well known to critics, and alleged as evidence, and that validly, of the state of the *Greek text* at the period when the versions were made. The very fact that you find a certain reading in the Syriac makes it exceedingly probable that there was a corresponding reading in the Greek; indeed, makes it certain, unless you can suppose that the Syriac translator made a mistake in translating: and then the very mistake, *when explained*, becomes an evidence what the reading was which he had before him. But this fact, Mr. Harvey seems continually to forget. He seems to think that Irenæus' reading being that of the Syriac, makes it plain that Irenæus derives it from the Syriac. On the contrary, it goes far to prove (except in such cases as we have specified before, where the peculiarity of the Syriac arises from a blunder of the translator or of the copyist) that Irenæus and the Syriac translator both used Greek copies which had the readings in question. And in a great majority of cases, we repeat, this is proved by our actually having MSS. still extant which contain the very reading: or other early versions or citations which equally go to prove that the reading was one that existed in copies of those times.

And here we have occasion to point out another omission in our editor. Whether from not being aware of the *Variæ Lectiones* of the Greek Testament, collected in the last one hundred and fifty years, or from not considering their importance, Mr.

Harvey does not mention this fact at all, but puts down these very instances as evidences that S. Irenæus derived his readings from the Syriac. Indeed, he does not seem to be aware of the existence of Greek Testaments with various readings; or to know anything of the labours of his fellow-Cantabrigians, Wordsworth, Alford, and Ellicott: and Lachmann and Tischendorf are utterly ignored. There are some cases which illustrate the mistake of this omission: *e.g.* in vol. ii. p. 58, where Acts iv. 25, 26, is cited. The Latin runs thus: 'Tu es 'Deus qui fecisti cœlum, et terram, et mare, et omnia quæ in 'eis sunt, qui *per Spiritum Sanctum*, ore David *patris nostri* 'pueri tui, dixisti,' &c.; and 'Convenerunt enim vere *in hac civi-* 'tate adversus Sanctum Filium Tuum,' &c. The words corresponding to *per Spiritum Sanctum*, *patris nostri*, and *in hac civitate*, are not in the common *Textus receptus:* and Mr. Harvey has the following notes: '*Per Spiritum Sanctum.* These words 'are no portion of the present text, but they are expressed in 'the Syriac Version, and some Greek MSS.; not so, however, 'the words *patris nostri.*' Now, the words διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου are in so many Greek MSS. (A, B, E, &c.) so many Versions and Fathers, that Alford, following Lachmann, makes them part of the text: as Lachmann does also the words τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, which have the authority of several versions and of the MSS. of S. Athanasius. Dr. Wordsworth does the same, thus making the Greek text to be exactly that represented by S. Irenæus.

Mr. Harvey's note on the third variation is, '*In hac civitate,* 'words recognised again in the Syriac;' and then follow the Syriac characters so largely scattered through these notes. But why mention that they are 'recognised in the Syriac,' when they are found in all the chief Greek MSS., all the Versions (except the Arabic in the Polyglotts) and citations of Fathers, and are considered by every critical editor to be a part of the sacred text? The difficulty is, to account for their absence from the printed text of the 16th and 17th centuries.

In the next page, note 2, on Acts v. 31, where the Latin of Irenæus is *exaltavit gloriâ suâ*, Mr. Harvey prints from Grabe this note: '*Interpres pro* δεξιᾷ *perperam legit* δόξῃ.' But we know, what Grabe did not, that a corrector of the Codex Bezæ, and the Sahidic Version also read δόξῃ, agreeing with the doctrine of S. Paul in Rom. vi. 4, 'Like as Christ was raised 'from the dead, διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς.'

There is one very important various reading in the text, John i. 18, 'No man hath seen God at any time: the only begotten God '(or 'Son' or 'Son of God'), which is in the bosom of the Father, 'He hath declared Him.' Irenæus cites the verse three times: first, with 'Son of God,' then with the received reading 'Son,'

lastly with 'God;' on the last place Mr. Harvey says, '*Unigenitus* '*Deus.* The text previously quoted indicated *μονογενὴς υἱὸς*, 'p. 218; but the agreement of the Syriac Version induces the 'belief that the present reading Θεὸς was that expressed by 'Irenæus, and that the previous quotation had been altered to suit 'the Vulgate.' Mr. Harvey might have added that the Vatican and other Greek MSS. authorities, and many versions have Θεὸς; that a considerable number of Fathers read Θεὸς, and that Arius and his master Lucian of Antioch, one of the greatest biblical critics of those days, followed the same reading. So that we cannot think the mention of the Syriac in particular would 'induce the belief' of any one but Mr. Harvey.

On the reading of Gal. ii. 5, which S. Irenæus read, 'Ad horam cessimus subjectioni,' we have a diffuse note concluding with a statement of Massuet as to the reading of the 'S. Ger-'main Latin MS. supposed to be of the old Italic Version, 'prior to the Vulgate,' which agrees with this reading of Irenæus. Surely, as to the readings of MSS., it is absurd to repeat what was said by Massuet, one hundred and fifty years ago: this is just the point on which one would refer to the most recent authorities.

In consequence of this neglect of all that has been done since Grabe and Massuet, we find the following at vol. ii. p. 26, on Gal. iii. 19. The Latin has, *Quid ergo lex factorum?* Whereon we have the note, 'The interpreter adopts the old Italic Version, 'for, as Grabe says, *the reading πράξεων is nowhere found in* '*any Greek MS. authority.*' . . . Massuet says, that in the 'S. Germain copy of the New Testament of the ninth century, 'in Greek and Latin, the Greek text has *τῶν παραβάσεων* '*χάριν*, while the Latin, as here, reads *factorum;* a clear proof, 'as he says, that in some ancient copies *πράξεων* must have been 'written, *but none omitted χάριν.*' This might be quite true, so far as MSS. were known, when Grabe and Massuet said it, but it is not true now. Since their time, fresh MSS. have been found and examined; and two of them (F, G) have the Greek exactly corresponding to S. Irenæus' Latin; we make the statement from Alford and Tischendorf; both MSS. read *πράξεων*, and both omit *χάριν*. Of F, the Codex Augiensis, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, we hope soon to see an accurate copy published; it was highly esteemed by Bentley, and has been collated by Wetstein and Tischendorf. G was published in 1791 by Matthæi.

As to the S. Germain MS., so often mentioned by Massuet, as cited in this edition, Mr. Harvey might have found, by looking at any common book of reference, that it was not worth mentioning. It is simply a transcript of the Codex

Claromontanus, and possesses no independent authority; while of the Codex Claromontanus itself, a fac-simile was published by Tischendorf in 1852. It is, we fear, too manifest that Mr. Harvey has used Grabe and Massuet just when he ought to have known that they were altogether antiquated, and only likely to mislead him; and in this one most important branch of S. Irenæus' testimony, his notes are worse than useless: they are deceptive.

And now at length to turn from criticism: and to let our minds repose on the thought of the great work before us: the noble and abiding monument of the faith of Christians when they were within hearing of the voices of the Apostles; of men who had seen and sat at the feet of those who had been their friends and companions, and Bishops, who had been appointed to the churches over which they ruled with Apostolic sanction.

The publication of this work at Cambridge will, we trust, lead to its being read by many who otherwise would not have opened S. Irenæus. And if any such there be, who are wearied and turn away with disgust from the Gnosticism of the first and second books, as most difficult to understand, and not worth understanding were it ever so easy, let us entreat them to look beyond the weary details of Æons and Pleromas, of triads, octoads, and dodecads, and endless and puzzling genealogies, to the *principles* on which S. Irenæus opposes these wild fancies: to the *doctrines* which he sets forth as held universally and harmoniously by Catholic Churches; to the *ecclesiastical system* which then existed, which was universally believed to be, and which, we are not afraid to say, *could not but have been*, of Apostolic origin: to the *testimony and documents* which he maintains to be the authorities of ultimate appeal—the Holy Scriptures and the uniform teaching of the Christian Church.

Viewed in this light, as embodying these truths, the work of S. Irenæus stands out as some great rock in a stormy sea, beaten against by the waves on every side, but itself utterly unmoved at their impotent attempts. It is *the* great primitive testimony to catholic truth: and that in opposition to the special errors of our own time.

We are not going to dwell on it as the evidence of Episcopacy and Apostolical succession, and of a settled creed, held through the whole Church, and of the unity of faith, and mutual agreement in essential principles among many variations in minor points, that then existed: though we apprehend that these are most essential elements in the great contest between the Church's truth and every form of heresy and unbelief; nor yet on the marvellous testimonies this work contains to

the fundamental verities of the Christian faith—the Incarnation and the Sacraments; but on the cardinal points which distinguish Christianity itself as an authoritative revelation.

For what, after all, was *the* point at issue between S. Irenæus and his opponents? The points of difference were indeed a legion; numerous in names, still more numerous in schools, springing up with a rapidity and a fecundity which have rarely been equalled: exciting the attention and engrossing the interests of a great portion of Eastern and Western Christendom. The heresiarchs were strangely contrasted with each other in opinions, doctrines, principles, practices; going up from the basest superstitions to the most refined and philosophic forms of human thought.

But they all came under one category as contrasted with the Catholic Church: and there was one point really at issue between the two. It was this: Were the doctrines taught by Christ and His Apostles to be simply and entirely received by men or not? Was there any authoritative revelation made, which man was to receive and to believe; or was it open to him to criticize, and accept only so much as approved itself to his own mind?

This question indeed was usually complicated thus: Were the doctrines taught by Christ and His Apostles, as expressed in the Holy Scriptures, and uniformly taught as such by the Bishops of the Churches, to be received or not? In other words, did the Churches, in their common and universal agreement; did the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, as received by the Church, represent the actual teaching of our Lord and His Apostles or not? But though thus involved, it ultimately ran up then, as now, into the question, Are we simply to believe what our Lord and His Apostles taught, or are we, as from a higher ground, to judge of and criticize it?

Of those against whom S. Irenæus wrote, the highest forms of the Gnostic sects, there were some who disputed the genuineness of particular portions of the Scriptures, or the readings of those which in common with the Church they accepted as written by the Apostles. They criticized and dissevered these writings, and often professed to have other sacred writings of equal authority; but on the whole it was the *authority*, not the genuineness, of the Scriptures which they disputed. It was not so much the question, Did S. Paul write this Epistle? as, Is the teaching of S. Paul in this Epistle true, and of Divine authority? It was not so much a question whether the Bishops of the Churches unanimously taught one faith as from the Apostles: as, whether the teaching of the Apostles themselves was true: or, with some, whether the Apostles themselves had not secretly taught the more in-

tellectual and advanced of their disciples higher and truer views, by which their writings were (however unnaturally) to be explained: while the popular exoteric doctrines, which the Bishops taught and the mass of the believers received, were only those rude and coarse modes of representing sacred truths which alone the multitude were capable of receiving, and which individuals, as they became more advanced in thought and speculation, were to throw aside.

In short, was Philosophy (so-called) to criticize and so to supersede Revelation; or Revelation to rule the speculations of Philosophy on Divine things?

This was the point at issue in the first great contest which Christianity had to wage with its professed adherents, and it was happily settled, while Christianity itself was young and vigorous: and the work of S. Irenæus is one of the great monuments of the battle that was fought.

The principle of Gnosticism, viewed apart from the peculiarities of each form of impiety and superstition which goes under that common name, was the taking up portions of Christianity, facts, doctrines, morals, and combining them more or less with other systems: whether of so-called religion, or of philosophy. The amount of Christianity which was taken up varied so much, that in some of the earlier systems it is scarcely traceable, in some of the later it was professed as being the whole. Some schools, as the Valentinians, or the Bardesanists, who strongly opposed the blasphemies of Marcion, professed to be the true representatives of Christianity, *i. e.* of intelligent, rational, philosophical Christianity. They bore the Christian name; frequented the Christian worship; used the Christian rites, just as philosophical Christians (so-called) might do among ourselves; and complained bitterly of the narrow-minded bigotry and prejudice by which the orthodox would exclude them from communion. But the principle of the sects that varied thus widely was one and the same; they set themselves above the Revelation, and accepted only so much of it as they could take up into, and combine with, their own system.

It is not sufficiently remembered—nay, it is ordinarily quite overlooked—that the higher forms of Gnosticism were philosophic systems, and dealt with the most profound questions of religion: the Divine Being; His attributes, His relations, and works; how the Infinite could act on or create the finite; the origin of the world, with its mixed phenomena of good and evil, the origin of evil; the freedom of the human will; the relation of mind and matter. On these questions the Gnostics speculated according to the views which were to them, as it were, undoubted

fundamental principles. Their theories were based on philosophy, and what were then regarded as most certain truths. That the Infinite God could not *immediately* create the world, that matter was a hindrance to the working of the spirit, that it was the element of all evil, appeared as certain to such philosophers in the second century as the uniformity of the laws of nature does to men of reason in our own day. Hence there were two positions which were found in all the Gnostic systems, how much so ever they might otherwise vary from each other—1. That the infinite and good God could not Himself have created this world, this finite scene of sin and sorrow; 2. That God could not have really become man; 'Secundum nullam sententiam hæreticorum, Verbum Dei caro factum est;' lib. iii. c. 11. 'Omnes hæretici decreverunt, Demiurgum ignorare eam quæ est super eum virtutem.' (Ibid.) The existence of innumerable unseen beings above us: the personality of what we call the attributes, or operations of the Divine Being, the idea of emanations, were as familiar to them, as much their settled way of viewing the great and mysterious subject of the Divine attributes and works, as to us they are unfamiliar and unintelligible. We use one set of symbols to represent those subjects, which elude the grasp even of the most subtle intellect; they used a different set.

The Valentinians then, and others like them, had a philosophy, to which some part of the Christian doctrine seemed contradictory: others, if, as they would say, rightly understood, compatible with it, and a new manifestation of what was ascertainable otherwise. The philosophy, they might say, we know to be true; it is proved to us by reason; it harmonises the facts of mind and matter. It was as certain to them as the very reverse is to us.

There was nothing strange in this: each age has had its own philosophy, and by the very force of the terms has been convinced of the truth of that philosophy. We now look back on the systems that have successively ruled supreme over the minds of men, and we find it as difficult, without a steady effort, to realize a past period of intellectual life, as we do to imagine an age of Saurians, or a world of corals; nay, more so, the one being a mental, the other a visible corporeal world. But these philosophies *lived* in their own day; exercised an influence on the reason and the life of their age, as truly and really as those strange monsters breathed, moved, ate and drank, and propagated their kind.

The second century of the Christian era, then, saw a numerous, wide-spread, intellectual body of men, who were quite willing

to accept (with explanations) the facts of Christianity, to approve its morality, to join its worship, to read its Scriptures; but not to submit implicitly to its doctrines. They received it in a philosophical and a 'reasonable' way. It was a fact, which had to be reconciled with other *facts;* as philosophers are ever wont to call their theories.

And this the Gnostics did in a patronising and somewhat supercilious spirit. But the mode of conciliation adopted was one which (unhappily) our own day will easily recognise.

The bishops and clergy were weak and narrow-minded men. The Apostles themselves had been but partially enlightened. They were still influenced by Judaism, and by the views and sentiments with which, as Jews, they had been thoroughly imbued; which lingered in them, and coloured their views, now that they were Christians. They preached the Gospel before they had attained to the full appreciation of the doctrines of the Gospel. Even in the teaching of our blessed Lord there were elements of error, both in itself, and still more so in the colouring given to it by those who transmitted it to us. He Himself was influenced by Jewish prejudices, or at all events He accommodated Himself in the expressions He used, and the notions He recognised, to the deep-seated opinions and views of His hearers. He did not rise above the prejudices of His age, neither did His apostles. Thus were the doctrines and the practical teaching of Holy Scripture alike subjected to the criticism of the human mind, and its judgment was made the standard according to which they were accepted or rejected.

As to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, some supposed them to be the work of an evil spirit; and the God there depicted to be an inferior and an evil being. They alleged the cruelties and immoralities which appeared to be sanctioned in them. And those who held more moderate views, taught that the books of Moses (to take one instance) were not to be regarded (as the Catholics regarded them) as derived from God; nor yet (as some heretics said, seeing that they were imperfect, and contained precepts unsuited to the nature and will of the true God) as the work of His adversary; but that it was more rational to take a middle course, and to regard the law as containing a mixture of the divine and human; the human element being partly Moses's own views, partly additions to his writings by those who came after him.

These views they endeavoured to prove from Scripture; to reconcile with Scripture; or to vindicate from their contrariety with Scripture, by showing that Scripture itself was erroneous in its apparent teaching.

And it is the business of S. Irenæus to refute them. Any

one who will pass over the first and second books, and begin to read the third—that is, will take Mr. Harvey's second volume—will find himself amply repaid, and that at the cost of but little that is difficult, or uninteresting.

Thus in the third book, the fifth chapter is taken up with 'a 'proof that our Lord and His apostles put forth their doctrines 'in sincerity and truth, and not according to the opinions of 'their hearers.' 'Our Lord Himself, being the Truth, lied not, 'and acknowledged not one whom He knew to be the offspring 'of defection as the God of all, the supreme King and His 'own Father.' 'These vain sophists said that the apostles 'taught "in hypocrisy" according to the capacity of their 'hearers, and answered according to the conceptions of those 'that questioned them, talking blindly to the blind according to 'their blindness; to the weak according to their weakness; to 'the erring according to their errors.' 'This,' he says, 'is 'not to heal, or to give life, but rather to aggravate and aug-'ment their ignorance: and the curse of the Lord would fall on 'them, as making the blind to err in his way.' He pursues the subject; but we must not go along with him.

In the twelfth chapter of the same book, there is a very able and striking argument in reply to the notion, that in preaching to the Jews the Apostles could only teach them to believe in a God, such as they believed in already. It will be seen how large a space this argument will cover in regard to modern attempts to reconcile some deference for the Apostles and their writings, with the position that their teaching was necessarily limited by the preconceived notions of those whom they had to teach; and, what is most important, that S. Irenæus regarded such views as utterly incompatible with the whole design and aim of Christianity. 'Superfluus et inutilis adventus Domini 'parebit, siquidem venit permissurus et servaturus uniuscu-'jusque olim insitam de Deo opinionem. Adhuc etiam et multo 'durius erat, quem hominem viderant Judæi, et cruci affixerant, 'annuntiari hunc esse Christum Filium Dei, æternum eorum 'regem.' These last words suggest the utter groundlessness of the whole scheme: seeing that truths the most opposed to the received notions both of Jews and Gentiles, were most emphatically taught.

So in the same chapter, when he treats of the New Testament, he seems almost to be addressing men of our own time, who have taught with the Gnostics of old, 'Apostolos quidem adhuc 'quæ sunt Judæorum sentientes, annunciasse Evangelium, *se* '*autem sinceriores et prudentiores Apostolis esse.*' As he had said before in the opening of the third book: 'Neque fas est dicere,

'quoniam (Apostoli) ante prædicaverunt quam perfectam habe-
'rent agnitionem; sicut quidam audent dicere, *gloriantes emen-*
'*datores se esse Apostolorum.*' Others he refutes, who thought that S. Paul alone had attained to the knowledge of the truth, in the thirteenth chapter of this same book.

The whole gist of S. Irenæus' argument is contained in this passage, lib. iii. 1. 2. 'When they are refuted from the Scrip-
'tures, they turn to accusing the Scriptures themselves, as
'though they were not correct, or not of authority, and alleging
'that they vary in their statements and that the truth cannot
'be found by those who know not the tradition. For the truth
'was not delivered in writing, but orally.' 'And when again
'we appeal to this tradition—which is derived from the Apostles,
'which is preserved in the Church by the succession of elders—
'they oppose the tradition, saying that they are not only wiser
'than the elders, but even than the Apostles themselves; and
'that they alone have discovered the pure truth. For that the
'Apostles had mixed up what belonged to the Law with the
'words of the Lord; nay, that words of the Lord Himself were
'sometimes derived from the Demiurge' (the framer of this
'degraded world), 'sometimes from the intervening principle,
'sometimes from the Highest: but that they themselves knew
'the hidden mystery, without any doubting, pure and unmixed.'
'Hence, they neither consent to Scripture, nor to the teaching
'of the Church.'

The light in which these 'philosophical' Christians viewed the orthodox, and the manner in which they in turn were treated by them, will be best expressed in the simple Latin (iii. xv. 2): 'Hi enim ad multitudinem, propter eos qui sunt
'ab Ecclesiâ, quos *communes* et *ecclesiasticos* dicunt, inferunt
'sermones, per quos capiunt simpliciores, et illiciunt eos,
'simulantes nostrum tractatum (pretending to teach as we do),
'ut sæpius audiant; qui et jam queruntur de nobis, quod
'cum similia nobiscum sentiant, sine causâ *abstinemus nos a*
'*communicatione eorum, et* cum eadem dicant, et eandem habe-
'ant doctrinam, *vocemus illos hæreticos.*'

It will not be difficult to see that the *principles* on which the Church and the heretics were at issue were vital ones; that they are by no means peculiar to the second century; that the consideration and knowledge of the way in which they were met in that almost apostolic period is of no slight importance to us.

We believe that there are not a few persons who, though affected in a measure by errors such as these,—when such theories are applied only to some particular phrases or doctrines

in Holy Scripture, thinking these mere modes of expression, or accommodations to the views of the new converts, or incidental illustrations,—would yet shrink from rejecting what could be shown to be the real teaching of the Apostles.

Let such consider the argument which pervades the last three books of S. Irenæus, which is to this effect: That these are doctrines which every part of the Church, however varying in language, manners, or civilisation, held and ever had held unanimously, and believed to have been taught by the Apostles themselves and their immediate followers, and by those whom they placed over the Churches,—which had been handed down through a period of only eighty or ninety years from the death of the last Apostle: That these doctrines agreed with Scripture in its natural and obvious interpretation: That the numerous opponents of these doctrines did not deny the patent fact that the Bishops, the public and authorized teachers, had all along held and taught these things; or that they had been taught ordinarily by the Apostles, and that thus they were reduced to the subterfuge, that the Apostles themselves had been only partially enlightened, or had designedly had an exoteric and esoteric doctrine: That this esoteric doctrine they had communicated, not to those to whom, as most trustworthy, they had committed the government of the respective Churches, but to certain private individuals; and that these individuals differed wholly among themselves as to what this secret esoteric teaching was, whilst the various churches, with one faith though many languages, attested by their very agreement the one source from which their doctrines flowed.

We seem to be forced back on the old truth: that the doctrines unanimously held by Christians of S. Irenæus' time, as apostolic, being in harmony, as they are, with their teaching as shown in the Epistles and Gospels, are really what Christ and His Apostles taught, and wished mankind to believe: that is, they are the substance of a Divine Revelation; to be accepted by us as what the Author of our being, our Preserver, Father, Guide, and Judge, wishes us to believe.

We will only make one observation more. It may show us how much we owe—how much they who, during the space of 1600 years and more, have been elevated, comforted, purified by Christianity, have lived in Christian love, and died in faith and hope, owe—to the Bishops of the second century, for maintaining and handing on, under imputations of bigotry and narrow-mindedness, the Faith which they had themselves received.

There was a contest between the Churches, as represented and ruled by the clergy, and a body of philosophical and

intellectual innovators. Let us consider what would have been the fate of mankind if the philosophical school had prevailed. The revealed truth, the teaching of Christ and His Apostles, would have vanished from the earth. There would have been no trace left of definite doctrine, of Scripture read in a spirit of faith, of the Church as an abiding preserver and teacher of the truth. And in their place there would have been but a series of wild theories successively devouring each other.

It may be sufficient to indicate this as one great and important use which may call us to the study of S. Irenæus. On the subjects of the Canon, and the text and interpretation of Holy Scripture, on the whole body of Christian doctrine, and the ecclesiastical and sacramental system, S. Irenæus, from his proximity to the Apostolic times, from the steady way in which he rests upon what was *received*, and *uniformly taught as Apostolic* throughout the Churches, avoiding theories, becomes a most competent and safe witness. His own peculiarities of view, or fancies, as some may think them, of course appear; but they can be severed from that which he delivers as the united and harmonious testimony of all the Churches throughout the whole world.

It is easy, indeed, to take all this on trust. But no intelligent and fairly educated theologian need do this. And the actual reading for one's self part even of such a work as that now before us, would do far more to put a student really into a possession of the doctrines and condition of the Church of those times than any derived histories can do.

ART. VI.—1. *A Woman's Thoughts about Women.* By the Author of 'John Halifax.' London: Hurst & Blackett.

2. *The Fountain Sealed. Memoirs of Miss Methuen.* Bath: Binns & Goodwin.

3. *English Hearts and English Hands.* London: Nisbet.

THE question of the condition of women and their station in the social economy is not likely to lose its hold on popular interest when once fairly started. It is one naturally to excite mistrust if not disgust amongst the conservative portion of our own sex, who are so far satisfied with things as they are, and with women as they are, that they regard any change, as such, as an unmitigated evil. But the case is very different with the more stirring spirits amongst women themselves. To many an excited female imagination this same word *change* suggests progress, liberty, consequence, independence, and a more equal distribution of this world's good things than has yet been accorded to them; and even where no personal or selfish views are entertained, the subject, once admitted into the female intellect, fructifies there, stimulates to thought, awakes a generous ambition, and develops into expression, various as the temper and views of the writer, but all proving that a chord has been struck which shall vibrate through, and, if they can manage it, shall influence all society. For women are peculiarly alive to the feeling of responsibility; once awake to a full sense of their own power, and the right application of it becomes an absolute burden on their consciences—to a degree which man's more stolid nature can hardly understand, or sympathise with. It must be allowed that the circumstances of the times have much in them to quicken this sentiment. For though women have always exercised a great influence in human affairs before there was so much talk about it, yet the public recognition of the fact, making it one of the current topics of the day, does constitute a change. As soon as it was found that women could wield the pen, this change was really in operation. It is comparatively lately that this admission has been made. Not, of course, that women have not occasionally proved the fact, from Sappho downwards; but so rarely, and under such peculiar circumstances, that its exceptional character only seemed to prove the rule. Now, we find that women write under the ordinary uninspired conditions in which most men write, from no stimulus of genius, but mere exercise of reason and intellect, and the cultivation of such powers as they possess.

Genius, as an utterance by something external to ourselves, has been allowed in times past to be of no sex; but the power of writing without inspiration, which women now show themselves to possess, is a sign of rational progress, and is, we think, a discovery almost of the last half-century. The respectable, creditable, painstaking mediocrity of a large class of female authors, by matching them with the largest class of male writers, has, we suspect, given them a greater lift than any transient ebullition of genius in past times. The public now accepts many women amongst its authorized instructors without doubt, or cavil, or sense of wounded pride. The same readers might have been scared had their works contained *flights* of any kind; but mediocrity, with a vast number of readers in itself, and as a distinct quality, carries weight. The ladies' books are as responsible in their tone, as carefully adapted to the popular view, as those of their rivals more experienced in the public taste; and by this time they are received without jealousy, and as a matter of course: to be heavily sensible, and reasonably prosy, must be allowed to bring any woman into fair comparison with many highly esteemed authors of the sterner sex. We repeat, therefore, that it is a great advance in the popular estimate of woman's intellect, when they can write dull books with as complete and entire impunity as men can. A reproach of sex is wiped away, new terms of equality are introduced, and a solid, lasting hold is gained on the public ear.

When this step is once realized, can we wonder that ambition should awake, that there should be stirrings to win the reward of so much labour; a disposition, as it were, to strike for higher wages; a state of feeling, in fact, such as has already been discussed in these pages? and, on the other hand, must not the growing sense of importance, the perpetual discussion of woman's mission, strike the more philosophic and ethical spirits, and rouse in double force that sense of responsibility which we have alluded to as a feature of feminine nature? *New* duties always weigh on the conscience heavier than established ones; and if the duties are not new themselves, a sense of novelty is thrown around them by the more intelligent spirit in which they are to be undertaken and carried out, and the different position in the moral scale that is assigned to them. It is certain that no prime minister, taking upon him the cares of a great empire, is so impressed with the mighty destinies in his hand and depending on his decisions, as is the mother, the governess, even the nursery-maid duly imbued by a teacher of her own sex with the importance of her task, and the consequences from any failure or shortcoming on her part. It may be that the more every-day

domestic and inevitable class of duties may need this stimulus to secure their careful performance. We are very sure that where the interests of nations are more visibly at stake and seem to hang on the will of one single mind, this pressure of responsibility would paralyse the intellect which can only work freely in great questions, when at once sustained and humbled by the conviction of being simply an instrument in higher hands, doing its best and acknowledging results to be beyond its control. The routine and monotony of female occupation may make it desirable to give prominence to the other side of the question, by bringing to bear on them the doctrine of free will and consequent responsibility. This is evidently the motive of the female moralists now in our eye, whose minds are led by the circumstances of the times to reflect on the position of their sex. With observation thus quickened, they are apt to become ashamed and disgusted with the easy, careless, matter-of-course sort of way in which the real business of womankind is conducted, and are roused to utter their voice of warning. Very fair warning and very good advice it generally is; though, as male and female human nature is pretty much alike in its broadest manifestation, any exclusive teaching which goes upon their differences can hardly fail now and then to be narrow, one-sided and unfair.

The book at the head of our list—'A Woman's Thoughts about Women'—is the work of one of these moralists, and a valuable and creditable example of the thought and mind that is brought to bear on this question. The author has something to say, and she says it well; having, too, won the right of a respectful hearing by having already presented the world with more than one able, interesting, and high-principled novel. Yet it requires to read the book through to form the favourable judgment it certainly deserves. We must not deny, that in the course of our reading we were reminded of its feminine source in a way not flattering to its pretensions to reason and argument; and also, while it maintains the purely didactic strain, we find in ourselves a growing contentment, and as it were a fuller acquiescence in the apostolic ordinance, forbidding to woman the office of public preacher. There have been occasions such as where a raw, unformed curate has amongst his hearers a company of intellectual and superior women, when it has seemed as if the position of teacher and learner might be advantageously reversed: but this book and other very good ones of the same sort make us doubt whether, successful as women have been in so many branches of literature and polite learning, they could ever write good sermons. We see that our heavy friend will find a knack in time which these able

women might search for in vain; an instinct is in him which they want, which will preserve him from certain pitfalls into which they would stumble. His reproof will keep clear of scolding. The particular and local will not triumph in him over the general and universal: his vision may be dim, but nature has given him a wider range. And if this gift is not amongst woman's specialities, there is another power, a question of science rather than of morals, quite as far out of their way—we mean the science of statistics, statistics on a large public scale, for we except household ones. We ought not to generalize on insufficient data; so we will only say that in our own experience we have observed that this is a point on which many women have no rational instincts, and on which they may be deceived and mistaken to any extent. We once knew a woman of really good understanding, a reader and a thinker, one who despised the more trifling interests of her sex, who was seriously troubled by the fact, as she believed it to be, that the balance of the sexes was being changed, and that at that time seven women were being born into the world to one man. Her serious and thoughtful mind was perplexed to know how the world could be carried on under this startling revolution; nor did we find it easy to infuse a doubt as to the reliability of her information.

The authoress of this clever work suffers under a similar apprehension. It is high time, she feels, as indeed it would be, for the single women to look after themselves, and learn to walk alone, when it is an undoubted fact that one-half of our women are *obliged* to take care of themselves. When 'this fact remains 'patent to any person of common sense and experience, that, in 'the present day, whether voluntarily or not, one-half of our 'women are obliged to take care of themselves—obliged to look 'solely to themselves for maintenance, position, occupation, 'amusement, reputation, life;' (p. 24) 'of course,' she continues, 'I refer to the large class for which these thoughts are meant—'the single women.' Single women, 'cut off,' as she elsewhere says, 'from the natural destiny of their sex,' which would seem to imply that this formidable half have come to the use of their understanding, and have formally abandoned all thought of matrimony. Half our marriageable women, then, are not married, and never will marry. There is nothing like making out a case of urgency before applying the remedy. Now, if we consider that women of the lower class, as a rule, take the kingdom over, do marry; that an old maid is a sort of exception amongst them; and, as the lower classes numerically overbalance the educated ones in an enormous proportion, it is a wonder, by this rule, that we ever meet a married *lady* at all; but even if the writer makes every conceivable reservation and

unlimited demands on our indulgent construction, the statement is simply absurd. It is, however, the basis of her argument, her ground for the seriousness of the crisis. She sees the sexes separated as widely and hopelessly as they sometimes show themselves in a formal tea-party; and what a field, indeed, for anxious speculation! thousands upon thousands of women, voluntarily solitary or forced into independence, who hope for nothing, expect nothing, fear nothing, from the opposite sex—driven into a fierce independence, asking and granting no favour. This broad statement is the starting-point of the book, put forward to rouse women to a sense of the emergency, and to prove to every young girl that, in all probability, she will have, if not to maintain herself—the most frequent lot—at least, to trust to herself, and, therefore, to urge her to learn to work betimes, to gauge her powers by some pecuniary standard, to buckle in earnest to the stern business of life.

Whatever women may say, whatever abstract truth and sense there may seem in this advice, we doubt if it is the nature of man to like it, or to see the fitness of a woman's education preparing her for precisely the same struggle with the world that a man's is designed to do; of her work being appraised by the same standard. Women are charged by these stern moralists with being idle, not simply because all human beings are tempted to idleness, but women as distinguished from men. While 'Tom, Dick, and Harry' are learning to work for their living, their sisters are idle at home. Now we dispute this. Women always seem to us to be very industrious, in their way, head and hands always busily employed upon something. We don't see really that the world would be the gainer by every woman knowing the marketable value of her powers, and occupying herself accordingly. Women are exhorted to work, to have something to do—advice not to be disputed or gainsaid; but it comes to the question, what is work? for women, like men, may be glad to take refuge in something short of the hardest work. If women are to take for their example the methodically industrious men, who are always taxing to the utmost their highest powers; if they are to portion out their time with the same rigidity of rule and order; if there are to be no light, easily laid down employments; if there is to be no leisure, but all important business, we believe that a great deal of the really important business of the world would be brought to a stand-still; society would split into fragments; the cement that keeps it together and makes it adhere being diverted to form some independent structure. Every man — we may be charged with speaking

selfishly—finds the convenience of wife and daughters being able to *leave* what they are about, and take up his interests, do his errands, carry out his plans, at a moment's notice. He prefers, it is true, not being interrupted himself, and his wife respects his habits; but he would not like not to be able to interrupt his wife. His house would not be a happier one if his own rule were adopted by the ladies of his family, and there were no soul in the house whose train of thought might be disturbed; whose occupation might be broken in upon. And yet we think this implies a lighter class of current labour in women than is thought right for men. But our author will remind us that she expressly excludes married women from her lectures; that she has only to do with those who have bid farewell to the blissful sense of happy dependence, and have to carve out their own name and fortune. But, at least, this stronger position does not come with birth, nor can we tell on whom it will fall; so that the preliminary education of each class must be the same. While members of a family, girls must not be unfitting themselves for domestic life by setting off to business with the same method that their fathers and brothers do. We dare not say this, for fear of being misunderstood, and supposed to advocate a desultory, helpless, aimless, waiting existence, but that we have more faith than this lady has, in the love of women for occupation. If there are too many idle women, the fault, we think, does not lie so much in them as in a prejudice of society, which we are glad to see combated in books like the present.

But here, it is necessary to enter into the question of What is work? which is not quite so easy to settle as, at first, it appears. Is it earning a livelihood? is it occupation? is it service for others? is it the exercise of our highest powers? is it the search after the greatest good? is it to be tested in operation or by its result? is it the steady devotion of time to stated employments? is it concentration of the thoughts into particular points of time? Our author speaks of it as one of the particular blessings of the poor, that they *have* something to do. This seems, then, emphatically to give mere mechanical labour the title; and it is very true that the greater part of the labour of the human race is merely mechanical: once learn the routine, the head has comparatively little to do. But is it quite fair to call the same employment, where it is pursued for bread, *work;* and where it is taken up for occupation, *idleness?* Rich and poor women alike ply their needles; and why is the sempstress called industrious, and the young lady who plods at her embroidery branded as idle. This idleness seems to mean no more than the preference of a lower to a higher class of labour,

which circumstances may not bring within her reach; for women do not often fold the hands in indolence. Idleness *pure* does not exist among women as we see it in men. We see no women saunterers to match the *men* saunterers, which every experience supplies. In contrast with man's busy life, our authoress places before young ladies their unproductive existence:—

'My young-lady friends, of from seventeen upwards, your time, and the use of it, is as essential to you as to any father or brother of you all. You are accountable for it just as much as he is. If you waste it, you waste not only your substance, but your very souls—not that which is your own, but your Maker's.

'Ay, there the core of the matter lies. From the hour that honest Adam and Eve were put into the garden, not—as I once heard some sensible preacher observe—"not to be idle in it, but to dress it and to keep it," the Father of all has never put one man or one woman into this world without giving each something to do there, in it and for it: some visible, tangible work, to be left behind them when they die.

'Young ladies, 'tis worth a grave thought—what, if called away at eighteen, twenty, or thirty, the most of you would leave behind you when you die. Much embroidery, doubtless; various pleasant, kindly, illegible letters; a moderate store of good deeds; and a cart-load of good intentions. Nothing else—save your name on a tombstone, or lingering for a few more years in family or friendly memory. "Poor dear ——! what a nice lively girl she was!" For any benefit accruing through you to your generation, you might as well never have lived at all.'—*A Woman's Thoughts about Women*, pp. 12—14.

Such passages as these, we think, illustrate the difference between truth and truisms. Truisms are statements that can hardly be taken for guides; people can act on truths, but not on these trite imitations, which never exactly hit the nail on the head. We have observed that women, the most exemplary of their sex, can never approach the subject of their sex's condition without a touch of this quality. Each woman is evidently possessed with the notion of being *sensible* of recalling to her sisters in particular, and mankind in general, certain fundamental principles, lost sight of by such as are hurried along the stream of society, but which they are empowered to express with all the passionate earnestness of strong conviction. But all great fundamental principles of action belong to mankind as a whole; if they are applied in a one-sided fashion, and addressed solely to half or a quarter of the human race, as though with a special application, ten to one some fallacy creeps in to nullify the force of the statement. Now we really do not know *what* young ladies of seventeen or twenty are required to leave behind them when they die. It seems to be taken for granted that *men* of that standing have such a legacy to transmit to posterity, though wherein the difference in this respect lies between boys and girls we cannot tell. How few do this in any high sense!—for ordinary '*good* deeds' are not taken into account, and it seems to

mean something more tangible than 'the memory of the just.' Elsewhere, in the chapter on self-dependence, she writes:—

'We *must* help ourselves. In this curious phase of social history, when marriage is apparently ceasing to become the common lot, and a happy marriage the most uncommon lot of all, we must educate our maidens into what is far better than any blind clamour for ill-defined "rights"—into what ought always to be the foundation of rights—duties. And there is one, the silent practice of which will secure to them almost every right they can fairly need—the duty of self-dependence. Not after any Amazonian fashion; no mutilating of fair womanhood in order to assume the unnatural armour of men; but simply by the full exercise of every faculty, physical, moral, and intellectual, with which Heaven has endowed us all, severally and collectively, in different degrees; allowing no one to rust or lie idle, merely because their owner is a woman. And, above all, let us lay the foundation of all real womanliness, by teaching our girls from their cradle, that the priceless pearl of decorous beauty, chastity of mind as well as body, exists in themselves alone; that a single-hearted and pure-minded woman may go through the world, like Spenser's Una, suffering, indeed, but never defenceless; foot-sore and smirched, but never tainted; exposed, doubtless, to many trials, yet never either degraded or humiliated, unless by her own act she humiliates herself.

'For Heaven's sake—for the sake of "womanhede," the most heavenly thing next angelhood (as men tell us when they are courting us, and which it depends upon ourselves to make them believe in all their lives)—young girls, trust yourselves; rely on yourselves! Be assured that no outward circumstances will harm you while you keep the jewel of purity in your bosom, and are ever ready with the steadfast, clean right hand, of which, till you use it, you never know the strength, though it be only a woman's hand.'—*Ibid.* pp. 34—36.

Here again we think that the obvious truths are overlaid with a certain tone of application, open to question. We do not think it desirable that young ladies should regard the present state of society as something *new* in the world's history, and needing, therefore, a new development of the feminine character. The consequences, if such a conviction were really driven home, would be such as our authoress would deprecate with all her heart. In her chapter on female professions she claims for herself the right of speaking, because she is a working woman herself (and has, indeed, worked to good effect); but here one of these truisms comes in,—'These thoughts, however unsatisfactory, 'seeing the great need there is of deeds rather than words, are 'those of a "working" woman.' Now what does this clamour for *deeds* mean? If she works, there are her deeds and her example; but why disparage words, the stock-in-trade of authors, and at the moment, too, when she voluntarily enters on the labour of composition for what she thinks a *most* important object? How little real meaning does this pompous sentiment generally embody. It is in the mock force of such passages as these that a certain flimsiness of style creeps out, which is, we think, a common feature of women's merely didactic efforts.

On the question of what women are really to do that they have never done before, in order to meet the new order of things, our authoress has not many suggestions; not that we would express any wonder or blame at the omission, for it is the point at which every practical mind must be brought to a stand. She devotes two chapters to the subject; the first to 'female professions,' which she defines to be, the instruction of youth, painting or art, literature, and the vocation of public entertainment; and in these we find, so far from widening, she limits the range from her strong view of the responsibility of each. As for poor governesses, whom she owns are universally wanted, their calling may be said to be brought to an end. She reasons that if, 'in the most solemn sense, not one woman in five thousand 'is fit to be a mother, we may safely say that not two of that 'number are fit to be governesses.'

'Does any one pause to reflect what a "little child" is? Not sentimentally, as a creature to be philosophised upon, painted and poetised; nor selfishly, as a kissable, scoldable, sugar-plum-feedable plaything; but as a human soul and body, to be moulded, instructed, and influenced, in order that it in its turn may mould, instruct, and influence unborn generations. And yet, in face of this awful responsibility, wherein each deed and word of hers may bear fruit, good or ill, to indefinite ages, does nearly every educated gentlewoman thrown upon her own resources, nearly every half-educated "young person" who wishes by that means to step out of her own sphere into the one above it, enter upon the vocation of a governess.

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'Unless a woman has a decided pleasure and facility in teaching, an honest knowledge of everything she professes to impart, a liking for children, and, above all, a strong moral sense of her responsibility towards them, for her to attempt to enrol herself in the scholastic order is absolute profanation. Better turn shopwoman, needlewoman, lady's-maid—even become a decent housemaid, and learn how to sweep a floor, than belie her own soul, and peril many other souls, by entering upon what is, or ought to be, a female "ministry," unconsecrated for and incapable of the work.' —*Ibid.* pp. 44—47.

With regard to the two next, art and literature, she is not more indulgent. She recommends the burning of half the pictures and books in the world in one great bonfire, as one of the shortest and best modes of illuminating the world. No woman is to attempt to write or to paint till she has examined herself morally and intellectually by the sharpest tests of criticism: she must abide by art's severest canons, one of which is—

'Every person who paints a common-place picture, or writes a mediocre book, contributes temporarily—happily, only temporarily—to lower the standard of public taste, fills unworthily some better competitor's place, and without achieving any private good, does a positive wrong to the community at large.'—*Ibid.* p. 52.

When a woman finds herself equal to the task, she is to throw herself boldly into it.

'Let it always be a fair fight, and no quarter. To exact consideration merely on account of her sex, is in any woman the poorest cowardice. She has entered the neutral realm of pure intellect—has donned brain-armour, and must carry on with lawful, consecrated weapons a combat, of which the least reward in her eyes, in which she can never freeze up or burn out either the woman-tears or woman-smiles, will be that public acknowledgment, called Fame.'—*Ibid.* p. 57.

There is a great sound of conscientiousness in all this; but somehow it does not strike us as the way that good books are written or good pictures painted amongst men. We don't know whether head or heart gains much by so mighty a sense of the importance of what they do. How we spend our time and use our talents is no doubt vastly important to ourselves, for on it hangs eternity; but that one sort of labour should imply so great a sense of its importance above others, we question. Do great writers ever manifest this conscious weight of responsibility? They seem to us to write because it is their calling, because they like it, because they have something to say, or because they want money, and if they are conscientious men they write, just as they speak every day of their lives, conscientiously; but we doubt if men can habitually think much of their responsibility, as being the depositaries of peculiar gifts, without growing pragmatical and conceited, losing consequently their nature and the spontaneity of genius. Surely influence is too subtle a thing to be so confidently reckoned on, and predicted as the unfailing results of any course of conduct. We don't wish to break down the connexion between cause and effect; but things in real life do not bear out quite as the moralists make them. Providence works with inferior tools, with men and women as they are, with anything but model mothers, and teachers, and writers, and it brings to bear against their sins and mistakes, all its armoury of casual influence, chance correctives, and innate resistances. For ourselves, though agreeing in the necessity of securing the utmost amount of excellence and conscientiousness in the conduct of all human affairs, yet we have often been led to wonder and admire how the highest instances of goodness that came before us are of persons who have made the best of small advantages, who have resisted *evil* influences, who have kept themselves pure under difficulties, who have followed heavenly rather than any earthly guidance. These thoughts *must* occur when the doctrine of responsibility is forced beyond due limits, and in this connexion they need no apology.

Passing from female professions to female handicrafts, there are, as we have said, no new suggestions except the examples set up for imitation of two young women carrying on their father's business after his death, though in its nature *not* a

feminine one: this might be oftener done if women were taught accounts and admitted into the mysteries of book-keeping more generally than they are; but as a rule, the needle, the counter, and service, supply the range of occupation, for our authoress does not enter on the merely mechanical handicrafts of the manufacturing districts. No fresh opening is offered to female enterprise and industry. The attempt to raise a higher moral tone in these classes is good; but it is unreasonable to build the argument, that lady-mothers should not object to their sons marrying milliners—that they should not give a decided preference to the professional rather than handicraft class of female workers, on the question 'is it less creditable to make good dresses than bad books?' for education and head work must always carry it in society over hand work. But having shut the field of intellectual labour against the great majority of women, it is necessary to advance the other to their notice and respect; though at the same time, while nothing new is suggested to them, and they are assured of their incapacity to compete with men in man's sphere, the self-created difficulty of an unprecedented number of women being forced on their own exertions for support, meets with no attempt at solution.

The men have reason to feel satisfied with the figure they make under this lady's pencil. Her own sex, with whom is her main concern, she scrutinises with a daguerreotype eye for weaknesses and failings. But we are exhibited with a fine attention to light and shade, and painted in the grand style. We have great virtues and great faults, but no foibles. Thus men know that time is money, and are never dilatory. Man never haggles or bargains: either his wider experience has enlarged his mind, or he has less time for bargaining, or he will not take the trouble. 'Men, in their grand, picturesque pride, and reckless indifference to expense,' cannot understand the temptation to parsimony. Men can keep a secret—'rarely will a man voluntarily or thoughtlessly betray a friend's secret.' 'More rarely still will a man be heard, as women constantly 'are, speaking ill of some friend, who, a little while before, 'was all perfection.' 'What is necessary to be said, he will say, 'but not a syllable more.' 'Men are not given to gossip: they 'will take a vast interest in the misgovernment of India, or 'the ill-cooking of their own dinners; but any topic betwixt 'these two is a matter of very minor importance.' 'Men lie 'with greater grandeur than women: wilfully, because they 'have a purpose: women quite involuntarily, from mere weak-'ness of nature.' 'Men never fall into petty quarrels. The 'fathers, husbands, and brothers have no time to bother them-

'selves about such trifles. If they see fit to quarrel over their two 'grand *causæ belli*, religion and politics, they do it outright, and 'either abuse one another like pickpockets in newspaper columns, 'or take a horsewhip or a pair of pistols, and so end the matter.' The gossip of opposing religionism is a feminine vice; the rector could join with worthy men of every denomination in matters of local improvement; the curate could take a walk with the unitarian or independent minister, if the women would let them. 'But oh, the talk!' &c. &c. And here, while on this question of gossip, though well content with our own dignified posture, and gratified that the ladies should believe us superior to its paltry fascinations, we must say just a word for our weaker sisters, who, in glowing and eloquent terms, are reproached for the smallness and narrowness of their intellect.

'And what a drama! Such a petty plot—such small heroes and heroines —such a harmless villain! When we think of the contemptible nothings that form the daily scandal-dish of most villages, towns, cities, or communities, and then look up at the starry heaven which overshines them all, dropping its rain upon the just and the unjust—or look abroad on the world, of whose wide interests, miseries, joys, duties, they form such an infinitesimal part, one is tempted to blush for one's species.'—*Ibid.* p. 204.

Yes, while the stars are overhead, whose distances they might calculate; while Parliament is assembled, whose debates they might read; while distant nations war, and opposing interests, shaking the ends of the earth, clash, women inanely and stupidly interest themselves in small home politics, the affairs of the parish, the news of the village, the domestic events of their own neighbourhood. One thing is to be said for them, they are *made* so. They have a certain faculty of minute observation which neither the stars nor the debates can furnish congenial food for. They see a hundred things which are there, and which possess a significance, but which man's vision does not take in. All our faculties, great and small, are liable to abuse; and, unquestionably, this feminine quality is a very ensnaring one, and the word gossip has a deservedly ill name, though our authoress's personal experience, and the mischiefs that arise from it, is an unusually large one.

'If I, or any one, were to unfold on this subject only our own experience and observation—not a tittle more—what a volume it would make!

'Families set by the ears, parents against children, brothers against brothers—not to mention brothers and sisters-in-law, who seem generally to assume, with the legal title, the legal right of interminably squabbling. Friendships sundered, betrothals broken, marriages annulled—in the spirit, at least, while in the letter kept outwardly, to be a daily torment, temptation, and despair. Acquaintances that would otherwise have maintained a safe and not unkindly indifference, forced into absolute dislike—originating how, they know not; but there it is. Old companions, that would have borne each other's little foibles, have forgiven and forgotten little annoyances, and kept up an honest affection till death, driven at last into open

rupture, or frozen into a coldness more hopeless still, which no after-warmth will ever have power to thaw.

'Truly, from the smallest Little Peddlington that carries on, year by year, its bloodless wars, its harmless scandals, its daily chronicle of interminable nothings, to the great metropolitan world, fashionable, intellectual, noble, or royal, the blight and curse of civilised life, is gossip.'—*Ibid.* pp. 211—213.

But this is minute observation of character and manners, under the evil influences of idleness, temper, or malice, and offers us no reason against the same habit, or rather instinct, under moral control. Sternly to forbid women to open their mouths on what passes in their minds, is as impracticable as it is harsh. It is very well for a lady who writes novels to treasure up her observations for her books; but the same faculty, in a lesser degree, belongs to her sex. Society furnishes to women the characters for their little romances. To say that women are entirely to quench this faculty, to let their world, wide or narrow—of men and women—pass by, and to utter to no soul their observations, discoveries, speculations upon them, is like forbidding a scientific man to make known the fruits of his insight into the world of matter, and is depriving domestic life of one of its charms; for who does not know the refreshment to the spirits that a lively, intelligent woman can diffuse by simply reproducing, with truth of diction and graphic power, the little adventures of the day, which, as they passed, seemed common enough and barren of interest, but which, under her unconscious skill, arrange themselves into meaning and picturesque order. We do not doubt that our authoress would really so far go along with us—for a liberal and lively mind, as hers must be, cannot turn a deaf or cold ear to the conversation, sweet, loving, genial, and yet full of humour, but allowing no peculiarity which shows *character* to escape, which we have in our thoughts, and of which no experience can be without some example. It is only that in denouncing the abuse of this faculty which common vulgar gossip exhibits, the power itself so peculiarly a woman's gift seems either depreciated, or not recognised at all.

In the chapter on 'Women of the World,' the writer approaches the subject which would seem of universal interest, the amount of income on which it is prudent to marry, on which she speaks very sensibly; though here she is apt to be morbid in her fears, and to show that want of faith in the future, which is the consequence of pursuing every bugbear to its extremest consequences. After describing society, as it now is, under that cloud of disgrace and desuetude into which marriage is fallen, from the growing extravagance of the age, she exclaims:—

'Good God!—the exclamation is too solemn to be profane—if this state of things be true, and it is true, and I have barely touched the outer

surface of its unfathomably horrible truth—what will the next generation come to? What will they be—those unborn millions who are to grow up into our men and our women! The possible result, even in a practical, to say nothing of a moral light, is awful to think upon.'—*Ibid.* pp. 241, 242.

It is a relief after this to see a long list of marriages each Monday in the *Times*' supplement; it is something towards averting the evil day. As for the question itself, we think a comparatively small section of the community stands for the whole amongst those who have stirred in the question. London life—what is technically called society—either of the middle or higher classes, such as this lady is familiar with, and such as finds expression in the *Times*, is not really the rule for the world at large; young people in the country and in country towns are still content to start in life on very moderate means. We doubt if there is so much difference in the aspirations and desires of this class now from those of their fathers and grandfathers. But there is one important difference: fortunes are not so easily made; life is more of a struggle than it used to be; 300*l.* a year was more apt, by a natural law, to develop into 600*l.* or 1,000*l.* under ordinary prudence and attention to the business or profession than it is now. We really do not believe that households, as a rule, are less economically conducted than they were in the days of vast consumption of ale and wine and spirits, and the days of early dinners, and late suppers, and genial boosy joviality. The lady, perhaps, gave more time and attention to the preparing of good things then than now; but good things will cost money whoever cooks them, and we suspect that the dinner was rather a gainer than the *purse* for the superintendence of the head, whose credit with the husband was immediately at stake, and who tasted the sweetness of seeing the efforts of her own genius appreciated. We believe that the table of the middle classes is less indulgently supplied than it was in our grandfathers' time. Look at our careworn faces, and the well-rounded bloom set off by their periwigs. Look at our greater longevity, the effect of greater moderation and temperance. Those people did not go without service and attendance; they saw their friends oftener than we do, and the 'groaning tables' on such occasions is no *new* expression. To us a certain careless ease and profusion seems to envelope those primitive times. They made and spent their money more easily, and got more comfort and actual enjoyment out of it. We are speaking of the country at large; a very small part of the successors of this easy generation spend their time now in London clubs, though writers on the subject seem to think these vortices absorb them all. On such a question few can safely generalize, because each individual's experience is limited; we

can only then say, that in our experience this generation has to use and does use *greater* economy than the last; that the desires of young married people are not towards greater expense than their fathers' and mothers' were, though it may go out in different channels—a little more for show and less for comfort; that the young husband spends more time at business than his father did; that the young wife does not visit or receive company as often as her mother did, partly on the ground of expense, and a good deal because the love of visiting has abated since cards ceased to be the general amusement, and people have to find or make conversation instead. Marrying on small means now implies, therefore, much more self-denial than it did forty years ago: because the small means are much more likely than they were to remain always small, and then it is not the question on how small an establishment to set out on married life, but what to do with, and how to educate the family, that sometimes seem to come in an inverse ratio to the means of support, which must be reckoned on. But, still, it all depends on the character of the contracting parties. It needs an uncommon strength and permanence of attachment to be happy in poverty; but a love that carries its votaries triumphantly through the ordeal has something sublime in it. The world ought to have the spectacle for its edification. Prudence should not deprive us of the ideal wife who all her life long finds in her husband a compensation ample and abounding for every privation; who, while her husband is by her side, envies no woman her state pomp and circumstance; who would rather share his poverty than enjoy wealth under any other aspect in which it could be placed before her; to whom the alternative could not come in the form of a temptation; to whom the first illusion lasts through a whole life, and seems to gather strength with years and sorrows. Let such a woman marry on 300*l.*, 200*l.*, 100*l.* a year, she will never repent; love will be her faithful adviser, her teacher in every economic wile; the husband will never have the pain of seeing her suffer under straits and privations; her spirit will bear her up and sustain him with her. But the thing is to recognise such a woman in the *girl*, to be able to distinguish this true love where there are such excellent imitations: for, in fact, she must be taken a little on trust. She will not, perhaps, have the obvious qualities for making poverty respectable, she will have to *learn;* the heart's strong affection must mould her. The clever managing woman, confident in her powers, will not do; she has no inspiration, no guide but common sense, which may carry her through difficulties, but will not make her happy under them. Thus it seems as though we would recommend certain men, for the sake of society, for the chance

of an uncommon and particular blessing to themselves, to run some risks and so to give the world assurance of a wife. If this is not very practical counsel, if it does not throw much light on the question, at least it does as much as all the rest that has been said on it, backed though it be by statistics and housekeepers' account-books; for it must for ever remain, as it always has done, a case for individual decision; no two cases can be alike, scarcely one can be a rule for another.

We have said that it needs a perusal of the whole book to form the favourable judgment it deserves; and this, because the concluding chapters are evidently in a more particular manner the fruit of the author's own thought and observation. There is one on 'unhappy women,' which proves a large, and probably dear-bought experience, with the various maladies of mind and temper, which make—as she says—so many women a torment to themselves, and a burden to all connected with them. We trust she exaggerates their number; but that there is a morbid mental condition peculiar to women, and which may be traced to faults of education, neglect of bodily health, and the want, in maturer age, of an object and purpose in life, cannot be denied. Towards this class our author is both sympathising and judicious. She admits the weight of the demand they make on the patience and forbearance of those, healthier, more vigorous, better regulated, more fortunate; but yet treats their sufferings as real, and deserving compassion and tenderness.

'Infinite, past human counting or judging, are the causes of mental unhappiness. Many of them spring from a real foundation, of sorrows varied beyond all measuring or reasoning upon: of these, I do not attempt to speak, for words would be idle and presumptuous; I only speak of that frame of mind—sometimes left behind by a great trouble, sometimes arising from troubles purely imaginary—which is called "an unhappy disposition."

'Its root of pain is manifold; but, with women, undoubtedly can be oftenest traced to something connected with the affections: not merely the passion called *par excellence* love, but the entire range of personal sympathies and attachments, out of which we draw the sweetness and bitterness of the best part of our lives. If otherwise—if, as the phrase goes, an individual happens to have "more head than heart," she may be a very clever, agreeable personage, but she is not properly *a woman*—not the creature who, with all her imperfections, is nearer to heaven than man, in one particular—she "loves much." And loving is so frequently, nay, inevitably, identical with suffering, either with, or for, or from the object beloved, that we need not go further to find the cause of the many anxious, soured faces, and irritable tempers, that we meet with among women.

'Charity cannot too deeply or too frequently call to mind, how very difficult it is to be good, or amiable, or even commonly agreeable, when one is inwardly miserable. This fact is not enough recognised by those very worthy people who take such a world of pains to make other people virtuous, and so very little to make them happy. They sow good seed,

are everlastingly weeding and watering, give it every care and advantage under the sun—except sunshine—and then they wonder that it does not flower!

'One may see many a young woman who has, outwardly speaking, "everything she can possibly want," absolutely withering in the atmosphere of a loveless home, exposed to those small ill-humours by which people mean no harm—only *do* it; chilled by reserve, wounded by neglect, or worried by anxiety over some thoughtless one, who might so easily have spared her it all; safe from either misfortune or ill-treatment, yet harassed daily by petty pains and unconscious cruelties, which a stranger might laugh at; and she laughs herself, when she counts them up, they are so very small—yet they are there.

'"I can bear anything," said to me a woman, no longer very young or very fascinating, or particularly clever, who had gone through seas of sorrow, yet whose blue eyes still kept the dewiness and cheerfulness of their youth; "I can bear anything, except unkindness."

'She was right. There are numberless cases where gentle creatures who would have endured bravely any amount of real trouble, have their lives frozen up by those small unkindnesses which copy-books avouch to be "a great offence;" where an avalanche of worldly benefits, an act of undoubted generosity, or the most conscientious administering of a friendly rebuke, has had its good effects wholly neutralised by the manner in which it was done. It is vain to preach to people unless you also love them—Christianly love them; it is not the smallest use to try to make people good, unless you try at the same time—and they feel that you are trying—to make them happy. And you rarely can make another happy, unless you are happy yourself.'—*Ibid.* pp. 262—265.

This is unhappiness with a reason that may be accounted for; but after delicately touching on one common cause for permanent change of temper, a disappointed affection, she truly adds—

'There is no sorrow under heaven which is, or ought to be, endless. To believe or to make it so, is an insult to Heaven itself. Each of us must have known more than one instance when a saintly or heroic life has been developed from what at first seemed a stroke like death itself; a life full of the calmest and truest happiness—because it has bent itself to the Divine will, and learned the best of all lessons, to endure. But how that lesson is learned, through what bitter teaching, hard to be understood or obeyed, till the hand of the Great Teacher is recognised clearly through it all, is a subject too sacred to be entered upon here.

'It is a curious truth—and yet a truth forced upon us by daily observation—that it is *not* the women who have suffered most who are the unhappy women. A state of permanent unhappiness—not the morbid, half-cherished melancholy of youth, which generally wears off with wiser years, but that settled, incurable discontent and dissatisfaction with all things and all people, which we see in some women, is, with very rare exceptions, at once the index and the exponent of a thoroughly selfish character.'—*Ibid.* pp. 267, 268.

Then follow many excellent rules for self-treatment and government under the infliction of low spirits—all the result of thought and sound sense. The following less obvious remedy bears traces of a more particular and exacter sympathy with the disease and its remedies.

'Another element of happiness, incalculable in its influence over those of sensitive and delicate physical organisation, is Order. Any one who has just quitted a disorderly household, where the rooms are untidy and "littery," where meals take place at any hour and in any fashion, where there is a general atmosphere of noise, confusion, and irregularity; of doing things at all times and seasons, or not doing anything in particular all day over; who, emerging from this, drops into a quiet, busy, regular family, where each has an appointed task, and does it; where the day moves on smoothly, subdivided by proper seasons of labour, leisure, food, and sleep—oh, what a Paradise it seems! How the restless or anxious spirit nestles down in it, and, almost without volition, falls into its cheerful round, recovering tone, and calm, and strength.

"Order is Heaven's first law,"

and a mind without order can by no possibility be either a healthy or a happy mind. Therefore, beyond all sentimental sympathy, or contemptuous blame, should be impressed upon all women inclined to melancholy, or weighed down with any irremediable grief, this simple advice—to make their daily round of life as harmoniously methodical as they possibly can; leaving no odd hours, scarcely an odd ten minutes, to be idle and dreary in; and by means of orderly-arranged, light, airy rooms, neat dress, and every pleasant external influence that is attainable, to leave untried none of these secondary means, which are in the power of every one of us, for our own benefit or that of others, and the importance of which we never know until we have proved them.'—*Ibid.* pp. 275—277.

In no part of her book does the authoress come before us in so engaging a light as in her concluding reflections on 'Growing Old.' We trust and believe that she is arranging her ideas and reconciling her thoughts to this period betimes; but such musings can never be premature, and an old age which is remembered in youth, and prepared for in middle life, will be most cheerfully faced, and best entertained, when it comes; though to such minds old age, when it does arrive, is more a matter of faith than of feeling: all the sensations, all the experiences of life keep by them to the end; and how can a woman, who vividly feels still what youth is; whose memory has lost none of the ardours and ingenuousness of that time; with whom the mature business of middle life retains all its interest; whose days are still passed in healthful self-culture and thoughtful service for others—how can she really *feel* old? She needs her glass as a monitor, for in heart such a woman is always young. Our authoress enters playfully on the subject, detailing those all but imperceptible stages by which the idea is first forced on the feminine mind, honest and wise enough to receive the truth in whatever form it comes.

'To feel that you have had your fair half at least of the ordinary term of years allotted to mortals; that you have no right to expect to be any handsomer, or stronger, or happier than you are now; that you have climbed to the summit of life, whence the next step must necessarily be decadence;—ay, though you do not feel it, though the air may be as fresh,

and the view as grand—still you know that it is so. Slower or faster, you are going down-hill. To those who go "hand-in-hand,"

"And sleep thegither at the foot,"

it may be a safer and sweeter descent; but I am writing for those who have to make the descent alone.

'It is not a pleasant descent at the beginning. When you find at parties, that you are not asked to dance as much as formerly, and your partners are chiefly stout, middle-aged gentlemen, and slim lads, who blush terribly and require a great deal of drawing out;—when you are "dear"-ed and patronised by stylish young chits, who were in their cradles when you were a grown woman; or when some boy, who was your plaything in petticoats, has the impertinence to look over your head, bearded and grand, or even to consult you on his love-affairs;—when you find your acquaintance delicately abstaining from the term "old maid" in your presence, or immediately qualifying it by an eager panegyric on the solitary sisterhood;—when servants address you as "Ma'am," instead of "Miss;" and if you are at all stout and comfortable-looking, strange shopkeepers persist in making out your bills to "Mrs. Blank," and pressing upon your notice, toys and perambulators.

'Rather trying, too, when, in speaking of yourself as a "girl"—which, from long habit, you unwittingly do—you detect a covert smile on the face of your interlocutor; or, led by chance excitement to deport yourself in an ultra-youthful manner, some instinct warns you that you are making yourself ridiculous. Or catching in some strange looking-glass, the face that you are too familiar with to notice much, ordinarily, you suddenly become aware that it is *not* a young face; that it will never be a young face again; that it will gradually alter and alter, until the known face of your girlhood, whether plain or pretty, loved or disliked, admired or despised, will have altogether vanished—nay, is vanished: look as you will, you cannot see it any more.'—*Ibid.* pp. 317—319.

She next adduces the argument which should reconcile her to the discovery, after that 'one momentary spasm of the heart' which she allows to every woman on once for all taking leave of her youth.

'To "grow old gracefully," as one, who has truly exemplified her theory, has written and expressed it, is a good and beautiful thing; to grow old worthily, a better. And the first effort to that end is not only to recognise, but to become personally reconciled to the fact of youth's departure; to see, or, if not seeing, to have faith in, the wisdom of that which we call change, yet which is in truth progression; to follow openly and fearlessly, in ourselves and our daily life, the same law which makes spring pass into summer, summer into autumn, autumn into winter, preserving an especial beauty and fitness in each of the four.

'Yes, if women could only believe it, there is a wonderful beauty even in growing old. The charm of expression arising from softened temper or ripened intellect, often amply atones for the loss of form and colouring; and, consequently, to those who never could boast either of these latter, years give much more than they take away. A sensitive person often requires half a lifetime to get thoroughly used to this corporeal machine, to attain a wholesome indifference both to its defects and perfections, and to learn at last, what nobody would acquire from any teacher but experience, that it is the mind alone which is of any consequence; that with a good temper, sincerity, and a moderate stock of brains—or even the two former only—any sort of body can in time be made useful, respectable,

and agreeable, as a travelling-dress for the soul. Many a one, who was absolutely plain in youth, thus grows pleasant and well-looking in declining years. You will hardly ever find anybody, not ugly in mind, who is repulsively ugly in person after middle life.

'So with the character. If a woman is ever to be wise or sensible, the chances are that she will have become so somewhere between thirty and forty. Her natural good qualities will have developed; her evil ones will have either been partly subdued, or have overgrown her like rampant weeds; for, however we may talk about people being "not a whit altered" —"just the same as ever"—not one of us is, or can be, for long together, exactly the same; no more than that the body we carry with us is the identical body we were born with, or the one we supposed ours seven years ago. Therein, as in our spiritual self which inhabits it, goes on a perpetual change and renewal: if this ceased, the result would be, not permanence, but corruption. In moral and mental, as well as physical growth, it is impossible to remain stationary; if we do not advance, we retrograde. Talk of "too late to improve"—"too old to learn," &c.! Idle words! A human being should be improving with every day of a lifetime; and will probably have to go on learning throughout all the ages of immortality.'—*Ibid.* pp. 328—330.

This is not preaching, but practice; the conclusions of a thoughtful mind on a personal question. We can only recommend to our readers the perusal of the whole essay. We have never seen the pleasures of growing old so pleasantly set forth. The treatment of the whole subject is marked by Christian cheerfulness, sound sense, true philosophy, all expressed in the clear, graceful diction which never fails adequately to represent happy thoughts calmly dwelt upon and mastered by a mind satisfied with its lot, and at peace with the world.

And here we leave our agreeable and intelligent authoress, who, if she has now and then appeared too sternly critical of the follies of her sex, we are reminded, may have her reasons, when we survey certain volumes which lie by us, by no means characterised by that ultra-sense, and over-wisdom, which *very* sensible women may find a snare. First, we have a sort of rival lecturer in Miss Augusta Johnstone's 'Woman's Preachings for Woman's Practice,' who pursues a system of indiscriminate bullying; and soundly rates her 'sisters' for all the weakness and folly which she thinks inherent in the sex, in a strain of somewhat coarse and undeserved vituperation: calling upon them to be feminine in very masculine tones. Her perorations originally appeared in a newspaper's columns, whose readers probably will have what they consider a forcible style at any sacrifice, who enjoy hearing people scolded in good set terms; and may like to be told what 'the men' say and think; and who possibly feel the stimulus of such exordiums as 'Aim more at realities, sisters,' and similar rhetorical effects. There is now and then a touch of observation, for we cannot scold poor human nature long together without hitting a blot; though we do not feel the authoress

practical where she rebukes the working woman for her weakness and inexperience, who likes to take her husband with her in her Saturday-night marketings; or expresses contempt for the indolence of women with large families, who do not help their husband's earnings, by undertaking some business on their own account, in addition to their household duties. Next follow some books of apparently less assumption, and with certainly no aim at the preacher's office, or any ambition of utility; but not the less the fruit of the recent stir in the female world, and of the new pretensions to which it has given birth. It is evident that many ladies who in former times would have been content to *talk* nonsense, now think themselves privileged to write it, and to parade in print their folly and fatuity as *the* feminine attractions on which they depend for making a sensation.

In such a book, *e. g.* as 'Mountains and Cities,' the ignorance and impertinence are not the blemishes and drawbacks, but the sole motive power—the inspiration under which the task has been conceived and carried through. The most passing glimpse of what a book ought to be, the faintest perception of what constitutes the merit of other writers, must have brought the writer's own literary effort to an abrupt and abashed conclusion; but no such check interferes with her complacency; and several times the reader is let into her confident hope of gaining a large sum of money by her book, which she assures him is her main motive for this bold venture. In the 'Timely Retreat,' two young ladies inform the world in their preface, that their chief motive for undertaking a journey to India and back by themselves, was that they had the opportunity of collecting together an outfit of unparalleled elegance, consisting of fifty-three dresses apiece—a fact which remains prominent in their minds, after having, as their title explains, just returned in time from one of the main scenes of the Indian atrocities, where many of their companions in gaiety and thoughtless dissipation cannot be supposed to have been so fortunate. The 'Unprotected Female in Norway' is another of these aspirants for fame, and probably more solid advantages, by the bold display of selfishness, frivolity, and defiance of propriety, and an ignorance of the real purposes of travel. Women may have a proscriptive right to talk nonsense; we would not be so ungallant as to deny it to those who claim it for themselves; but for their real good, we trust that the public will show them that the charm of smiles and bright eyes is needed to make nonsense agreeable, and by neglect put a stop to this flood of printed fatuity. But beyond this warning, such performances are not worth mention, and hardly bear on the main idea of this article.

Our next and very different subject cannot perhaps be said

to do so either, except as every manifestation of female character affects our view of it, and so throws light on the question. 'The Fountain Sealed, a Memoir of Mary M. C. Methuen,' is a record, partly by her mother and partly from her own diary, of an uneventful life, which was closed some five years ago, and for which we do not now see any adequate reason for the publication beyond her immediate circle of friends. We mean that we do not quite understand the motive that has influenced Mrs. Methuen in her task; though we have found ourselves drawing a practical moral from it, but one very different from her own persuasion or design. The somewhat fanciful title is intended to denote Miss Methuen's peculiarly reserved character, which her mother professes never to have understood till the perusal of her diary after her death—the depositary of her religious experience from a child till this event took place, in her thirtieth year. Religious diaries can never tell the whole truth of a character; and yet, as no one can write of himself without showing himself, these pages give us insight into a mind, and, what is of more importance to our purpose, into the results of a system of education; for the mind itself was of no remarkable power or intelligence, nor yet interesting as a favoured vessel for the Christian graces; but honesty of purpose and real desire to serve God are apparent amidst many struggles and perplexities. We are sometimes led to suppose, from certain expressions and allusions, that her parents are not members of the Church of England; but the difference, if there be such, is not prominently put forward. The great principle of education was an extreme and absolute seclusion from the world, to which term is given its strict and technical, but not very definable meaning; to us it seems often to have meant forbidding the child to follow the example of others in things indifferent, representing these indifferent things to her as things wrong and sinful in their nature, and imbuing her from her earliest years with the idea that religion consists in outward separation from the habits and customs of society. Now her mind and circumstances were of the kind to make this treatment *tell* in full force; and the diary seems to us to show its effect in anything but a satisfactory way. We see how that reserve of which her mother almost complains was fostered, how a certain irritation and haughtiness of temper was enhanced; we see a continual fret against restraints to which she would only reconcile herself by harsh judgments of perfectly harmless actions expressed with a sort of embittered melancholy painful to dwell upon, and which led her sometimes to write hard things against herself, which either would never have been true or she would never have fancied to be true, if she had been permitted

in moderation the habits and amusements of her class. These pleasures her fancy keenly realized while she strengthened her resignation of them by caustic criticism and satire; for she did dutifully acquiesce, though not without a struggle, in her parents' wishes for her; soothing her feelings by the consolation that it was no want of either wealth or station, but only her own and parents' will, which cut her off from all these earthly delights. To us it always seems to break in upon children's simplicity and trustfulness so early to indoctrinate them with the persuasion that the whole outer world beyond their home is pursuing a sinful course, forgetting heaven and eternity in a life of worldliness—not in sins positive, which even a child's conscience recognises as such, but in a course of action, which *may* certainly be blameless, and whose only intelligible fault is that it is not singular, of which they are incapable of understanding the motives, and which they must censure and call names on *trust*. At the age of seventeen, we find Miss Methuen writing in her diary:—

'"Satan has been making a desperate attempt to destroy my soul by dressing up the *world* in such gay colours and beautiful forms, that I have been longing to be in it. When I lately saw C——, how beautiful she looked, how talented, how handsomely dressed, I longed to be like her. I thought to myself, if my mamma were half as much in the world as her mamma is, I should then be just the Christian that I should like to be, enjoying the world and Christ too. What beautiful scenes I should then pass through! I felt just like a worldling. I had no strength, and I cried to the Lord! If it were not for His grace, and the sphere I move in, I should be far from the paths of godliness. I have one eye on Christ, and the other wide open on the world. The eye on Christ is often shut, and I expect the Lord will soon pluck the other out. I now know what it is to drag a body of sin and death after me. I often think how happy are those who enjoy the world and Christ together; yet my conscience will not allow me to do that. Sometimes I think that God wills the salvation of His children, but does not care about their happiness here."'—*The Fountain Sealed*, pp. 62, 63.

Two years later we have the following painful but really significant passage. We know that with many persons a stage of infidelity is esteemed necessary to the spiritual course. It is, we presume, on this ground that the mother accepts it without a moment's misgiving of the system of education and discipline out of which it issued.

'"Since I last wrote, my mind has undergone several changes, and I have become imbued with principles of infidelity. For some time previously I had some vague floating thoughts of the kind; so long as Bessie was by my side, she silenced all my arguments; but when she was taken from me, I could open my mind to no one as I could to her. I felt and lamented my loss, and rebelled in my heart against the decrees of God. I thought to myself, 'Surely, if God loved His people, He would wish their good and their happiness, both of which I have lost in Bessie.' With such thoughts I was miserable; I cared for no one—was

disgusted with everybody and everything. I felt cross with everyone, especially with mamma. I became then, in the full sense of the word, a *sceptic*. I disbelieved all that I had been taught to look upon as most sacred. I ridiculed religion, and looked at Christians either as hypocrites or infatuated people. I took pains to conceal all this from mamma and papa, as I knew it would make them miserable. Yet at times something within me seemed to tell me that there is a God, and that perhaps the Bible is true; if so, what a dread tribunal awaited me! I should have to appear before a just Judge, and give an account of myself before Him that 'searcheth the heart and trieth the reins!' But I will not repeat all my feelings. Suffice it to say that in this wretched state of mind I continued many months, till a short time ago, when Miss B—— came to stay with us. She soon gained my confidence, and softened down my prejudices by her extreme kindness, and by taking an interest in all my pursuits and studies."'—*Ibid.* pp. 68, 69.

We are not disposed to take such statements as these quite to the letter, and believe that the *body* has a great deal to do with them; but they, nevertheless, show a diseased mind, like the assertion, elsewhere expressed, that she often wished to be annihilated; that even when her faith was restored, 'the future 'in this world is indeed sad, for I have very melancholy thoughts 'respecting it;' or again—

'"My heart was once so hardened, when in a state of infidelity, that I thought that even if there were a place of torment, I had courage to bear any amount of suffering,—even the flames of hell! Oh! the love of God in saving one who had such blasphemous thoughts. Ah, one time I almost hated Him,—now I love Him with all my heart. Oh! for grace to love Him more."'—*Ibid.* pp. 120, 121.

For the sake of the conclusion, the mother heeds little the beginning of this passage, which to us is dreadful, from the sort of morbid satisfaction there is in writing it down, and the restlessness, irritation, and perhaps desolation of mind which it implies. In connexion with this class of thoughts, take the following reflections on society as she sees it. The following scene of dumb show admitted of two interpretations: Miss Methuen's position of complete exclusion *forced* her to apply the least favourable:—

'"One day I was observing from the window, a number of smart young ladies congregated at the door of an opposite house. They were *mincing* in their manners. While they were standing there, a young man came out of the house, and seemed as if he could hardly disentangle himself from them. Many thoughts crossed my mind as I looked at this group,—'What a fool they are making of that young man! How can they act with so little sense or dignity! twirling their parasols about—balancing and smiling, and wasting so much time in idle speeches and empty compliments. How much more truly worthy of respect is Miss A——, for instance, who is all day engaged in tuition, going about the town with a busy step, with an honourable object in view—that of supporting herself and her family! And these are immortal beings (thought I), who are thus frittering away the hours of too short a life. Why not rather devote their time to the good of their fellow-mortals? If they need not work for their own livelihood, why not work for the good of others?'"

'"A few days after this, I found that two of that group of ladies were *Christian* people whom I knew! How little can we at times judge from the exterior! Yet, why do Christians dress and act so like the world? Though this served as a lesson to me, not to be so hasty in judging, yet it also convinced me of the importance of Christians being in dress and manners different from the world. Had it been so with them, they might have given a sober, serious aspect to the whole group, by restraining the levity of the other young people. . . ."'—*Ibid.* pp. 133, 134.

Soon after, she is thrown amongst some relations, and perplexed and harassed by the same train of thought which we give with the mother's comment. We would not advocate any excess of amusement, which we know to be most injurious; but surely there is evidence here of a mind deprived of healthful relaxation, conscious of an enfeebling strain on the natural spirits, and forced as a sort of compensation to consider the spiritual condition of her gay young friends in the most unpromising light it could bear. There is something really shocking in her application to them of the Psalmist's language against the wicked, 'who are so holden with pride, and overwhelmed with cruelty,' because of their uninterrupted prosperity; but she finds the view necessary, in order to reconcile herself to her own uncheerful existence.

'"I came here on Monday. Ever since my arrival the house has been full of visitors—three large dinner-parties. At first I thought this is no place for me, but soon I became used to it. At one party I sat next to a very pleasant young person; we conversed on many interesting subjects. I should think she was quite a Christian, though dressed like the world. At the next party, one character interested me much, Miss C——. One or two of her expressions led me to think that she was not devoid of thought on serious things. Yet what a life of gaiety she leads! She has all that heart can desire at her command—always out, or having parties at home. To her such a course can be no excitement, only a necessary stimulant that she cannot dispense with.

'"I then considered my own condition, and contrasted my life of seclusion with hers. I shall decline in life without having hardly entered it, or occupying that place in it to which my birth and position entitle me. But I must follow out this picture—how long will it last? I know not; but I know there is a heaven to which I am hastening, and when there I shall doubtless thank God that I have been kept out of these earthly enjoyments, which might have been dead weights in my course heavenward. There is undoubtedly happiness in the world, but it is only passing; yet while it lasts it is pleasant. There may be mortifications also; but what rose is without a thorn? The apostle admits that there are pleasures here, when he says that if were not for the next world, we should be of all men the most miserable. It is 'through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom of heaven.' The process which purifies us for heaven—which purges away our dross—is commonly a painful one. We must expect sorrow; but when we are with God, we shall see that it was necessary, and shall thank Him for it.

'"But suppose I follow her beyond those lower scenes, and hear it said of her 'she had her good things in this life.' Oh! what a painful thought! Where will she then be? Earnestly do I hope that she may be as happy in the next world as she appears to be in this.

'"How often lately has my experience been like that of the Psalmist. (Ps. lxxiii.) At first I have been tempted to envy those who seemed so surrounded with earthly pleasures; but, thank God, He always brought me back to see their short duration, and to look forward to that happiness which endureth for ever. No wonder the votaries of the 'world' appear so healthy, while they are continually enjoying life, and driving away sorrow and reflection, which tend to weaken the body, though they strengthen the spirit . . . ."

'Happy Mary, who, like her namesake of Bethany, had chosen the better portion, or rather, happy, happy Mary, to whom the Spirit of God had revealed brighter hopes and more enduring bliss than a polluted world could yield her! Yet nature asserted her claims; and it was evident that a struggle went on in her young heart, as she looked on and felt it was a sacrifice to relinquish what seemed to make others so happy, so bright and smiling. Until she went into the sanctuary of God, her spirit was troubled; but in communion with Him who is the light of that sanctuary, she could take a just survey of all around her, and could thank Him from her inmost soul for having kept her from the tempting path of worldly pleasures.'—*Ibid.* pp. 141—143.

We so far differ from this conclusion, that we think we detect defects of character arising from this isolation; a certain selfishness (self coming first in her speculations), a want of that amiability which society especially fosters, and self-consciousness. Thus if she has given way to mirth or spirits, she laments over it, and talks of her 'unhallowed manner;' and writes, at sixteen, reprovingly to herself, 'Oh, what spirits are mine; what a hindrance to communion!'

But these are occasional outbursts; her tendency was rather to brooding, and a certain moodiness of temper, though over all triumphed a genuine faith and obedience; for her acquiescence in her parents' will is to be admired and approved; and when we find her longing to do some great thing in the service of her Lord, and sympathizing, with self-denial and earnestness, wherever she sees it (even to her mother's great alarm, when under a High Church garb), we would be the last to pry into the failings of such a character, but that we see in them the effect of over-strictness in externals, of imposing a bondage which neither Scripture, reason, nor experience sanctions. We cannot but think, that had Miss Methuen been permitted to join in the pursuits and to share the habits of young people of her own age, her mother's watchful care being expended, not in secluding her from all participation in them, but in teaching her moderation and self-discipline in their use, that she would have been spared many temptations, that her character would have gained strength and serenity, and her Christian course would have met with fewer hindrances. The subject is suggestive, and leads us into a wider and more general field of speculation; passing naturally from the treatment of individual minds to that of communities.

We have always thought that it is not sufficiently borne in mind by reformers of manners, and founders of institutions, that the human mind has its trivial side, that it is part of our nature to be frivolous, that a vein of puerility runs through every one of us; that this infirmity is so universal, that no condition of humanity is without it; that it is a weakness that cannot be exterminated. Perhaps it is not easy to express our convictions on this point, and we are conscious of laying ourselves open to the charge of that very common injustice fastening the conclusions of a narrow personal experience on the world at large. But at least one wise man, wise in the peculiar sphere of observation, confirms our idea of the universality of the flaw, and ventures to express it with a boldness we would not wish to imitate. 'I 'have often thought,' writes Addison, 'if the minds of men were 'laid open, we should see little difference between that of the 'wise man and that of the fool. There are infinite reveries, 'numberless extravagancies, and a perpetual train of vanities, 'which pass through both. The great difference is, that the 'first knows how to pick and cull his thoughts for conversation, 'by suppressing some, and communicating others, whereas the 'other lets them all indifferently fly out in words.' Without going the length of this bold hyperbole, do not the expressions, 'infinite reveries,' 'perpetual train of vanities,' find a response in most minds, and describe that crowd of aimless, futile, involuntary musings, out of which the true *workings* of the mind, whatever deserve to be called ideas, rise and form themselves we know not how? We talk, indeed, of trains of thought, and of chains of ideas, as though the links were clear and unbroken—for it is not always necessary to acknowledge the weak turmoil that goes on within, which, under judicious management, may be kept pretty much to ourselves;—but do any people's ideas sustain really this majestic march which in courtesy we assume for them? are they not rather clogged and harassed, from their very development, by a thousand impertinent interruptions, suggested (if it were possible to trace them) by the senses, by memory, by association, or some subtleties of our organization, of which we know nothing, and which can never be entirely conquered? The state of mind we attempt to describe is part of the infirmity, not necessarily the sinfulness, of our nature. They are not bad thoughts we wish to indicate, though the soil is congenial enough to noxious weeds—but weak ones, on which it does not alarm us that the All-seeing eye should rest, for our instinct shows them to be too much part of ourselves to dread the knowledge of our Maker, who knoweth that we are but dust; but which we would not for the world expose to any human scrutiny, not the nearest, the dearest, the most indulgent,

under the conviction that the revelation would take them by surprise, and lower us permanently in their estimation. Of course proper watchfulness, and self-discipline, will do much towards keeping this weakness within bounds, but this is all that can be hoped for; the strongest mind will be part of iron, and part of clay, to the end. Indeed, we suspect mere intellect is no guarantee, and offers no freedom from this infirmity. Let each of our readers think for himself of the cleverest man, the one nearest genius of his acquaintance; in the midst of the general superiority and dignity of his character, is not the candid observer, every now and then, in spite of himself, aware of breaks, chinks, and crevices, out of which large *escapes*, so to say, of weakness and puerility fume out, and betray what must be working within? Watch him, and does he not often look *small*, fidgety, tiresome, trifling, anything but great and consistent? And yet do not watch him; take him for granted for his work's sake, if it be good; for why should we lose our ideals? And no human being, we are convinced, in spite of all that biographies say, could ever dispense with the indulgence—shall we say wilful blindness?—of his warmest admirers, and most devoted followers.

To some this may seem a very unprofitable speculation; there is something levelling and unpalatable to our poetical sense in it. It is well to have something to admire with all our hearts; but still it is a truth, however cold-blooded, which should not be out of the minds of those who plan modes of life for others. These may indeed reply, that what intellect cannot effect, grace may, and who can gainsay it? but when grace does so, we are persuaded it is by its miraculous, not its ordinary operations, on which it cannot be judicious to reckon. And on the question of whether this infirmity of our nature can be suppressed, not modified and kept in check, but suppressed, hangs the wisdom or the folly of a great deal of legislation. If you can put it down, and make minds strong, firm, always vigorously occupied in great matters by stringent enactments, frame them by all means. If you can put to flight a swarm of poor helpless fancies, by investing a man in peculiar and forbidding attire, do so. If you can elevate a woman's mind, divest it of vanity, render it simple, unconscious, wrapt in a strain of lofty meditation, by denying her from this day forward the sight of her face in the glass, and the privilege S. Paul allows her, of adorning herself in modest apparel, it is worth the sacrifice to herself, and atones for our own loss also. For it cannot be denied that dress is a fertile field of reverie. The gravest man of our acquaintance would not like to reveal all the thought it costs him—not deliberate, voluntary thought, but

something that takes time, during which he is neither grand nor elevated; and we suppose, it may be assumed that women think still more of it, and with something more of intention and design. But are we sure that when a rigid and disfiguring uniform is provided for both, that a grave and important train of thought is secured, instead of the former feeble self-gratulations or regrets? Does the austerity of the attire keep the mind in check? Can we be sure that thick-coming fancies will not haunt it of the old familiar garb with all its associations? Perhaps it is this very *association* that a change of external habit is designed to quench, and we can imagine with considerable success in many cases, and the legislator seems to have won a victory, but the channel of vanities and reveries *may* simply have changed its course. We have already committed ourselves to the opinion that this condition of our fallen nature cannot be entirely got rid of; and if so, and if the old fields for harmless though profitless musing provided by nature and society are shut out as unlawful and forbidden ground, and so turned into sin, where does the weak point manifest itself? We fear there is danger of its taking a false position, assuming a mask, deceiving the very heart that is its source. If, for example, a woman's thoughts have run upon a ribbon or a curl, or what our grandmothers called a pretty fellow, she at least knows that she is frivolous, and rouses herself, if she have sense at the bottom, from the trumpery speculation with a sense of ingenuous shame; but experience shows us that we may be trivial on important things without knowing it; and here lies the danger, for this phase of mind employed, or rather let loose, amongst our gravest responsibilities may weaken the whole moral fabric by disturbing the sense of proportion. If because the objects which employ our thoughts are serious, weighty, and solemn, we take for granted that our mode of viewing them is serious and weighty too, there is danger of our judgment loosening the reins and the blessed guidance of homely sense being lost to us. There is no merely intellectual mistake which so lowers the tone of the mind and sinks it below its natural level as the loss of the sense of proportion, by which we mean a right judgment on the relative importance of things; and all systems which attempt by laws and penalties to confine the mind in certain rigid channels of thought, that make no allowance for human weakness and *childishness*, so to call it, seem to us to have this tendency.

Perhaps the most extreme instances of this severity are to be found amongst men. There are in other communions, institutions stern as the grave, inexorable against human infirmity, where every light, gay, airy, or trifling motion of the

soul is treated as a crime to be repented of by penances and tears. Into these dreary abodes no eye penetrates, nothing is *known*—we are left to conjecture. Our conjecture then is that the mind under such treatment sinks into the lowest intellectual level of which it is capable, that in material language it loses its *tissue* and becomes a sort of pulp, in which all the ideas connected with the solemnities of eternity and of our own existence hold a different and uncertain aspect, a certain mould of imbecility gathering and mantling over all. There may be minds of vigour and energy enough to resist the influence; but the ordinary effect must be to enervate. However, our concern now is with women, and the effect of what is technically termed strictness upon them. In ordinary cases its pressure must fall with greater weight upon women than men, because of their greater necessary seclusion. For our part, we never see the pretty, utterly useless trifles made by foreign nuns—their cut paper and little gew-gaws of feathers and shells—without a sense of consolation. We regard them as vents and escapes for caged-up fancies. We are sure that a good deal of pointless speculation is bestowed upon them, that many a poor helpless vacant little mind seizes on the fabrication of that worthless frippery with a sort of passion of relief, that it assuages a longing, and that the soul is all the fitter for its round of duties after the craving for the trivial has been satisfied by what is allowed to be lawful food.

This train of thought has been awakened by the experiment of sisterhoods now being tried amongst ourselves under a very different state of things, and certainly with much greater aim at practical utility than in the instances we have alluded to, where monasticism is a time-honoured and unquestioned institution. Indeed, many will see no parallel or analogy between the two; nor is there *necessarily*. A band of ladies, led by the same desire to devote themselves to the service of the poor in Christ, and—supposing they can do so more effectually by united service under a *head*—associating themselves under one roof, has little in common with the seclusion of a nunnery, the work is different, the aim is assumed to be different, and even the pattern they set before themselves is different. Their model is the sister of mercy, not the nun who secludes herself for ever from the world; but there is this at least in common with all such associations, where people agree to live together for the promotion of religious objects, there must be *rules*, and there is a tendency to make these rules stringent. A certain strictness beyond what is found necessary for home rule seems generally to be found essential. The mind is not satisfied without it: the religious instinct craves for it. We believe that strict and

even austere rules are thought necessary to bind together with sufficient cohesion these voluntary associations, a strictness not needed by each individual *soul*, but enforced in order to maintain it one of a certain corporate body; and it is because we think so, because we think that superfluous, and not generally salutary restraints, are applied to these institutions, that we are led, not without doubt and hesitation, to venture some comments and remarks upon their present aspect.

We cannot touch upon this subject without being aware that we may differ from many whose judgment has and ought to have great weight with our readers, as it has with ourselves. Backed as they are by such modern sanction and supported by antiquity, we cannot expect for our own questions and misgivings more than a patient hearing from many who peruse these pages. We say what we have to say as it were under correction. But if we are asked, 'why should friends throw obstacles in the way of a good work, and interfere with an attempt to revive some of the ancient fervour of self-sacrifice in these lax times?' we reply, if sisterhoods are to spread and thrive, they must not shrink from friendly criticism, nor regard every doubt as a sign of opposition. Minds are so made as to see one side of a question more forcibly than another; let every aspect be looked at. If antiquity and the precedent of other countries influence our minds, may not also the conditions of our own times, our national character, our religious and social institutions? Is it necessary that the voice of either should be silenced? If, we say, sisterhoods are to obtain a permanent footing, we are convinced it must be, not by ignoring difficulties, but by facing them and by prudence overcoming them. There must be common homely sense at work in founding any institution for perpetuity, much more for *reviving* one. There must be knowledge of human nature and its weaknesses. The church has always been influenced in its developments by the circumstances of the times; it adopts customs and lays them down. Monasticism began as a sort of necessity before that time. Philip's four daughters prophesied at home. And that country and locality have an influence even where code and creed are the same we need not go further to prove, than by calling on our readers to compare the Roman Catholic Sister of Charity at home and abroad. Look at the Sister in Belgium or Paris, with her easy manner, her nature, and self-possession, stepping along about her work with no more self-consciousness than the artisans or peasants alongside of her, looking, as she *is*, part of the scene and in her place; contrast this cheerful picture with that pair of her fellow Sisters of the same communion in our streets. The harsh contour; the fixed gaze

upon nothing; the heavy, measured, remorseless tread over wet and dry; the evident knowledge that they attract attention; the passive determined ignoring of the fact—at least these are different from our Béguine friend or our comfortable French railway companion. Of course the English spectacle may be thought more impressive by some *because* not so natural. Such sights do impress people differently. We own this rigid vision gives us little pleasure, because, though not for a moment charging these good ladies with affectation in a bad sense, it looks to us a manner assumed because it is thought right, but expressing nothing of the inner working of the mind; and we ask ourselves, why should women make of themselves an anomaly, a startling contradiction, a *protest?* To others the same manner may suggest a habit of fixed contemplation, a fear of this evil world's contamination, minds lifted above this lower scene, hearts habitually commercing with divine things. It may be all this, though it is not easy to abstract the mind in a staring crowd. At any rate, they carry baskets in their hands; they are bound for the dwellings of the poorest: we wish well to their errand, though we may not be able to resist a doubt whether this is the *best* way of doing good for either giver or receiver in our own time, in our own streets, amongst our own population, in this year of grace 1858; that it was in the sixth century or the twelfth century, or the fifteenth, does not of itself prove the point, though it is something towards it.

For ourselves, we cannot but think the circumstances of the times dictate the necessity for considerable modification and change in the attempt to perpetuate, or to revive the old idea. The general advance—amongst women especially—in education and intelligence, and the superior power of self-guidance which these should and do imply, all point, we think, to greater independence of action, variety of occupation, and deference to individual peculiarities. It is unquestionably much more difficult, as we have said, to keep a community going with liberty of action in its members, than where there are irrevocable vows and one rule of blind obedience or routine of service. But cultivated minds, minds of practised discernment in the habit of weighing and judging for themselves, should have the means of using and improving these gifts, or there is a waste of power, or more probably these institutions will never represent the highest qualities of the sex. Of course, the reply may be, that they do not aim at representing its intellect, but its religion and self-devotion. But surely a clear head and sound judgment, and power of self-guidance, are essential to women who choose a path for themselves, and by a strong independent exercise of will separate themselves from

natural ties. The self-will that takes one—perhaps desperate—step alone, only to abandon itself henceforth helplessly to the direction of others, is not a temper to awaken much sympathy. A strong will, allied to a weak character, is an element of disorder and dissolution wherever found, and could not be worse placed than in one of these institutions under *present* circumstances; for here, again, there is a difference between our times and former ones, when parental influence generally favoured institutions of this nature, while now, amongst ourselves, it mostly runs counter to them; when the Church supported them with all its authority, while now it merely permits them and sanctions no vows; and it needs greater strength of character to go with *credit* against than with the stream, so as to prove to the world the right wisdom and self-knowledge which dictated the decision. The stronger spirits must be the pioneers in difficult times to provide a congenial home and refuge for their weaker sisters.

The general discussion now carried on, on the question of the condition of women and their right to greater independence of action, is an opening for religious and benevolent female establishments, which we would gladly see wisely used; and regarding this time as a sort of crisis, we have ventured on a bolder line of comment and criticism than might otherwise have suited us. It is impossible but that the recent painful affair connected with the Sisterhood at East Grinstead must have occurred to our readers, who are, no doubt, too familiar with the details for us to need to enter into them here. On the gross ill-usage to which amiable and excellent ladies were subjected by a brutal mob, we need say nothing: on the outrageous manifestations of temper and feeling on Mr. Scobell's part, it is not our place to enter; he will probably never see, and certainly would not regard, anything we might say. What we have to do with, is the insight which the rage, on both sides, for publishing documents which were never intended for publication, and which ought never to have seen the light, has given us into the design, the practical working, and the state of mind fostered by sisterhoods; or, perhaps, we should say this particular institution, if we would steer clear of injustice. While our respect for the ladies who compose the establishment is in some points enhanced by what has transpired, we yet cannot regard this strange revelation as satisfactory; and when we see excellent and disinterested people falling into scrapes and standing in a false position, while their individual character holds its ground, we are forced into an examination of the system on which they work, and its effect on the minds of those who follow it. We cannot but think this the only reasonable course: to go on

exalting a system because we respect its high aims, and attributing every failure to individual error in its exponents—as an accidental aberration, something which a little good advice will easily remedy—is, we think, an injustice. An intellectual or moral error in a system will break out somewhere. It is all in vain to write as some do,—'It is disappointing when those 'whom we could wish to regard with unmixed admiration are 'content to imperil or disturb their success in what is great and 'good for the indulgence of a fancy, harmless or even pleasing 'in itself, but calculated to make their brethren offend.' But what if the system interferes with the discernment of what is immaterial and what important, and weakens the judgment on this point? What if minds, deprived of natural relaxations, fasten upon the trifles which are permitted to them with the greater tenacity, and cannot and will not let them go? We ought to have more sympathy with their peculiar position than hastily to pronounce that the error, if it was one, was easily to be avoided; it is asking them to forego all the poetry and grace of life.

Another and more important question, which bears, we think, upon the same point—the *system* instead of the individual—is involved in the subject of Confession. We need not enter into the doctrine of *Confession*, because in our view the point lies not in Confession itself, but in the choice of a confessor. Now our abstract notion of a confessor is, that he should not be *too* sympathising. It should not be too easy to tell him our sins, or it will be apt to become a pleasant exercise. There should be a something about him always to keep up the first experience of its being a simple duty, without a shade of gratification, to own our errors and weaknesses to him; nothing to tempt to an unnecessary word; a certain coldness, dryness even, would not be out of place. Now, appearances lead to the suspicion that the heads of these institutions require wholly different qualities in this important functionary, and consider tenderness, sympathy, and glow of feeling as the main essentials, added to unlimited patience, forbearance in listening, and an encouraging endurance of details. Nor can we wonder; for have not the inmates under their care sacrificed all other sympathy, all variety of conversation, all refreshment of the intellect, all amusement of the imagination? Thrown back upon themselves in so many ways, can we wonder at this one solace; coming, too, not in the likeness of an indulgence, but of a painful religious duty? We cannot wonder, we do not wish to blame; and the one example of confession without the walls, which has been brought before us, may be no specimen of what goes on within it. But we do not find that any apology is offered, nor any attempt made to show it an isolated instance. We have no reason to suppose

that Miss Scobell's mode of confession, as to its fulness, frequency, length, and the extreme satisfaction she found in it, was thought singular. We can only generalize upon the subject, and regard it in its theoretical aspect. Surely the *fewest* words in which a sin can be defined should be chosen, otherwise the confession of it *will* become an indulgence. In all other circumstances, talking of self, making *self* our theme, is considered a sign of bad taste, and an injurious habit. Can it change its nature because it assumes another name? And if from the sin itself we proceed unchecked to detail the motives and temptations, and provocations that led to it, are not these really excuses? Can vanity be kept out of a multitude of words? And then the delicious feeling of being understood, one of the most subtly sweet sensations of our nature, will make even penance light. When once the shame of owning our sins becomes subservient to the stimulus of talking of self, we are disposed to think confession becomes injurious to the strength and honesty of the mind. When there is the feeling that our confessor sympathises and understands us, there may follow the secret, perhaps unconscious, consolation that we shall not suffer in *his* estimation, and the proceeding changes its nature. These ideas on the subject of confession are obvious enough to those in the ordinary positions of life where Providence has placed them; but it seems universally considered that a closer scrutiny is necessary where any one chooses what is too technically called a holy life—that such a life, as subject to subtler temptations, and involving higher aims, must be watched with a more particular investigation. We own the exotic character of this special culture a little awakes our suspicion: the apparatus, the separation, the vast human agency, the actual expenditure of money, distinguish the professor too pointedly from the ordinary Christian. We cannot but see a danger in it, and we would gladly modify some of the severer ordinances of an institution to place this matter on a different and as we think more healthy footing; for to take the one example before us, though we feel Miss Scobell's character a peculiar one, and no fair rule for others, yet we can at least see from this one extreme instance how weak, feeble, vacillating, and trivial a mind may become, bent on the perpetual inspection and analysis of every passing thought, putting it into body and form, and preserving it for description *vivâ voce*, or by pen and ink. How the judgment and rational penetration withers under the process, we may judge by the trust placed in the treacherous confidant, who herself seems to have been bewildered out of what conscience she had by being put into a position she could not understand or see the bearings of.

And yet Miss Scobell's home, from whatever cause, was miserable—she was not wanted there; her temper would probably amend, her character gain tone, her life would be spent more usefully and happily amongst congenial and judicious friends, joined together in holy service to God and their neighbour. It is a case, in spite of this unfortunate and unjust exposure, as far as this poor young lady is concerned, to show the use and value of sisterhoods; we will not believe that what we must object to, is an essential part of the idea, though it may be of a certain development of it.

Criticism is too much like—we can hardly avoid its being like—interference with independent action, which we would strongly advocate; but if we question and comment, it is because those who advocate these institutions at all, seem prone to give them a pre-eminence of sanctity and utility over every other form of feminine existence. It is called even a holy life, as opposed to the daughter's life in her father's house. It is in answer to this view, to this assumption as it seems to us, that we will pursue the subject of this institution still further. First. We observe that the avowed object of the Sisterhood of East Grinstead is supposed on all hands to be so practically useful, as well as so admirable, as not to admit of a moment's question. A company of religious and benevolent women, devoting themselves to the care of the sick, and willing to sacrifice *all* considerations of habit, convenience, and even feeling, in the service of the poor and afflicted, certainly does commend itself to our consideration with peculiar claims. Yet there are points in the rules and designs of the institution, which are to us who—we should explain—are far removed from the sight and knowledge of their actual working, not a little perplexing. Of course this admission on our part detracts from our testimony; but there is something so dazzling to the judgment, in the *sight* of self-sacrifice, it is so hard and invidious to witness devotion, and to demur in any way at the mode of its manifestation, that any doubt must be left to those who can only argue the matter on general principles. We will then simply state our difficulty. We have some experience of the poor, both in town and country; for many years we have visited them in their houses, so as to have a fair idea of the average accommodation to be found in their dwellings. We have seen them in sickness, and know the arrangements that are made to nurse and tend upon them; and in no instance of illness that we can recall, do we understand how the presence of a Sister, taking up her abode in the house, night and day, does otherwise than interfere with the habits of the invalid, and his or her family. The Sister's services are supposed to supersede those of the gin-drinking nurse.

Poor people cannot afford to hire the services of a professed nurse; they nurse one another, and as a whole (of course there are exceptions) they perform this duty admirably, with wonderful patience, with such tenderness, such a willing devotion of strength and time, that, in spite of the tax it undoubtedly is on the powers of *working* people, we should be sorry indeed to see it taken out of their hands. Often, of course, means, time, or skill fail them; but in *our* experience, the most suitable relief then is the hospital (though we are aware that the facilities for this resource vary indefinitely); thus removing the invalid from the already close and inconvenient dwelling, to fresher air and the best medical attendance. But to introduce a new inmate into the family at such a time, and that a lady by birth, and *known* to the patient to be such, to have to find room for her bed in the over-crowded sleeping room, or the suggested 'landing,' not a very common place to find in a poor man's house, in ordinary cases it *must* be simply impossible without turning out half the household; and where are they to go? and why should they be turned out? and yet, where already half a dozen children sleep in a room, is it not a misplaced sacrifice for the Sister to sleep too, and add a seventh?

There are cases, of course, of wholly friendless persons living solitary lives, and suffering under acute diseases, for we presume no permanent residence is proposed in cases of chronic illness; but these are so far exceptional cases, that it is not reasonable to found institutions to provide for them. In such instances, daily visits and superintendence, and pecuniary help for the night watching, would certainly be much preferred, and with justice and reason; for it can be no legitimate source of comfort to the invalid to find, that the menial services bestowed are by birth and habit peculiarly unsuited, and cost the donor an enormous sacrifice; *so* great an effort, in fact, that they cannot be given without an entire and permanent separation from the ties of birth, nature, and habit. Cases of fever, or other epidemic, are of course the strong point for proving the utility of the institution; nor are valuable testimonies wanting to the services of sisterhoods on these occasions. An infectious disorder, so virulent as to frighten away help, and leave the sufferer without aid, has never fallen under our personal knowledge; in ordinary cases, the poor are foolishly indifferent to infection, and let their children run in the way of typhus and small-pox, in a way to call for interference; but we have *heard* of such instances, and no doubt the arrival upon the scene of a competent nurse, and that nurse a lady, willing to take upon herself all the painful, and probably revolting, duties of the office, must make a great impression as a religious spectacle, a triumph of grace. But still, if there is

a hospital within reach, and the patient fit for removal (and no nursing is of much use, in a neglected case of bad fever), it must be preferable, on merely sanitary grounds, to take him there; and in cases of illness, these have the first claim on our regard. If possible, quench the infection by removing the source of it; leave the fever nothing to prey upon, and it will die out. On its own ground, it spreads and multiplies its victims. The Sisters return home from their work of love; they take infection with them, and spread it, and die. 'Right dear in the sight of the 'Lord, is the death of his saints.' 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto 'one of the least of these, ye did it unto me.' 'Enter thou into 'the joy of thy Lord!' The individual is blessed in her end; but we have to do with the institution, which should be founded on principles of discretion and respect for human life, and the common weal, and not mainly as a theatre for the exercise and display of self-denial; and above all, not for the sake of impressing the popular mind; otherwise, it becomes a mere question of success. The Lewes mob were not impressed, and then what is there to say?

For ourselves, may we say that we cannot feel the unmixed gratification that so many do, in the contemplation of an educated woman giving up position, and all intellectual work, to become a *mere* nurse in perpetuity. Some of our readers are fathers. Society expects them to educate their daughters carefully, to develop their minds. The child, by being born in a certain position of life, has a *right* to considerable thought, and some outlay of money on her education. The father is not held to have done his duty by her, unless he has her taught, not merely indispensable attainments, but accomplishments; whatever, in fact, cultivates the taste and enlarges the intellect. These are her rights as a born lady; but have rights no corresponding duties? If a father is bound to give his daughter a good education, has she a right to throw it away? and is it not throwing it away, to abandon her home, her circle of friends, and intellectual intercourse, to *confine* herself to the society of the poor, and to menial occupations? We think there is some sympathy due to the father who sees his daughter, when arrived at the age when education should tell upon the character, leave her natural sphere as it seems for ever, and for weeks at a time, as long as there is any call upon her, *always* if there should be always a demand, spend her whole energies in the duties of a common hired attendant in a labourer's family; eating with them, washing for them, associating night and day with them. If cultivation is a real advantage, do not throw it away; if position has a lawful influence, *use* it. Put both to some better account for the poor whom

you love for Christ's sake, than merely turning your back upon them. Circumstances may arise, when the most refined Christian woman will feel it her duty to overcome all minor respects, for the higher considerations of charity and brotherhood. When the emergency occurs, they are found equal to it. What we question, is the deliberate and formal dedication of self to this one class of labours. Nor is the loss to themselves and their own class (who have a claim, some say a first claim, on every one) all *gain* to the poor; it is often more a transfer of labour. What might not such devoted women have done in their own native locality, amongst the poor round their own homes? For we will never believe that women capable of such really noble sacrifice, would be content to be useless anywhere. It is only the desire for a larger field, for opportunity for a stricter and more exclusive service, which influences their choice of life; wherever such women are, they will overcome difficulties and obstacles, and find something to do in God's cause. Therefore it is that we will not allow to sisterhoods a sort of monopoly of sanctity and usefulness. That they may be a happy home for many an ardent spirit, a congenial sphere for many an active temper, a refuge for many a wounded heart, a shelter for the homeless, a repose for the injured and unfortunate, we feel assured; and the more they are under a discreet, liberal, and indulgent, as well as pious direction, the more they will fulfil these destinations. That they are so far adapted to modern habits of life, thought, and opinion, as to spread and propagate, and to become an acknowledged and generally adopted form of woman's life, we greatly doubt.

It is an outrage, we know, on the editorial 'we,' to call these sentiments the expression of an individual voice, permitted to regard this as an open question, and desiring to commit no one in their utterance. Much may be said on the more enthusiastic side; much has been truly and most eloquently spoken in the praise of sisterhoods. What is good and great and wise in them will not suffer for what, if we know ourselves, we believe an honest opinion. Strength of conviction has perhaps a right of expression, though it may emanate from a narrow reason, and a defective judgment.

But, leaving this vexed question and the combined difficulties and facilities supplied by united action, and returning to our general subject, we think it cannot be doubted that the present time is friendly to individual exertion, and furnishes a theatre for the employment of any woman's peculiar gifts and powers for good. The higher cultivation of the female intellect, and the consequent strength and social weight which this surely brings, point to a higher, and as we may call it more ambitious

field of labour than has hitherto been assigned them; to afford a vantage ground for any work they may undertake, which, wisely used, may enable them to effect great things. We say *wisely*, because a somewhat new exercise of the feminine powers has come to our knowledge, at once through public and private sources, which *must* receive the warm sympathy and approval of all who realize the magnitude of the evil and danger combated, which will especially need discretion both in the due estimate of personal qualifications, and of the external aids and support which are equally needed. Women have often affected the ministerial office, but never in a way to make it become them, or to seem other than an unwarrantable assumption; but undeterred by these unpleasing examples, women may, we are convinced, take an important, and direct, and bold part in the great work of evangelization, if they realize and retain their subordinate position, as working under legitimate authority; as instruments in leading, through their teaching, to a superior instructor: the dispenser of privileges they themselves cannot supply, but which they can teach others to desire and to value. Acting frankly and honestly in this spirit, they might safely be allowed a wide liberty of action, unimpeded by scruples, free to follow the guidance of their own judgment, influenced as it must be by circumstances of the moment, and the needs of individual character.

And now to the peculiar work which has prompted these remarks. There is one class of society, by common consent, voted most inaccessible to religious influence—the rector's great crux, the curate's bugbear, the puzzle and the dread of the middle-aged well-to-do parishioners—the young men of the labouring classes. They are inaccessible in every way: their bodies cannot be got at, let alone their minds. In the top of their youth, when death is so distant an idea as practically to be out of sight, when the strength is in fullest vigour, and equal to furnishing the means for selfish and sensual gratification, these young men are in the masses left to themselves, not for want of will, but seemingly for want of the proper machinery to get at them. We say, not for want of will; and yet we must admit that of all human beings *the* individuals a disciplined, educated, middle-aged man finds it most difficult to love, not with natural, but even with Christian love, are big loutish boys; and what good can you really do to the souls of people whose bodies, whose ways, whose outer development in every particular, are odious and intolerable to you? And are not these too near the sentiments of many a respectable clergyman towards a turbulent gang of the rough and rude youth and early manhood of his parish, slouching, shuffling, or

scampering past him, giving him a full view of what they are and of the hopelessness of his ever being able to make them better? Recent experiments have shown that with this class, women—or, we should say, ladies—have an influence which may do great things, if they have courage to use it. The roughness and the loutishness are not with them quite the same barriers. Women have a natural leaning towards strength; as such the sense of their own power comes with the sight of it: they feel that they know the way to subdue and refine it: a feeling almost of sympathy and good understanding is awakened. In the class of country-bred young men there is little positive scepticism: practical atheists they may be, poor fellows! living without God in the world; but they have never deliberately renounced any of their creed. What their mothers taught them —if they had good mothers—what they learnt by rote at school or on Sundays under their teachers, remains with them; dormant, buried, forgotten, unfruitful, but never expelled. Into the minds of such as these, we believe that a clear-sighted and tender-hearted woman can find a way, and make an entrance, easier than men. With men, these fellows *feel* men: they are suspicious, awkward, antagonistic; an impulse of resistance is roused at the first word. (Not, of course, but the pastor may, and *must* overcome this difficulty; still it *is* one.) But all the while, in true cultivation of the intellect, they are children: have hardly advanced a step, may indeed have retrograded in their power to apprehend an abstract idea since the time they were sharp little boys of ten, returning intelligent answers to the Government inspector. Now it seems as if women could quite naturally take up the subject of religion from the point where mother or schoolmaster left it, if the faith has not been tampered with by the infusion of active unbelief. While the superiority of physical strength and manhood are taken for granted and submitted to, men are never so ashamed of their intellectual deficiencies before women as men. The woman comes to them in an attitude of trust, almost of dependence. It is at once an appeal to their generosity. No doubt there is much in early association, much in that mutual dependence in which nature has placed the sexes, that makes confidence and sympathy natural between them. Mere rudeness and sullenness of exterior, as we have said, is not by any means such an impediment to the lady as to the cultivated, civilised gentleman, whose duty it is to get at them; neither in apprehension nor in fact; for the man is not ashamed to let a gentle feminine eye see that there is a soft part somewhere under the rough rind, which it is after all a very soothing and pleasant sensation to have reached. At the outset we alluded

to the difficulties of such a task—perhaps it will always need such a confluence of favouring circumstances that it must remain one of woman's exceptional works of mercy. But enough has been done to prove that some women have a power which ought to be allowed fair scope, and be welcomed with the most cordial and hearty encouragement, in the hope that others, like gifted, may catch the same generous impulse, and be willing to labour amongst the neglected class which furnishes so many types of that rustic Cymon of old, who

'Shunned the church, and used not much to pray.'

We were led to these thoughts some time since by the knowledge of a most successful effort of this kind, by a lady in an agricultural district, working under the encouragement and support of her pastor. Most interesting and affecting details have reached us of the happy fruit of her labours, of which we dare not indicate further the nature or the locality, lest we should seem to intrude on the reserve and privacy of parochial work; for in this spirit the effort is pursued rather than in the more ambitious light of a mission. But, for ourselves, we cannot but regard in something of this light a new and gentle influence brought to play with such constraining efficacy where authority and all ordinary means had failed for want of a basis whereon to work. If women can win men to kneel and pray, who never knelt or prayed since they left their mother's knee; if they can bring them to church who have almost forgotten what church is like; if they can win, entreat, persuade them to the reception of those sacred ordinances which, up to that time, were as much above and beyond their sphere of thought and desire as of any heathen whom the sound of the Gospel has never reached; if they can do this in the strength of their purely womanly qualities, availing themselves of every advantage of position, using every legitimate influence with a clear judgment, with a growing zeal, with a never-wearying patience, proof against all discouragement, may we not hail them as helpmates and fellow-labourers in a great work which has to be done, in a revival which must be effected, if we are to hold our place among Christian nations, or even maintain our standing among nations of the world?

From the earnest and graphic pen of Miss Marsh, we have, however, one published record of a great work of this character. Her 'English Hearts and English Hands' contains the history of her connexion with and her labours amongst the 'navvies' who inhabited her brothers-in-law's parish of Beckenham during the construction of the great earth-works in the gardens of the Crystal Palace; and the value of this most hearty and genuine book lies in its being from a *woman's* hand, and showing how

and in what spirit, with what dependence on her especially feminine qualifications, such an effort must be made by any woman who attempts it. We can hardly expect many conjunctures of favouring circumstances to occur to offer opportunities for experiment on this large scale. But what has been done may be done again; and we really think that the class amongst whom Miss Marsh wrought such wonders must, to every reader of her book, assume from henceforth a more accessible, softer aspect than it has ever done before. We have already observed in women this power and gift of discerning and reaching the human individual character through the official one. We have known them appeal trustfully and with success to the universal brotherhood of waiters, omnibus drivers, cabmen; and even in ballet dancers to recognise the exemplary husband and father straight through the rouge, the myrtle wreath, the stage attire; and this is Miss Marsh's secret. No roughness, sullenness, uncouthness of exterior allowed her ever to doubt the human heart underneath, or mistrust her own power of reaching and influencing it. Not, of course, in her own strength; it was no presumptive confidence, but a sense of power nevertheless, without which she could have done nothing, which made her wisely keep to her own sling and stone rather than don masculine armour she had never proved. Trained in a controversial school, with whose traditions she is no doubt imbued, she yet keeps absolutely clear of controversy and polemics; nor does her just belief in the inherent depravity of human nature obscure her faith in the abstract love of truth and virtue, which our proneness to sin has not obliterated, and on which she throws herself with a confidence tempered, unknown to herself, by an admirable instinct of tact showing her where she may trust and where it would not be safe to do so. She boldly appeals to something good, she really believes in something good in every human being; and consequently all people show their best to her. After reading her book, we find our opinion of human nature raised; she clearly has the art of propitiating the most forbidding official character to further her endeavours. Heads of police, superintendents of works, managers of railways, lodging-house keepers, even publicans, that class in antagonism with every school of reform, are friendly to her, and further her schemes. Of course we recognise a peculiar temperament in all this—a joy in its own workings; a faculty of seeing things at their brightest; but we own also a temperament admirably adapted to the work in hand, and blessed to a great end. Her first commencement is characteristic of the course by which she came to be to so many of these men 'a mother' and a friend. It is taking the bull by the horns in a way we do not

put forward for general imitation; a wise woman will not make such a venture as a first experiment, or without previous knowledge of her own powers.

'Nearly two hundred of these men lodged in the village of Beckenham; so that, in visiting the cottages, we heard of them, but seldom met them, as they were generally employed till late in the evening. It was on Sunday, the 13th of March, that I first attempted to seek them out. About seven in the evening, I went to a cottage where several were lodging, and asked for one of the family (whom I had formerly visited in his illness), as an easy introduction to the strangers. A tall, strong man, in a fustian jacket, opened the door scarcely wide enough to show his face. "Harry ain't here just now."

'"But I suppose I shall see him if I wait, shall I not? I will walk in, if you will allow me."

'"Well, you can, if you like; but we're a lot of rough uns."

'"Oh, thank you, I do not mind that; you will be very civil to me, I am sure. Would you get me a chair?"

'An intelligent-looking youth darted forward, dusted a chair with the tail of another man's coat, and placed it for me near the table.

'I inquired if any of them had been at church; but not one had thought of it. They listened with attentive interest to an account of Mr. Chalmers' morning sermon, on the occasion of the death of a medical man who had been residing at Beckenham, with a sketch of his history. Several of them expressed strong admiration of Dr. R——'s kindness and generosity to the poor, whilst himself working hard, mentally, for his own support; and the young man, whose name was Edward Perry, said, "I know that brain-labour is harder than hand-labour."

'When the narrative was ended, he said, "Well, ma'am, it's a beautiful story, but in a measure it passes by me, because I don't believe the Bible."

'I dreaded an argument, yet felt it necessary to reply; so prayed silently for wisdom, and then inquired the reason of his unbelief.

'"Because I read in the Bible that God is a God of love, and yet that He has prepared from all eternity a place of torment for us poor pitiful creatures."

'"In *my* Bible," I replied, "I have never read anything of the sort. I read that God is love; and that the Lord Jesus Christ will say at the judgment day, to those who have believed and obeyed Him, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom *prepared for you* from the foundation of the world.' But to those who have rejected His salvation, and despised His laws, He will say, 'Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, *prepared for the devil and his angels.*' If man chooses to reject God's offer of mercy through a Saviour, and to prepare himself for that place of punishment, he has no right to charge God with the result of his own sin and wilful madness."

'"Well," he replied, "I do see that is a different case from what I thought before."'—*English Hearts and English Hands*, pp. 3—5.

This is the only case of scepticism with which she records any encounter of wits. The men generally, under their huge strength and rough undisciplined manners, hid very simple, childish, confiding natures, taking everything upon trust from a teacher who gained their affection, never disputing what they were told to believe. And no doubt the character of these men was above the ordinary standard; they were picked men, and

good workers. What they undertook to do, they did supereminently well; therefore they had some good in them—the good that showed itself in never *once* allowing this kind lady, who came constantly amongst them, to hear an oath or an improper word from their lips; in treating her always with chivalrous respect and an unlimited trust, in confiding to her their thoughts and troubles; in a scrupulous fear of intruding on her bounty when they were poor; in a very magnanimous liberality towards those remotely dependent on them when they were prosperous; and last, in an appreciation of beauty and poetry whenever these rare, almost unknown elements of happiness, were brought before them. What their pleasures were when left to themselves, and how narrow their range, the following passage shows:—

'On Saturday evening, August 13th, William M—— came "to speak about his difficulties," he said, "if it was not giving too much trouble."

'"My mate and I were working in a pit; and, says he, 'I wonder, Bill, whether it is true what they say of heaven being so happy—whether, now, it can be happier than sitting in the public, over a good jug of ale, with a fiddle going? I don't know a pleasure as comes up to that.'"

'I thought of their homeless lives, and wishing to sympathise as far as I could, said, "Well, I dare say you *do* find a pleasure in it."

'"A pleasure!" he interrupted me, to exclaim, "you can't think the pleasure of it!" with an earnestness that was truly affecting, as the thought arose, "Is this the highest pleasure within the grasp of these noble fellows?"

'"But that pleasure must pass away, William, and *you must die.* Would that pleasure help you to 'die happy,' and to live in happiness beyond death?"

'"No! If you come to that, I've *seen* the two ways of dying. I had an uncle. You couldn't come into his room for horrors when he was dying—saw terrible things. And I had a grandfather—he loved his Bible—died a'most *too* full of peace. Couldn't speak for joy, like."

'"And which way of dying are *you* bound for, William?"

'"Well" (with a navvy's usual slow enunciation and pauses in the course of giving utterance to any religious sentiment), "I think—I'd rather—set off—to live so as to die like grandfather."'—*Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

Now men, seeing where the unprompted taste of the navvy leads him, assume that he must be approached with a common sense and reason, as unadorned as his own person, manners and dialect; that they are inaccessible to the softer influences of poetry. Poetry in its inner recondite form is beyond them: and the poetry of action is not in men's way—it does not come naturally to them; and if they attempt it, they are either sheepish or unreal; but the sentiment and prettinesses of common life *belong* to women, and these are precisely what the uncultivated mind can receive; grace and refinement of manners, soft voices, flowing language, harmonious verse, sweet flowers, all bestowed with the eloquence of kind eyes, beaming smiles,

and an out-speaking heart too full of its object to think of self or feel shame. Such gentle force was brought abundantly to bear on these rough natures—the lighter artillery of *fêtes* and tea parties, prettily bound books, bouquets of flowers, and even *toys*, which on a long voyage to the Crimea were made wonderfully welcome by these rough children. Of her treatment of these childish, impulsive natures, the following passage furnishes a good example. Paget lent her his cottage for her Bible reading. From this the promising disciple, 'tall George,' had been absent the last week; on inquiry, it appeared he had resented some rudeness on Paget's part; but a few soothing words had altered his mind. When she repairs at the appointed time to Paget's house, after a pause—

'Paget said, "I am sorry to say anything to vex you; but I'd best speak it out. If tall George comes to-night to the reading, I shall order him out."

'"Oh, Paget, why so?"

'"Because he said at the works, as I stole a medal off your Christmas-tree, that last tea-party you gave us."

'"How very wrong of him! But if I were you, I would not take any notice; even if he said that you stole a hundred. No judge or jury, looking at your honest face, could ever say anything but 'Not Guilty!'"

'Paget listened with a broad, hearty smile, which grew into a short laugh of satisfaction; but Isaac could not so easily pass over the affront offered to his friend; so he said—

'"It is very kind of you to have such a good opinion of us; but it is not pleasant to be pointed at all over the works, as him as stole a medal off the Ladies' Christmas-tree."

'"No," added Paget, stoutly; "I'll order George out."

'"Oh no, Paget! you will not, I am sure. You lend me your room for a church! Now, if anybody were to say, Mr. Chalmers was a thief, he would not order that man out of church, but would let him stay to learn not to bear false witness against his neighbour."

'"Well, I see! That's very good. Tall George may stay."

'George, however, was invisible, having taken his place in the inner room. After the little congregation had dispersed, I asked Paget whether he did not think a Sunday and a New Year's Day in one would be a delightful day for making up a quarrel; and therefore whether he would forgive George, if he should come and tell him he felt sorry for what he had said?

'"Well, it would be a goodish thing, I think."

'On the strength of this I walked back to George's lodging, with William G——, who was waiting, with my lantern in his hand, to see me safe within the Rectory gate before he returned to Deptford.

'"May I not go back with you and George, ma'am?"

'"No, thank you, William. It would make Paget and George think I was afraid of a fight coming on, and wanted you to take care of me. That would never do. It would be all over with my hope of making peace."

'"That's true! And God will go with you."

'George was at supper with four fellow-lodgers. He came out of the house to speak to me—standing up like a church-tower, in his massive height and strength. "George, I am sorry about this matter between you and Paget."

'"Well, I dare say you are; but I am not. What business had he to say that I drank ten cups of tea, and ate seven bits of cake at your tea-meeting?"

'"Indeed, that was bad manners, George; and I am surprised to hear it of Paget. But if I had been you, I would have answered, if I had eaten a dozen slices of cake, and drank twenty cups of tea, she would only have been the better pleased."

'"Well! that would have been a good un! I wish I'd thought on't."

'"So do I. But if you did not think of a ready answer, you had no right to say that Paget stole a medal. He never said that you stole the seven bits of cake."

'"I didn't say he stole it. I said, I seed two medals in his hand, and never seed him put down neither."

'"Oh! George, that was almost worse. It was so mean. I could not have thought it of you. And then the next person said he had stolen it—and so the story went round. How sorry you ought to have felt when you heard it."

'"No, I wasn't; I was very glad."

'"That was very wrong. But you are growing sorry now? Come with me and tell him so."

'"No, I can't—no, never."

'"Then I shall go home sorry."

'After a short pause, and with a strong effort, he rejoined, "No, no, you shan't do that for my doings. I'll go to Paget."

'When we reached the cottage door, I knocked quickly, for George looked half-disposed to walk away again. Paget opened it, and I said, "George is come to say he is sorry," and trusted that Paget would at once shake hands with him, and so that all would be right between them. Paget, however, wished to speak his mind before he gave his hand; and then there came such loud speaking of mutual reproaches, that I feared a fight would follow, and began bitterly to repent my folly and temerity in bringing the combatants together. Fists were raised and shaken so near each other's faces, that I thought best to glide between, and warn the disputants to stand farther off as they spoke. The clamour grew louder and louder, until a pause for breath gave me opportunity for speech. Then I said, "O Paget! O George! this is terrible. On New Year's night, on Sunday night, and under the roof where half an hour ago we were worshipping God, to have such angry words said! It will not do. It is very sinful. We must have no more. Let us kneel down and pray that the God of peace and love would prove Himself here, to be stronger than the father of strife and hatred, that is the devil."

'At first I knelt alone, but soon heard the two men suddenly fall on their knees; and when we rose up, the tears were rolling down Paget's cheeks. "I'll never say another word about it, after that prayer," he said. "I'll forgive him from my heart, out."

'George, however, stood with his hand on the latch, and said, "No, no! I'll never cross my hand on a man's as says he'll put me in the lock-up for a word. I never seed the inside of a gaol in my life, and now to be put in for a few careless words!"

'"O George! how can you be so silly? Paget has just said he will forgive you from his heart. He would never dream, now, of getting you into prison. You *know* he would not. You have both been hot, and have spoken sinful words; but both are sorry for them. I am not going home until I have seen your friends, by God's help."

'He stood irresolute, but sullen.

'"Give *me* your hand."

'"That I will."

'"And now, Paget, give me yours."

'Two huge, rough hands met in mine, and then, independently, shook each other as heartily as if the men had been friends from the cradle, and would be to the grave.

'"Thank God! It is all right now. Good night, Paget; you have behaved like a king. God bless you." As we went back, George confessed that "his heart felt more lightsome like," and there was a choking sound about his voice as he said, "God bless you, ma'am," at parting.'—*Ibid.* pp. 39—44.

Miss Marsh's power amongst these poor fellows became so acknowledged among them, that on the news of a fight between a body of navvies and the police, they entreated her to go and stop it; she regarding the summons as a *call*, drives to the ground, where blood had already been shed and prisoners taken; interferes to prevent a rescue, and withholds hundreds of infuriated navvies from revenge; receiving the thanks of the head of police and the blessings of her own friends as the 'peacemaker,' while they declare a 'lady's gentle voice do more with us than 40,000 p'leece.' It was in the enthusiasm and excitement of this scene, that she heard the only word that could be construed into disrespect. We quote the scene as an example of *readiness*:—

'A half-intoxicated navvy, amidst the general overflow of kindly feeling, committed himself by saying, three or four times over, "She's my sister!"

'"What do you mean," cried the indignant bystanders, "by daring to call the lady your sister! Say it again, and we'll teach you! Take care you don't get torn in pieces!" And strong arms were seizing the unfortunate culprit to bear him outside the ring. Fearing a measure of "Lynch law," I entreated to be allowed to settle the question for myself, and requested that the man should be permitted to come near the carriage for this purpose. When he stood by my side, I said to him, "Every sober, honest Englishman is my brother, and I am proud to call him so. But I have never had a drunkard for my brother—and I never will."

'The poor man had sense enough left to be ashamed, and he slunk quietly away, amidst a murmur of satisfaction and approval of the verdict from the crowd. The next day he made a respectful apology, adding, with genuine frankness, "From this day forward, I'll try to be one of the '*sober* Englishmen;' I think I'm an *honest* one already."'—*Ibid.* pp. 189, 190.

No wonder that, with such power to influence, she should glory in the strength and physical excellences of her friends—on one occasion described by the overseer as the finest lot he ever saw and the wildest—'just like four hundred roaring lions.' We have no space for the details of actual good effected: these rough fellows reformed of their drinking habits, taught to read and pray and attend church regularly, and led to confirmation, and at length receiving the Sacrament with the greatest devotion and fullest intention of leading a new life. Relapses, of course, there are; the history of one of which is very affectingly told, where a foolish wife objects to her husband's churchgoing, and exasperates him to throw all new habits aside and

take to drinking again; but on occasion of the return of one of these cases, we fully agree with her tender comment.

'The genuine and deep repentance of that poor young man—brought up, as he had been, without a single religious advantage—taught me a lesson! When the balance shall be struck between small sins (so called) with great privileges, in the one scale—and crying sins with few responsibilities, in the other scale—who shall say that infinite justice may not see deeper guilt in the unkind word, the uncharitable suspicion, the selfish act, and other manifestations of an un-Christ-like spirit, in which Christians are too often tempted to indulge, than in the more glaring departures from the law of God of those who have but just begun to hear of a Saviour's love, and to know anything of its constraining power.'—*Ibid.* p. 86.

A vast number of these men went out in the Army Works Corps to the Crimea. Miss Marsh was then the depositary of their savings, to the amount at one time of 500*l.* a month, for which not one would receive a receipt or any guarantee but her own honour. With many she corresponded; and their letters, full of grateful religious feeling, are inserted. Enough time has passed to prove the genuineness and reality of the good effected; and we are sure no one can lay down the book without warm feelings towards the main instrument through which it was accomplished—her ardent faith and abounding charity—nor without better hopes too of his country after this picture of the true loyal heart of the rudest of her sons, if only the right chord can be struck; and it is shown how willing they are to learn, how tractable and docile under kind treatment; what a depth of feeling lies hid under a rude exterior, what courage and generosity; and that even a navvy may be a gentleman in the highest sense of the word, a good Christian, and an Englishman to be proud of.

We are well aware how little we have done towards settling the question involved in the title of our article; but even failure may imply an answer; and perhaps the reason that no one can decide what woman may, must, can or cannot do, is that her employment depends on circumstances to a degree forbidding all generalization. We are very early told what woman is to be—a *help-mete*—a title which implies versatile powers, to be employed rather at the suggestion of another than to be independently exercised. Whatever man does, woman can help him in; and as society progresses, and the nearer it arrives at what it ought to be, the more intimate, universal, all-prevailing, will be this assistance of the one sex to the other; but, we must be allowed to say, always in subordination; always in obedience to the first law; 'for Adam was first formed, and then Eve.' With this proviso we see no limit to what a woman may do, and be in labour or in office; but we think always in a less positive, distinct line than with men. Woman's work will

never be marked out for her with any exactitude if she moves a step beyond her own hearth-stone. She is gifted with a readiness and facility enabling her to fall into new habits and new employments more easily than man; but this aptitude for change implies that such must be her lot. She who can turn her hand to everything seems intended for a versatile existence; she who helps so well is hardly designed to carve out her own independent career: and because she is not designed for it, we will not believe that in any extensive degree it will ever be her destiny.

Since writing these remarks, we have met with a volume of Sermons on the Canticles (W. E. Painter & Sons, *Union* Office, 342, Strand) recently preached to a sisterhood of the English Church, by their chaplain and confessor, which bear so much upon what we have been saying, that we are tempted to cull a few extracts; showing the light in which these institutions are regarded by those most concerned, which strikes us as differing considerably from the popular view. These sermons at once recognise and copiously provide for the necessity for spiritual stimulants, which the absence of all secular interests and relaxations seems to create, on this ground, the Song of Songs is chosen as especially the Sisters' book, and is spoken of as their own, in so particular a sense, as to seem to cut off other Christians from their share in it. 'Your book'—'your own book'—'their most precious treasure.'—'This Book of all others which you are bound most dearly to love.'—P 57. We are not going to review this volume, but when the writer cites as his model S. Bernard on the Canticles, would it not have been as well to remark that S. Bernard, in commenting on this mysterious book, addressed his Sermons *Ad Fratres?* We gather from these discourses that there is a vow made in this particular Sisterhood; that it is irrevocable; that it is best for the profession to be made in youth; that the new life implies an entire change of duties and obligations, and absolute renunciation of old ties; that sisters are taught to consider these old ties simply as Egypt and the world; that the new life is one of incessant self-denial and hardness, beyond what the Gospel requires of 'Common Christians;' that sisters are measured by a different standard, and that sin in them magnifies its proportions; that the Sister's life is one of peculiar temptations; that they are the mark of Satan's most violent assaults; that their confessor invites their confidence in the relation not only of temptations yielded to, but temptations overcome; that they already possess a peculiar sanctity in the eyes of the world; that for the eminence of their work, and greatness of their sacrifice, they are in a distinct and peculiar manner beloved of their Lord. A few extracts will show with what strength of language these positions are enforced.

The Vow. '*And I am His.* In a certain sense, this is true of every one .... But, my dear Sisters, there is yet a closer and a dearer sense in which *you* are all able to say so. "I am His because I have resolved to give up myself altogether to Him: His, because to His service, and to His alone, I have devoted myself, soul and body: His, because for His love I have determined to know nothing of earthly love: His, because simply, entirely, for ever, I desire to belong to Him, to live with Him, to live for Him, if need be, to die for Him here—and then I know that I shall be His own for ever there." If you can each of you but say this in your hearts now—if you, each of you, but say it to me with your lips—what higher thing could I ask of you?'—P. 106.

Its irrevocable character, written on the reception of two Sisters. 'And what would be that wickedness of her who should profess to give herself up to the King of kings for a while, intending at that very moment to forsake Him at last?—who entered into His especial service for a season, so that she might find opportunity, more conveniently, to betray Him?'—P. 247.

That the step is best taken in youth. 'Yes, dear Sisters, and in this I rejoice,

that you have given the best part of your lives to the service of Him who died in the very prime and best part of His earthly life for you—that you have not waited till the evil days came on, and the days drew nigh, when thou shalt say, "I have no pleasure in them."'—P. 241.

That the new life implies an entire change of duties. 'You never can plead that, in undertaking a Sister's life, you were led to undertake it in ignorance, allowed to think it anything else than a total change of position, duties, responsibilities, privileges. Better than myself no one knows how inadequately I have set forth to you its difficulties and its dangers; but still, however coldly, however unworthily, for thus much I think I may appeal to your own consciences—and this most solemn, although most comforting, verse seems to bring the subject back upon me. You were never allowed to think that your present life was merely a better and more convenient way of doing God the same kind of service which you might have done Him in the world; the same thing, only with more time, more help, more earnestness. No: so far as you are concerned, old things, you know, were to pass away—all things were to become new: you had contracted new engagements—you were bound by fresh promises—you were to be judged by a higher standard.'—Pp. 255, 256.

That the old ties are regarded as a snare. 'Oh, my dear Sisters, if any of you here or elsewhere, after endeavouring to walk worthy of such a title, and to have a portion in such a life as it implies, to purify yourselves even as He is pure—to separate yourselves from all else, and to Him—if any of you should ever, under any pretence, for any reason that Satan or the world could assign, go back again into that world—how could you ever bear to remember that which He might have been to you.'—P. 82. 'When you first learnt what there was to be given up, when you began to discover the greatness of the task, have not your hearts more than once sunk within you, and you have almost wished to escape from the wilderness, even though it were at the cost of going back into Egypt?'—P. 210.

That this new life is beyond measure hard and forbidding in its unrelaxing effects. 'It (the world) must be more a wilderness to you than to others..... When you resolved to know no other love but the highest of all love, to belong to Him body and soul, for Him to give up other ties, to Him to sacrifice other affection, you know that you were making the world more of a wilderness than it need be.'—Pp. 260, 261.

On the text, '"Jealousy is cruel as the grave." Jealousy not *of*, but *for*, the beloved thing or person..... *Cruel*, that is, to ourselves.'—Pp. 275, 276.

'It shows, dear Sisters, that your greatest consolation ought to be in what the world would call sorrow and trial. You will all have enough of it, if it please God to spare you in this world.'—P. 66.

'Dear Sisters, you have left this oratory, and mixed, not with the world, but only among yourselves; and, in an hour, where was all that glow and fervour of love that you thought you had?—yes, and that you really did have? Is it unkind or harsh to say that, to every one of you, there have been times when the question, "What is thy Beloved more than another beloved?" would have been nothing but bitter irony? Temper, listlessness, disobedience, coldness—and that in a house dedicated—and yourselves dedicated—to Him?'—P. 206.

Again. 'Day after day, and one Hour after another Hour, we repeat those words.'—P. 227. 'What a fearful thing is any sin in *you*.'—P. 288.

'And it is well said, *the little foxes:* for these things, in and by themselves, are little. A little piece of self-indulgence which seems scarcely to deserve the name of a fault: a little hesitation or difficulty in obeying, which, at first sight, hardly seems a sin of omission: a little carelessness in words, a little coldness in prayer, a little idleness, a little hanging-back from the wise man's rule, Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.'—P. 97.

That the Sister's life is one of peculiar temptation. 'As surely as you chose your present life, so surely you chose temptation and trial. Satan can tempt you in no way that ought to surprise or frighten you. If you are in earnest in your profession, how or why should he spare you? They little know what they are saying who imagine that a Sister's life is a flying from temptation, instead of meeting it.'—P. 167. 'I have told you over and over again that, if you give yourselves up to our Lord's service, and to invade the dominion of Satan, you must

expect that he will do his best to annoy and distress you in every way, not only in yourselves, but by others!'—P. 221.

'It is no *necessary* part, as you all know very well, of Confession, to speak of temptations that you have resisted: nevertheless, it is well and wisely done, at that most holy time, to mention them also. If then we—God's priests—see the clouds and darkness and storms of the morning, at all events let us also see the light. If we are to hear of the temptations that once came, let us also hear of the grace that was victorious.'—P. 212.

The light in which they stand to the world. 'Probably, could a mere man of this world, a good man so far as its standard of goodness goes, look into your hearts, as I can look into them, he might think that they were altogether God's. Of little temptations, little failings, little self-indulgences, little falls, he would make no account.'—P. 97.

That they are in a peculiar and distinct sense beloved of their Lord. 'We have seen before why He addresses the Bride by two such different, and yet both such dear, appellations. A Sister, by virtue of that Incarnation which made Him bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh: a Bride, by reason of that betrothal which took place on the cross, in the wound opened by the spear. A Sister, again, because He has known, and watched over, and loved her from her earliest infancy: a Bride, because the force of human love can go no further in its names of tenderness. Therefore, it continues, "A spring shut up, a fountain sealed." And, here is the same idea carried out still more strongly and beautifully than in the enclosed garden. He would say that those hearts of yours were fountains and sources of many a power, many an affection, many a fancy, many a recollection, not now to be wasted on other persons or other things; but to be hallowed, wholly and for ever, to Himself. They are worth too much to be thrown away on anything less than Himself.'—Pp. 157, 158.

'He speaks to all; but He speaks more especially, my dear Sisters, to you.—P. 189. 'The closest followers of the Crucified, the Brides of Christ.'—P. 288.

'"She supposing Him to have been the gardener." And why should she not have supposed Him to be so? It is one of His dearest titles—for you at least, dear Sisters, if you take it aright. "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed."'—P. 284.

'He has found it (a temple) in every faithful soul. He asks for it from you, my Sisters: He asks it from you in a deeper and dearer sense.'—P. 195.

ART. VII.—*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal, September*, 1857—*March*, 1858. Edinburgh: Grant and Son; Lendrum and Co.

To that outer world which recognises physical force as power, and material size as greatness, the news of 'serious dissensions in the Church of Scotland,' (or, as they would call it, the Scottish Episcopal Communion,) will be a matter of the very slightest moment. It is the old story, they will say, a storm in a tea-cup, *fluctus in simpulo;* its results can be of no great importance. Neither legal *status*, nor valuable patronage, nor social precedence, would be disturbed if such a communion were thrown into a state of disruption, and ceased to enjoy any cognizable existence.

If it were our object to appeal to any who may regard the matter from such a point of view, we might advert to the intellect, the worth, the social influence of the members of that communion, for many generations past. We might remind Scotchmen how much of that fame for literature and science which they justly enjoy throughout Europe, is due to the labours of Churchmen; how their greatest metaphysician, the late Sir William Hamilton, declared that Presbyterianism had produced no theologian worthy of the name; and that the only Scottish divines of note had been Episcopalians.

But it is not for such countenance that we seek. We turn to those who can sympathise with a disestablished communion, small indeed in numbers, and bearing about her—as what Church does not?—her own peculiar difficulties, but rich also in many precious gifts, and free from various forms of evil and temptation which beset a legalized and wealthily endowed community. If once in the history of her native land she was mixed up with a political cause, and was subjected to persecutions which must ever be remembered with shame and regret, to her, in turn, did the cup of suffering pass, and to her, more justly than to her rival, may be applied the image of the burning bush, with the motto, *Nec tamen consumebatur.*

The immediate subject of discussion is the solemn mystery of the Holy Eucharist, with more especial reference to the doctrine of the Christian Sacrifice, and the degree of homage which is due to the Presence which is there therein vouchsafed.

Our readers may indeed render a service far greater than that of merely reading a paper which, though written with every wish to be fair and temperate, is of course obnoxious to error from defective information or unconscious prejudice; they may

offer up at least one sincere and heartfelt prayer, that the Great Head of the Church would graciously overrule all discussions to His glory and the furtherance of divine truth. And as, amidst all our differences, none will question but that the occasion of celebrating the Holy Communion is that wherein we may most fitly plead those merits whereby alone we hope to be saved, so assuredly there is an especial fitness in selecting that time for prayer upon the subject of Sacramental doctrine. Nor is it of Great Britain and her colonies alone that we are thinking, while we write these words. It may be that these pages will meet the eye of some of our brethren of the sister Church in the United States. By the memory of that consecration in November, 1784, whereby the despised and oppressed Church of Scotland effected what the English Church, with all her wealth and influence, was then unable to perform; by that union of a link which war had severed, thus cemented in a holier, truer, more enduring way, we ask at this juncture, of our American fellow-Churchmen, their special prayers for God's blessing upon the Church which first conferred upon them the privilege of a native Episcopate.

Next, however, to the employment of those petitions to the Throne of Grace which never remain unanswered, though not always answered as we, in our ignorance, might desire, it is well to obtain some idea of the points around which the controversy ranges. A few pages only of our present number can be devoted to the attempt to perform this task; a task which is in no wise agreeable, and is only undertaken under a solemn sense of duty.

Some ten years have elapsed since the Clergy of the Diocese of Brechin elected Dr. Forbes to be their Bishop. During that time he has combined the functions peculiar to the Episcopate with the arduous toils of a parish priest, in the large and important city of Dundee. A new and beautiful church, the finest modern one in Scotland, has been erected by his zeal; three missions among the poor are kept up by himself and his curates; his efforts to promote personal piety are acknowledged even by Presbyterians, and we have heard of members of his own flock regretting even an advancement in their particular profession, when it involved departure from Dundee, and the consequent loss of such a pastor. Amidst parochial duties, Bishop Forbes has found time for the composition of various works; of which three deserve especial mention. His admirable little book upon the *Te Deum* has been recommended, in our hearing, by an English rector of remarkable soberness, to a brother incumbent seeking for a mine whence the ore for a course of sermons might be extracted. The treatise on the Nicene Creed fills up

a gap in Anglican theology, and is alike excellent in itself and most useful as an introduction to the study of S. Athanasius, and other great patristic writers on dogmatic theology, as S. Augustine, or S. John of Damascus. And, thirdly, when the peculiar doctrines of Mr. Aitken and his followers seemed to be gaining ground, the Bishop of Brechin, in an admirable series of discourses upon *Conversion*, indicated, with remarkable acuteness and candour, the precise points in such teaching with which sound Churchmen might justly sympathise; while he exhibited, at the same time, the dangers of the theory, when not subordinated to the teaching of the Church upon other topics of no less importance.

We notice these facts, not to flatter the Bishop of Brechin, nor to diminish the merits of the distinguished prelates who administer the other Scottish dioceses; but simply to show that there is no bishop who has laboured more earnestly for his own flock and the Church at large, than Bishop Forbes; nor one against whom the charge of mere love of speculation, for speculation's sake, could with less justice be adduced. That the Church is in some degree compelled to provide a philosophy of her own, wherewith to meet the false philosophy of worldlings and heretics, is of course obvious to the merest tyro in theology. Even the pen of inspiration is guided in this direction. The Book of Job treats of speculative questions which have been discussed in all ages, by Theognis and by Seneca, by Æschylus and Shakspeare; the divinest Gospel is admitted to have been intended, by the revelations of its sublime and hallowing meditations, as the heaven-sent antidote to the deadly dreamings of Gnostics and Cerinthians. The pages of Origen against Celsus, of S. Anselm against Roscelin, of S. Bernard against Abelard—what are these but so many exhibitions of the same spectacle, all in their day most necessary, though not, like Holy Scripture, under infallible protection? And, assuredly, our own age is not the one which can dispense with such safeguards. If, in the century of Goethe and of Niebuhr, of Strauss and Francis Newman, of Mormonism and Spirit-rapping, the rulers of the Church have no philosophy, they will be leaving numbers of thoughtful and inquiring men, for whom Christ died, to the tender mercies of a philosophy falsely so called.

Now, when a prelate, who has thus laboured, delivers for the first time a charge to his assembled clergy, after having passed ten years among them without availing himself of this privilege, he has surely a right to expect a just and equitable construction of his language. Its readers, no less than its hearers, are bound to give the fullest credit to the words, 'you 'will believe me, that it is only a constraining duty, and a pro-

'found conviction of the necessity of the case, which induce me 'to address you at this time.'

The points on which the controversy turns have been discussed to a great extent in the last number of the *Christian Remembrancer*, in our reviews of the recent publications of Mr. Freeman and Mr. Keble. The arguments there advanced we are not about to repeat, nor indeed do we approach the subject from the same point of view. The question here is not whether we are prepared to endorse every doctrinal statement in Bishop Forbes' Charge; *but whether those statements so exceed the just liberty permitted in the English and Scotch communions as to deserve ecclesiastical pains and penalties.*

Here, however, we shall at once be met by an *argumentum ad hominem*. 'You,' it will be urged, 'of all people, to talk of 'licence and toleration, you who were the first to require that 'strict justice should be meted out to the teaching of Mr. Gor-'ham!' Now, it ought to be borne in mind, that, as a plain matter of fact, no bishop, or priest, or deacon has suffered any legal or spiritual penalties on account of his teaching concerning the sacrament of holy baptism. That the attempt failed at law will not be forgotten by lawyers, nor by the people of Great Britain, when it is proposed to deal out to one party in the Church a degree of rigorism not imposed upon the other. Nor are the cases strictly parallel. The very peculiar view of Mr. Gorham may surely be reduced to this narrow issue: Is, or is not, holy baptism a means of grace? This question he answered in the negative. But the present discussions concerning the holy Eucharist cannot be thus narrowed to a point; as might be shown by a comparison of the recent publications of Bishop Wordsworth, the three Scotch bishops, Mr. Freeman, and Dean Ramsay. None of these perfectly agree together, though all would admit the holy Eucharist to be a means of grace; and this shows how reasonable it is for us to claim a certain latitude. It must be observed, that the Bishop of Brechin entirely allows to others what he asks for himself. Neither in his Charge, nor any of his letters concerning it, is there one line which can be tortured into a wish to render penal even such sentiments as those of Dean Ramsay.

As the Bishop of Brechin's Charge had excited considerable attention and opposition, it was understood that the Episcopal Synod would consider it at their annual meeting in September. The bishops were unable to agree upon a common declaration (surely, in itself, a great proof of the need of mutual toleration),[1]

[1] A rumour has reached us that the Bishop of Edinburgh (whose candour and fairness is universally acknowledged among all who know him) refrained, in the absence of the Bishop of Moray, from exercising the casting vote which legally appertained to him as *Primus*, the number on either side being equal.

but three of them put forth the following very remarkable document:—

'Whereas, the minds of many devout Christians have been injuriously affected by recent statements on the subject of the SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, wherein the doctrine propounded respecting the Oblation of the Bread and Wine, and also respecting the reverence due to the consecrated Elements, and asserted to be the doctrine of the Church of England, and also of the Scottish Episcopal Church, appears opposed to the teaching of both Churches.

'We, the undersigned Bishops of the said Scottish Episcopal Church, do hereby declare as follows.

'1. We hold and teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are not so present in the consecrated Elements of Bread and Wine as to be therein the proper object of such supreme Adoration as is due to God alone.

'2. We consider such Adoration to be repudiated by the Declaration at the end of the English Communion Office; and we hold *the reasons* why kneeling at the reception of the consecrated Bread and Wine was enjoined, to be the reasons there assigned for the injunction, and no other.

'3. Whereas, attempts have been made to show that there is no substantial difference between the Sacrifice of the Cross, and the Sacrifice of the Altar, and that the ancient Doctors maintain this view—We believe that thus a variance has been erroneously implied between the doctrine of the ancient Doctors, and the doctrine of the Church to which we belong. For the Eucharistic Sacrifice, if substantially the same with the Sacrifice of the Cross, would be "an offering of Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt;" and such view of the Eucharist is expressly condemned by the 31st Article of Religion.

'4. We cannot understand the doctrine thus erroneously ascribed to the ancient Fathers in any other sense than as affirming that the Eucharist is either a *continuation* or a *repetition* of the Sacrifice which was *once for all* offered upon the Cross. Both of these views we hold to be in direct opposition to the argument of S. Paul in the 10th Chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews;—to the Prayer of Consecration in the Scotch Communion Office, which describes the Eucharist as "a *perpetual memorial* of that His precious Death and Sacrifice;"—and to the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church in the same Office, which describes the Eucharist as "the *Commemoration* of the most precious Death and Passion of our Saviour Christ."

'5. While we deny the propositions above alluded to, we steadfastly hold and teach with the Catechism "That the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper;" and with the first part of the Homily on the Sacrament, "That in the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent, but, as the Scripture saith, the table of the Lord, the Bread and Cup of the Lord, the memory of Christ, yea, the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the very bond of our conjunction with Christ, is *through Faith* wrought in the souls of the *faithful*, whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to win for their bodies a joyful resurrection to immortality."

'C. H. TERROT, *Bishop of Edinburgh.*
'ALEX^{R}. EWING, *Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.*
'W. J TROWER, *Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway.*'

The first point that strikes us in this paper is, its exceedingly dogmatic character. It is not like a homily, which may have been written *currente calamo*, and might be understood to contain some rhetorical expressions; but it is a list of propositions as trenchant as were ever issued by any provincial, or, perhaps, even Œcumenical Council. Nor are its *dicta* the less dogmatic, because they are in great part negative. There may be a dogmatism of negation, no less than of assertion; as all philosophers and theologians would admit. Kant, in his 'Logic,' states, very explicitly, the value of negative notions, provided they are correct, and employed in their proper place. One of the most rising metaphysicians of the day, Mr. Mansel, justly (as it seems to us) rebukes Bishop Berkeley for the employment of this negative dogmatism in a case where he had no right to use it, namely, the denial of the existence of matter. Again, the watchwords of the Arians (ἀγέννητος, &c.) required a denial at the hands of the Church; and the invention of counter-terms (ὁμοούσιος, &c.); which S. Athanasius himself says, might not otherwise have been needed. In a word, dogmatic negations may be right or wrong, true or false, wisely or unwisely put forth, but dogmatic they remain, despite their negativeness, no less than the affirmations which they contradict.

Let us consider the principles asserted or implied in the above manifesto.

1. It implies throughout a great deference to the ancient doctors of the Church. What is impugned is impugned, not as their doctrine, but as a doctrine erroneously ascribed to them.

2. It implies that there *is* a presence of the body and blood of Christ our Lord, which, however mysterious and supra-local, is yet truly objective, and properly described as 'in the consecrated elements of bread and wine.' This is, we need scarcely say, a great advance upon the teaching even of Hooker, who is herein sadly below his usual self.

3. It implies that the body and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist demand some kind of homage, though not 'such supreme adoration as is due to God alone.'

4. It recognises the correctness of the terms 'Sacrifice of the Altar,' 'Eucharistic Sacrifice,' as applied to this Holy Sacrament.

About fifteen years ago, a sermon, containing far less dogmatism than the above statements, was condemned by six doctors of the University of Oxford, for going beyond the teaching of the English Church. What would those doctors, in 1843, have said to the above propositions? A simple consideration of this circumstance will show how much the standard of theology

has risen. It is, as a Scotch nobleman, Lord Lindsay, would call it, 'Progression by Antagonism.'

If dates did not prove the contrary, we might have almost imagined that these propositions were aimed at a recent sermon by Dean Ramsay, of Edinburgh, as well as at the Bishop of Brechin. The three bishops refer with deference to the ancient Fathers. Dean Ramsay thinks that all 'systems of doctrine must be unsatisfactory which depend upon ancient sources.' The three bishops imply a presence in the elements; the Dean teaches that it must be a spiritual presence in the heart of the faithful communicant.

The great majority, however, of the clergy of the diocese of Edinburgh, with Dean Ramsay at their head, thanked the three bishops, and signified their full concurrence with their statements of doctrine. A meeting of the laity followed, and an address was immediately signed by at least one hundred and four names, including those of four Earls, and some other persons of more or less distinction, social or professional. This address, while it might be fairly construed to admit all that the three bishops assert in reference to the Real Presence and Eucharistic Sacrifice, yet made no distinct mention of any acceptance of such positive teaching, but expressed satisfaction at the protest, and dwelt upon 'the Protestant Faith which we profess,' 'the fidelity of Protestant teaching.'

An extract from the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, of February 18th last, will show what followed—

'*Letter by the Bishop of Brechin to the Earl of Wemyss and March.*

'The following letter has been addressed by the Bishop of Brechin to the Earl of Wemyss and March, as representing the laymen who have signed a memorial to the Bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The Earl of Morton, whose name appears first in the list of memorialists, is so seriously ill that it would have been ill-timed to address the letter to him, and hence its present destination :—

'"Dundee, February 6, 1858.

'"My Lord,—I was informed yesterday by a gentleman to whom it had been sent for signature, that an address to three of the Scottish Bishops was being circulated, to which your Lordship, amongst others, had thought fit to append your name. I requested to have it shown me, but this was refused—a circumstance I cannot quite reconcile with that candour and openness which should distinguish any religious movement whatsoever.

'"I, however, learnt so much, that the purport of the address was to thank the three Bishops who have lately put forth a certain statement of their individual belief on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, and to condemn me by name for certain doctrines which I have enunciated in a Primary Charge which I lately delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Brechin.

'"While every symptom of interest in the affairs of the suffering Episcopal Church of Scotland, on the part of the laity, cannot fail to be gratifying to me, I must respectfully take leave to doubt whether such persons

as I understand have signed this document, however considerable from their position, are likely, from their mental training or habits of thought, to be able to give any opinion entitled to weight upon such abstruse subjects as are treated in the charge, and I think I have reason to complain of the manner in which this has been done, when there lies an actual remedy in the Code of Canons which regulate the conduct of the Governors of the Church of which the memorialists are members.

'"By Canon XXXVI. provision is made for the trial of any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, and 'any three or more respectable persons, lay or clerical, members of the Scottish Episcopal Church,' may take the initiative in proceedings against them.

'"I have not seen the form of your memorial, so I know not whether that document fulfils the requirements of the canon. If so, there is no occasion for the agitation which has been made, since the delation of three communicants is sufficient.

'"You may be sure that I court the fullest and completest investigation of my doctrine before the proper tribunals. I have no wish to decline from the consequences of any act of mine, nor to shrink from the ordeal of a fair trial. If my doctrine is not the doctrine of the Church of Christ from the beginning, if it exceed the wise latitude which the Anglican Church has ever allowed her children, I am quite prepared to take the consequences. I have the deepest conviction that what I have taught is the Truth of God, and therefore I feel sure that eventually that Truth will vindicate and assert its supremacy, even though at the cost of my personal comfort, and I confidently leave my cause in His hands, to whom for all my opinions I am responsible.

'"Commending you to the keeping of the Almighty, I remain, my Lord, your faithful Servant in Christ,

'"A. P. FORBES, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin.

'"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Wemyss and March."'

There is, we believe, no doubt but that this letter took the memorialists by surprise. What, indeed, they *did* expect, it is not easy to understand; but, it would appear, something very different from this firm and dignified epistle.

About this time there appeared also a paper of reasons for not signing the lay document; a sermon by the Bishop of Aberdeen, protesting against the unfair amount of popular excitement and pre-judgment raised against 'one of the most hard-working bishops' of the Church in Scotland; and a very thoughtful and excellent letter by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, which we would gladly transfer *in toto* to our own pages, if we could find room for it.

The Clergy of the Diocese of Brechin have, all but unanimously, expressed their confidence in their Bishop, and their conviction that his teaching, when rightly understood, would be found unimpeachable. The majority of those in the Diocese of Glasgow have signed a paper not wholly unlike that of their brethren of Edinburgh, but very much more temperately worded. The Bishop of St. Andrews, Dr. Wordsworth, has likewise issued a letter, not very clear in its statements, but decidedly intended to allay irritation.

There is, however, one allusion, both in the letter of the Bishop

of Glasgow and in his reply to his Clergy, and in that of Bishop Wordsworth, which demands some notice. Both refer to the danger of conversion to Rome, in terms which seem to intimate that, if not the sole danger, it is at any rate the worst and most pressing evil of our times. Both seem to intimate that a certain school of teaching is the sole cause of secessions, and the repression of such teaching a panacea for the evil.

Such a view of matters we cannot conscientiously accept. We think that Rationalism, not Romanism, is the great danger of our time: and we cannot regard what is ordinarily termed Tractarianism, as the sole cause of secessions, nor its repression as the sole remedy. It is true that the number of those who become Roman Catholics can be set forth in such a manner as to look very startling; and this for the very reason that they announce their change of creed by a positive act. But put against this the number who have become Mormonites, and then try to judge of the number of Rationalists, as evidenced, alas! by the tone of an able and increasing portion of our periodical press. Consider the tone of public feeling which the success of such publications, as a pecuniary speculation, proves, and ask residents at the Universities, or *habitués* of any of the leading clubs in London, what proportion of members, who think at all on such matters, may be set down as Romanizers, and what proportion as Rationalizers.

Another generation may be able to philosophise with less prejudice than we can, on the causes which in England, France, and Germany, have made the nineteenth century one of Romeward tendencies. Yet sure we are that the writings emanating from the authors of the Oxford movement of 1833, will not stand alone amidst those causes. The reaction of thought and feeling after the French Revolution will have to be considered; as also the influence of the schools of F. Schlegel in Germany, of Bonald and De Maistre in France, both long anterior to the issue of the Oxford Tracts. The reaction, too, from ultra-Protestantism, will then bear its due share. It will be shown how many children of so-called Evangelical parents rushed (according to the fashion of human nature from the days of Aristotle, and long before) into the opposite extreme; how the intellectualist leader towards Rome, Dr. Newman, confessed that when ordained in the English Church, he did not even believe in baptismal grace, and was partly brought to a better mind by the treatise of Dr. Sumner, the present Archbishop of Canterbury. Nor will there be forgotten the reaction necessarily arising from those histories of Fox and Burnet, men who (in the language of Sir Francis Palgrave) 'have tainted the nobility of our national mind;' who, 'instead of vindicating the Reformation by the advocacy of 'reverence for holy things, obedience, love, charity, sought to

'establish righteousness through vengeance, and in all ways 'rendering evil for evil.'[1] Nor will the effects of latitudinarianism be overlooked. It will be remembered that the London University was established as the avowed embodiment of the latitudinarian principle, and that one of its ablest professors became a Roman Catholic, and died in that communion. It will be seen how that acute Presbyterian traveller, Mr. Laing, remarked that where, in a German town, Strauss made a convert on one side of the street, the Roman priest made one on the other. It will be noticed that Professor Rogers, who is equally vehement against Tractarianism and Rationalism, declared that if England ever did nationally take refuge in Rome, it could only be as a consequence of the recoil from such teaching as that of Mr. Francis Newman. It will be pointed out how the Lutherans, in their noble efforts against infidelity, did not shrink from the employment of machinery in many respects resembling that of Rome, and welcomed with joy the anti-rationalistic work of a Roman-Catholic divine.[2] And, lastly, it will be asked, how many left the Anglican fold under the influence of an idea that they would not be allowed to hold views which were upheld by Queen Elizabeth and her lay and clerical advisers, and maintained by some of the ablest divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the teaching of the primitive Church?

These sentiments are not peculiar to ourselves; striking testimonies to the greater subtleness and danger of infidelity, as compared with Romanism, have been borne by the late and by the present Bishop of London, as by numbers more. But, on a Scotch question, we gladly cite the words of a member of that communion, Sir Archibald Edmonstone:—

'To attempt to confine minds to one narrow track on a matter at least so mysterious and inexplicable, could scarcely be wise were it practicable. The Bishop of Brechin appeals firmly and distinctly to the voice of antiquity, and in this he is supported by Mr. Keble. How eminently hazardous it would be to attempt to fix any teaching on the Church which cannot stand that test. I am quite prepared to admit that there are those among us whose minds are of that peculiar character, that while they do not see their way as to leaving the Church, yet are so much under the influence of Rome that (it may be almost imperceptibly to themselves) they endeavour to introduce both tenets and practices at variance with such as our Church sanctions. It is certainly incumbent upon our spiritual rulers to watch carefully against any tendency to break down the barriers with which our Reformers have wisely and necessarily guarded her. But biasses in other directions must be carefully watched also. Rome may be the most obtrusive and violent, but she is not the only, perhaps not the most dangerous enemy we have to fear. Popular feeling is strongly enlisted in our warfare with Popery, which we should find difficult to evoke

[1] History of Normandy and England, vol. i. Preface.
[2] Dr. Döllinger's recent publication, *Heidenthum und Judenthum.*

in our conflict with any other opponent. In the condemnation, too, of mediæval corruption, we must be quite sure what we condemn. Our Church is by circumstance Protestant. By position she is Reformed; but her essence, her strength, her vitality, consist in being Catholic. Show that she condemns what was approved by the ancient Church, or *vice versâ*, and you do more to injure her than her worst enemies have ever been able to effect.

'I confess, then, I view with the strongest misgiving the idea of bringing the Bishop of Brechin's Charge judicially before the Synod. I can see no good that it can effect, and I apprehend very serious evil. I know not how it may be received among our Clergy here, but in England it will assuredly be looked upon as a great party movement—our Bishops will be held up as the great Protestant champions, latent animosities will be aroused, it may be fresh Clevedon commissions instituted; in short, a flame of controversy will be lighted up, which I do not stand alone in thinking may have the effect of hastening on, if not actually producing, the catastrophe which not a few, even of sober-minded men, believe impending, but which no one but the enemy can anticipate without dismay —namely, a break-up and division within the Church herself.'

We have spoken of the moderation of Bishop Wordsworth's tone, and his evident desire not to prejudge the case of his brother prelate. Sure we are that one who has known what it is to have his teaching on the solemn subject of repentance charged with a Rome-ward leaning, and has appealed both to English divines and patristic sources for defence, cannot intend to hint that the mere cry of Romanism is sufficient condemnation; nor is he likely to forget the *dictum* of Bishop Butler, that 'truth or right is somewhat real in itself, and so not to be 'judged of by its liableness to abuse, or by its supposed dis-'tance from, or nearness to, error.'

It is with regret that we find ourselves unable to speak in the same manner of the conduct of Bishop Trower. His many claims to respect are well known in England, where his useful and practical commentaries upon the Epistles and Gospels are household works. His fearlessness has been shown by his controversy with the Duke of Argyll, some ten years since; reports of his munificence in his Scottish diocese have come southward of the Tweed, and even among those who cannot sympathise with his general line of thought and action during the last few years, there is, we believe, but one opinion respecting the fascination exercised by his personal intercourse. Nevertheless, if the rumours which reach us may be trusted, the position taken up by him in this affair almost resembles that of an *episcopus episcoporum*. He is commonly regarded as the author of that Declaration of the three bishops which places those who have signed it in the position of judges who record sentence before the commencement of a trial, and which can only (let us hope) have been intended as an expression of their private opinions, not as a strict definition of the limits within which the teaching

of every ecclesiastic of the Scottish Church must be limited. For if the Declaration be taken, not merely as an exposition of what the three prelates hold for truth, but likewise of what they intend to force upon others, it would render their position as Judges, either of the Bishop of Brechin, or of any Presbyter, one, to say the least, of extreme delicacy; inasmuch as the document, though not avowedly directed against the Charge of the Bishop of Brechin, is certainly levelled at the school of thought of which he is a distinguished representative.

But, after all, it must be remembered that bishop after bishop in England has refused to prosecute such teaching, even when stated in the somewhat defiant style of the Archdeacon of Taunton, instead of the temperate language of Bishop Forbes. The late Bishop of Bath and Wells refused; so did the present occupant of that see; the Bishop of S. David's has expressed his sympathy with such a course; even the Primate would fain have retraced his steps had not legal pressure compelled an advance. If Bishop Trower can obtain a judicial condemnation of his brother prelate, he may certainly proclaim that he has succeeded in obtaining a victory which cannot be won in England, that he has succeeded in rendering the Scottish communion one which allows less liberty of thought and speech than her sister in England.

But to return to the general question.

The *residuum* of difference between the declaration of the three bishops (accepted by the Protestant laity and about forty Presbyters), and the real or alleged teaching of the Bishop of Brechin, turns entirely upon—

1. The nature of the reverence to be paid to the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, admitted to be contained in and under the consecrated elements; in a word, whether, in the language of the schools, to such presence is to be paid δουλεία (such reverence as might be paid to any holy created being), or λατρεία, the supreme adoration due to God alone.[1]

2. Whether the sacrifice of the altar is substantially the same as the sacrifice of the cross, by the presence in the Sacrament, of the body and blood of Christ *once offered* upon the cross of Calvary, and now still offered, though in a different manner, and under different conditions.

Now it must for the present suffice us to show that in narrowing the latitude of opinion on these great mysteries, by any Synodal dogmatic declaration, or Judicial condemnation of the Bishop of Brechin, the Scottish Church would so straiten her

[1] The authors of the Declaration apparently contemplating a Real Presence of the Humanity of our Blessed Lord, apart from his Divinity (if such were possible).

limits, as to exclude the doctrine taught by many of the greatest and most illustrious of our Anglican divines; and we select only *a very few* among many passages to the same effect, for which we are mainly indebted to Archdeacon Denison's defence:—

1. Bishop Ridley. [Disputation at Oxford, 1555.] — '*We adore and worship Christ in the Eucharist.* And if you mean the external Sacrament, I say, that also is to be worshipped as a Sacrament.'[1]

Poynet [Diallacticon] quotes and accepts these passages from the Fathers. — ... Also, Eusebius Emissenus, 'When thou ascendest the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual food, behold, honour, and wonder at the holy Body of thy God.'

... S. Chrysostom.... 'For, as in palaces, not the walls nor the golden roof, but the royal body seated on the throne is the most excellent of all. So also is the Royal Body in heaven now proposed to your view on earth.'

Donne. [Sermon 68. fol. 693.] — 'This Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour, Luther calls safely *Venerabile et adorabile*, for, certainly, whatsoever that is which we see, that which we receive is to be adored, for we receive Christ.'

Andrewes. [Answer to Bellarmine, c. I. p. 11.] — ..... 'We believe a true Presence no less than you. The king [James I.] acknowledges that Christ is truly present and truly to be adored in the Sacrament, that is the *res Sacramenti* and not the *Sacramentum*, the earthly part, as Irenæus calls it, the *visible* as Augustine..... We also with Ambrose adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries, and not *it*, but Him who is worshipped on the Altar.....Nor do we eat the flesh without first adoring with Augustine, and yet we do not adore the Sacrament.'

Taylor. [Worthy Communicant.] — 'Place thyself upon thy knees and..... think not much in the lowest manner to worship the King of Men and Angels, the Lord of heaven and earth, Him whom all the Angels of God worship. ..... Whom all the world shall adore and before Whom they shall tremble at the Day of Judgment.'

Bramhall. [Answer to La Militiere, Discourse I.] — '.....And for the Person of Christ, God forbid that we should deny Him worship at any time, and especially in the use of this Holy Sacrament, we believe with S. Austin, that no man eat of that Flesh but first he adore.'

Ditto, [Reply to the Bishop of Chalcedon, part I. disc. iii. s. 7.] — 'The Sacrament is to be adored, said the Council of Trent; that is, formally, the Body and Blood of Christ, say some; *we say the same;* the Sacrament, that is, the species of Bread and Wine, say others; *that we deny.*'

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[1] The last clause seems in entire accordance with the teaching of the Bishop of Brechin, as to the reverence, but not Divine worship, to be paid even to the *outward elements* after Consecration, which *Divine worship* is *alone* due to the Presence of Christ within them.

But far more important than these, or any aggregate of quotations, is the fact that (taking the *lowest* ground) the latitude which we hold ought to be extended to the teaching of the Bishop of Brechin, was *deliberately* and *advisedly* conceded in the book of Common Prayer at two distinct epochs, which together extend from the death of Queen Mary (1558) to the present time. 1. Queen Elizabeth and her councillors, ecclesiastical and civil, *desired to include within the national Church* those who adhered to the doctrine that adoration was due to Christ truly present in the Holy Eucharist, and accordingly they (*a*) restored the ancient form of words, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.' [thereby confessing the Real Presence], and (*b*) removed from the Prayer-book the declaration which condemned the adoration of any *real and essential* presence of our Lord [thereby removing any restriction upon the belief and devotional instincts of individuals]; and 2. When the declaration was again appended to the Communion Office, it was (*a*) *materially altered* in expression, (*b*) restored by those who notoriously were the authors of changes in our Liturgy, all tending towards the highest views of the Eucharistic presence, and (*c*) perhaps appended as an *ἀντίδωρον* to the Puritan party, and in order to show them that the changes before referred to were not intended to imply any such corporeal presence as would be inconsistent with the session of our blessed Lord at the right hand of the Father; or might seem to involve the rendering of divine worship to the *outward part* of the Sacrament, viewed simply in itself.

It is not possible for us at present to dwell at the same length upon the question of the Sacrifice of the Altar.

Undoubtedly such a judicial condemnation as is sought, would for the moment give satisfaction to a party of the laity, and possibly to a few among the Clergy. But are the results always, in the long run, satisfactory in such cases to those who bring them about? In 1843, six doctors of Rhedycina condemned and suspended the Regius Professor of Hebrew. Then, as now, the press, and a portion of the public, cheered on the attack. But the condemned sermon, with its appendix, immediately gained an enormous sale, and produced a great and enduring effect upon the mind of England. Ten years pass away: the constitution of the Hebdomadal Board, which seemed so popular, is placed upon *its* trial before Parliament and the public; and in the hour of its humiliation, one voice alone is found able and willing to rescue it from total defeat and annihilation, and that voice the generous and potent one, which had once been so unjustly silenced. We do not pretend to prophecy; yet we do ask those who are conscious of the existence

of such influences as lay terrorism or love of popularity, for how long time such excitements last? Far be it from us to insinuate that there are not those who are unaffected by such motives; but if it were only to avoid the unseemliness of a judgment made in haste, it would be ground enough for a postponement of the question. If there be any who conceive it to be possible that hereafter on looking back they shall feel that their conduct might have been different in a calmer hour, let them think what reflections may be theirs, when the zeal for 'our Protestant faith' may lead to some fresh laic agitation, seeking for closer approximation to we know not what form of Calvinism, or Zuinglianism, or Rationalism.

One word to the distinguished judges and writers of the Signet who take part in this movement. Their constant doctrine is, that it is far better to pronounce an acquittal, than to convict any man against whom there is not a legal case. We plead for the application of that doctrine to the instance now before us.

Finally, let us cherish the hope that the Church in Scotland may not force upon men's minds the conviction that she is less free, less tolerant, less calm and patient than her sister communion in England. We feel much for those Bishops or Presbyters who may have for a season to endure something but too like persecution. We know how easy it is for those who are happily out of danger to give advice to the harassed and afflicted. Yet if it be permitted of God that a decision which will chill the hearts and affections of many a loyal and devoted priest and layman, should be pronounced by the Episcopal Synod, it will, we trust, be seen that the Church which outlived the persecutions of a William III., may again produce, if need be, her Confessors, and may again arise from the conflict with renewed purity and life and strength.

Postscript.—Since the above article was in type, there has appeared a second edition of the Bishop of Brechin's Charge, with elucidations, and quotations from Fathers and standard divines. As there is some degree of similarity, both in respect of quotations and general line of argument, between this article and Bishop Forbes' additions, it is due both to him and to ourselves to state that such coincidence is purely accidental. We were as utterly unaware of the prospect of this second edition of the Charge, as Bishop Forbes is of the composition of this short paper.

NOTICES.

'THE Funeral Oration of Hyperides,' &c. By Churchill Babington. (Cambridge University Press.) The desert of Egypt, thanks to the intelligent activity of modern travellers, bids fair to 'blossom like the rose.' The last gem from this sterile region now lies before us in all beauty of type and odour of scholarship, as certain fragments of the long lost λόγος ἐπιτάφιος of Hyperides, pronounced by him B. C. 322 over Leosthenes, and those Athenians who fell before Lamia, a small town three miles from Thermopylæ, where Antipater, after the death of Alexander, was besieged by the Athenians and their allies in the Panhellenic resistance to Macedonian domination. These fragments have met with an editor altogether worthy of them in Mr. Churchill Babington, Fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge, whose previous publications eminently qualify him for the difficult task of reducing such fragments to order, and supplying their *lacunæ*. A facsimile of the papyrus accompanies each page of the recovered text; for this we are indebted to J. O. Westwood, Esq. F.R.S. The work has been printed at Cambridge, in the beautiful Porson type of the University, and at the expense of the learned Editor, though aided by a grant from the Richardson Fund of the Royal Society of Literature. It is a truly magnificent and most curious work, bearing evidence in every page of the extensive and recondite scholarship for which the Editor is so justly famed. The history of these fragments is briefly this:—'Towards the close of 'the year 1856, the Rev. H. Stobart, M.A. returned to this country, 'bringing with him various treasures, which he had a little before pro-'cured in the neighbourhood of Egyptian Thebes.' Among them were some leaves of papyrus, written with Greek characters certainly not later than the second century of the Christian era. At the back also there are two kinds of writing referred by competent judges to this period. 'One of these,' Mr. Babington says, 'is in that almost illegible character 'which we find during the later period of the Ptolemies on certain 'dated charters, &c., and which extends itself, with various hideous 'modifications, into the early centuries of the Christian era.' It exhibits an astrological nativity, cast in Greek; and since the position of the five planets are given, a question suggests itself whether the *data* of this nativity may not attest the presumptive age of the MS. The other handwriting appears to be some modification of the Coptic in Greek characters, with barbarous symbols for barbarous articulations. These two writings, as may be supposed, were of real assistance in marshalling the fragments. The leaves having been purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, Mr. Churchill Babington saw them in the month of January, 1857, and with a keen eye for Hyperides, at once perceived that he had before him portions, either of the lost masterpiece of this orator, or of some sophistical imitation. The relics, consisting of fourteen

columns, 'broken into many fragments, which were loose and in disorder, were soon transcribed; but a truly difficult work, and one that demanded scholarship of the highest order, remained to be executed—the task of arranging into one harmonious whole these *disjecta membra*, and of filling in the void spaces by a conjectural criticism. Any one who saw Mr. Babington at his work in the MSS. department of the British Museum, matching broken and apparently hopeless *laminæ* of papyrus, and sketching out the relative positions they were to occupy upon cartridge paper, must have considered the chances of working out a connected oration from such materials to be truly desperate. But this has been performed, and in a most satisfactory manner; only one minute portion remaining as an outlying fragment, and 'unattached.' It should be observed that the genuineness of these *σωζόμενα* admits of no doubt. Stobæus has preserved the epilogue of this oration, which, together with the portions now made public, constitute, in all probability, four-fifths of the entire piece. But no part of the epilogue is contained in these papyri, and at first sight the reader may be disposed to regret the very decisive evidence of genuineness that its presence would have supplied. The same kind of proof, however, is given in another shorter fragment; fortunately, therefore, the full value of Mr. Babington's discovery is not qualified by the repetition of a long passage already in print. Given the dimensions of the Greek fragments, we would not willingly exchange the original value of any portion of these for a mere confirmation of the genuineness of the entire series. This is sufficiently established by other *criteria*. Hyperides was appointed by the Athenian people to pronounce a funeral oration over Leosthenes, and those who fell with him before Lamia. This we know from Diodorus Siculus, the pseudo-Plutarch, and Photius; while in a more general way he is mentioned as the author of an *epitaphian* oration, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Longinus, Harpocration, and Theon of Alexandria, whose eyes possibly may have rested upon this very papyrus. And here we have an oration that quite satisfies these terms. Further, Harpocration says that the Amphictyonic Council that met at Thermopylæ was called 'Pylæan,' and he quotes Hyperides, *ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ*. But one of these fragments says that Lamia, from its vicinity to Pylæ, would for the future live gloriously in the traditions of the Hellenes, who, *ἀφικνούμενοι . . . . . διὰ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν*, would be perpetual witnesses to these heroic deeds. It is the passage that the grammarian had in view. Still more convincing is the testimony of Stobæus, who quotes as from Hyperides the words found in this papyrus, [*φωβητέον*] *οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἀπειλὴν ἀλλὰ νόμου φωνὴν κυριεύειν δεῖ τῶν* [*ἐλευθέρων*]. The first word is inserted by Stobæus, and for the last we read in the MS. *εὐδαιμόνων*, though the words following account for the *varia lectio*; *οὐδ' αἰτίαν φοβερὰν εἶναι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, ἀλλ' ἔλεγχον*. To the liberal mind what indeed is more vain than idle accusation? What could be more dreadful than the *ἔλεγχος* of guilt? Points of historical and philological interest will be found in the notes at the foot of each page; and altogether the varied learning and critical acumen of Mr. Babington leaves nothing to be desired in this unique edition of the *Λόγος ἐπιτάφιος* of Hyperides, for which the learned world owes him sincere and lasting thanks.

Mr. B. Harris Cowper has published a 'Letter to the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer*' (Williams & Norgate), in reply to an article in the last *Christian Remembrancer*, entitled 'Analecta Nicæna.' We can only assure Mr. Cowper, that neither the *Christian Remembrancer*, nor the writer of the article, had any unfriendly feeling towards him. The little work was treated by us in its bearing on Church History; nothing was said in disparagement of Mr. B. Harris Cowper's knowledge of Syriac. Of his want of such acquaintance with ancient Church History as would justify his writing as he did, the letter he has now published only gives additional evidence; *e.g.* by suggesting that because the Council of Trent was continued after an adjournment of ten years, the same might occur to the Council of Ancyra. There are two errors in our article, the results of inadvertence, which we take this opportunity of correcting. 1. [*C. R.* p. 69.] Following Mr. Cowper, we spoke of the words about one Council reopening what had been decided by another as 'Athanasius';' they being really Pope Julius', in a letter recited in a work of S. Athanasius. 2. [*C. R.* p. 79.] We said that Eusebius Gadarensis ought to be Cæsariensis; whereas Eusebius of Cæsarea died before the Council of Antioch. Mr. Cowper has not noticed these mistakes. Had there been anything in his letter which showed the need of any further acknowledgment of error, that acknowledgment would have been as candidly made.

'The Salisbury Hymn-Book' (Salisbury: Brown) is the result of so much reverent care and affectionate loyalty to the Church of England, that it must commend itself to something more than our sympathies. It is edited by Earl Nelson, with the aid, especially in the musical department, of Mr. Heathcote, the Precentor of Salisbury, and is issued under the auspices of the Bishop himself, the Official Precentor of the Province of Canterbury. The Sarum Use is again likely to prevail; for in this manual, cheap and comprehensive, are more than two hundred of our best hymns. Of course there will be not unreasonable regrets that some hymns, much and deservedly prized, are absent: but the manual is intended for diocesan purposes, and to gain this end something must be sacrificed. The tunes recommended struck us as being somewhat eclectic; and the Directorium is complex, but not so difficult as it seems to be. This collection opens, as so many Hymnals do, a grave question, which involves other than literary questions. The Editor, or compiler, has felt himself to be at entire liberty to alter the received Hymns. This is no new thing; indeed, so far from being new is it, that it is almost as difficult to recover the original text of a popular hymn as that of a Greek play. It is said, and not without force, that as edification is all that is aimed at in such devotional and practical works, which Hymns are, we may take whatever compositions we please; and if we can add force or polish, or eliminate doubtful doctrine, or add religious point, we have an entire right to do so. Hence we have an improved 'Pilgrim's Progress,' an adapted 'Whole Week's Preparation,' 'Ken's Manual' improved, and 'Bishop Wilson' corrected. In Hymns this is done without the slightest acknowledgment; and while we are not altogether prepared to deny that there is some force in this argument for edification, yet it is impossible not to feel that, once admitted, this principle might be applied very dangerously to other fields of literature. We feel so

strongly the dangers of tampering with any author's text, that were it possible we should restrict much more rigidly than is the common practice this liberty in altering Hymns, and apply it to those only which are translations. We do not mean to say that Doddridge and Newton, or Milman and Heber, or Keble and Ken, are not susceptible of improvement; but have we the right to take any man's writing and alter it? or does the accident that the poem is anonymous make all the difference? Anyhow, liberty in this direction has a tendency to merge into licence.

We may be charged with some partiality in recommending, without hesitation, Mr. Neale's 'History of the Jansenist (so-called) Church of Holland' (J. H. Parker), seeing that some portions of it have already appeared in our own pages. But we have reason to believe that our article on the Jansenists in 1852 excited some attention, and was generally received with interest. Mr. Neale has in the present work had a rare opportunity of displaying his various gifts: great reading on difficult questions, a picturesque and almost romantic story, a narrow corner of history, personal details, and the broader features of ecclesiastical principle: these are the groundwork of the volume. The Jansenists in some measure parallel our position in being an appellant Church; and the constitutional resistance which they offer to ultramontane pretensions and claims, invest their community with political importance. Their history is a curious chapter in the records of the Church; and it is impossible to speak too highly of the research, as well as of the cautious and loyal tone, of the author of a volume which we consider as among the most valuable contributions to our recent literature.

Mr. Neale advertises — or rather Mr. Hayes advertises, under Mr. Neale's editorship, and his name is a guarantee for the work being well done—the five Primitive Liturgies (we presume, in the original), for the unparalleled price of a shilling for each Liturgy. Their importance in the Eucharistic controversy it is impossible to exaggerate. The Liturgy of S. Mark is 'nearly ready;' and this addition to our theological stores deserves, as we are sure it will command, general encouragement.

The Bishop of Oxford, with that rare skill in reading the times which has always marked his Episcopate, has, as our readers know, organized during the present Lent revival services in his diocese, of which the importance can as yet be hardly appreciated. The 'Sermons' preached at Oxford are in course of publication, and we trust to find an opportunity of reviewing them collectively. At present, it is enough to announce the series on 'Repentance' preached at Oxford, and printed by Mr. J. H. Parker.

We are not careful to settle how much of the unquestionable interest which attaches to the 'Memoir of the late Rev. George Wagner' (Macmillan) is due to the skill of the biographer, Mr. Simpkinson. It is of the nature, often unconsciously, certainly so in this instance, to give prominence to points of sympathy and to throw into shadow the weaknesses of the subject. All portraits are more or less ideal; and possibly many friends of Mr. Wagner might be surprised at finding him a hero. But he was this—a man of large mind, ceaseless activity, and great love. In many, and those

essential, matters he differed much from ourselves, and he professed a form of religion against the narrow shackles of which he was constantly struggling, while we suppose faithful to its watchwords. Without any unfair purpose, we suspect that the biographer has heightened his subject with the better lights of Mr. Maurice's theology. It is impossible to read this book without improvement; and while it is easy to say that Mr. Wagner was superior to the school with which he was nominally connected, it is truer to remark that his was not a scientific mind at all. Generally, he did not suffer from this: but readers must be warned against the mistake of concluding that his practical and dutiful character was in any way the result of his particular theological affinities. Mr. G. Wagner had none such, and he was an Arnoldian by accident. We recommend the volume highly.

Cheap editions of Miss Sewell's works are in course of publication by Messrs. Longman. As we have so lately and so fully entered into the merits of this lady's popular and deservedly popular works, it is enough to announce that of the collected edition, 'Amy Herbert,' 'Gertrude,' and 'The Earl's Daughter' have already appeared.

It is impossible to deny to Mr. Monro, of Harrow Weald, the merit of omnigenous reading. Aristotle says somewhere, that it is the mark of a clever person to detect resemblances in things unlike: Mr. Monro deserves this credit, if such it be. But we must protest against the rise of a school of homilists formed after Mr. Monro's type. We have received the third volume of 'Practical Sermons on the Old Testament' (Masters) from this prolific writer and discursive reader. Not being in the secret of Mr. Monro's method of composition, it seems to us that he uses the pulpit much as some do a common-place book. Everything that he has read comes out in church: the sermon is his vehicle for speculation, criticism, collection of parallel passages and historic fancies. Preaching about Solomon, he introduces his hearers to this curious Valhalla of literary celebrities—'Cyrus, Æschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Herodotus, Horace, the Samnites and Peloponnesians—the Archons and Roman tribunes—Curtius—Codrus—Guyon of Marseilles—Eustace of Calais;' and though there is scarcely a word about the Son of David, there is a great deal about S. Stephen. Elijah suggests Genevieve of Paris, Fra Angelico and Palestrina. And in preaching on Delilah Mr. Monro quotes, and we suppose in church, long passages from 'Othello,' 'Measure for Measure,' and 'Henry VIII.,' together with two sketches extracted from the daily papers, of a wife beaten by a drunkard overnight and pleading for him at Bow Street in the morning; and of another wife whose husband goes out on a burglary, and is concealed and defended by his partner. In a Sermon on Bezaleel we have some sensible observations on the impropriety of hanging a Venus and a Virgin in the same picture-gallery. Apropos of Tobit we have observations, not bad in themselves, on Hector and Andromache, Antigone and Prometheus; and a little essay on subjectivity and idealism comes out, apropos, we think, of Nebuchadnezzar. We should like to examine the mental condition of one of the Harrow Weald 'navvies' after the exhibition of one of Mr. Monro's Sermons, if they are all of this type.

Mrs. Stone's 'God's Acre' (J. W. Parker) is a beautiful book. We accord it the very high praise which we intend by remarking that it reminds us of the Mores Catholici. It is a historical monograph on churchyards and burials, composed in the most religious spirit and with considerable, indeed remarkable, research. In the chapter on Epitaphs we lack, what it must have cost one so intimately acquainted with the subject something to suppress, a closer recognition of the propriety of prayers for the dead, and of its use among ourselves in past reformation times.

The Quasimodo of our times is unquestionably Mr. Lukis. He devotes his literature to bells, and his 'Account of Church Bells' (J. H. Parker) is something more than curious, and Campanology, with this instructive writer, approaches the dignity of an exact science. But the qualities of mind and powers of investigation which Mr. Lukis has displayed require a larger field; his accomplishments and enthusiasm are such that he ought to be engaged in a county history.

'The Last Prior of S. Anthony' (Mozleys) is a tale of the evils of sacrilege, and certainly equals the average of fictions which have been devoted to a subject especially suitable to this form of instruction.

In Mr. Hayman's 'Form of Prayer for a Public School' (Skeffington), we find not only a useful model, especially in the responsive character of the office, but a pleasing proof that in all quarters the important subject of early devotion is making way. That a manual so liturgical should be even suggested is a good sign.

We are glad to welcome so tried and useful a writer as Mr. Paget. His 'Sermons on Special Occasions' (Masters), viz. Visitations, Choir Festivals, and the like, show his old powers, applied with great and happy skill to existing wants and the social and corporate action of the Church.

Mr. S. C. Malan's 'Letters to a Young Missionary' (Masters), are not only valuable in themselves, but, under existing circumstances, more particularly in connexion with certain popular cries, point to what is *the* want of Indian Missions, that of learned Missionaries.

We reserve for a more extended notice Mr. Robert Owen's 'Introduction to the Study of Dogmatic Theology' (Masters). Of the method of this work we can speak well at a cursory glance; on its matter and manner we reserve our judgment for future investigation.

Two movements of great importance, which rise out of each other, are due to Manchester: a systematic opposition to Pews and Pew-Rents, and a determined revival of the Weekly Offertory. Mr. Todd, of Hulme, an active and practical parish priest in Manchester, has preached a sermon on the subject, and a society, headed by Mr. Colin Lindsay, is at work. Mr. Smyttan, an able Nottinghamshire clergyman, also prints a Sermon, giving the results of his experience of the Weekly Offertory. We owe this chiefly to the opposition to Church Rates; and we are glad to find the spirit which in other days would have been attracted by a Corn Law League, taking the shape of a vigorous agitation in favour of the Church's liberty. We are not very partial to the multiplication of societies; but

the evil cannot be grappled with any other way. In London there are signs, at least in one or two churches, of an abandonment of pew rents.

We have many times expressed our conviction that the Psalms are incapable of a rhymed version. But we must assign to the anonymous author of a 'Metrical Version of the Psalms,' published by Mr. Bagster, the rare merit of a conscientious attempt to give the Hebrew spirit. He has apparently gone to the original source, and has spent great pains and study on his work. But admitting, as of course everybody must do, that the Psalms are metrical, we say that the Teutonic system of rhymes by no means conveys the power or quality of Oriental metre. The present translator does not pretend to have discovered, nor does he say that he can distinguish, the Hebrew metres. His rendering of them into various systems of modern rhyme is therefore entirely arbitrary. The novelty of the present version is in its attempting to apply Psalms in metre to the established antiphonal chants. They are in the form of hymns, but are intended to be recited only. We doubt the possibility of this; but the present author deserves the credit of originality. We subjoin specimens, by which what we think is the character of the whole collection, that it sacrifices poetry for a bald literalness, will be illustrated.

Psalm XXXV.

'Plead Thou my cause, O Gód of might!
With them that wár against me fight:
Fast hold of shield and búckler take;
Arise and hélp! no tárrying make!

'The spear and báttle-axe oppóse
Against my pérsecuting foes;
And to my trembling sóul reply,
"Thy help in every stráit am I!"'

Psalm LXIX.

'Save me, O God!—the floods my life assail;
I sink in mire, nor can my stánding keep:
The mighty waters more and móre prevail:
Where I am come, flóws óver me the deep.'

Psalm XLV.

'My heart with a rapturous théme overflows:
My song to the práise of the King I recite;
May the words of my tongue be unérring as those
From the pen of the scríbe, who can faultlessly write.'

Psalm CXXXIII.

'Behold what pleasure ánd delight,
Where brethren áll in love unite!
'Tis like the precious óil that shed
Its balmy frágrance on the head,
And down the beard, e'en Aáron's, wended,
Yea, to his gárments' skirts descended.'

Some of our readers may be more fortunate than ourselves; but these chanted rhymes are to us entirely unintelligible.

The Incumbents of New Parishes and Districts will do well to possess themselves of the 'Case submitted, on the Rights of Incumbents of New Parishes, to Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Dr. Bayford, and Mr. Traill.' We hardly know whether this document is published; but it is to be had of Mr. J. M. Dale, 3, Gray's Inn Square. Among the important points of their opinion, we call attention to the judgment of these eminent lawyers, that 'the due 'publication of Banns between persons, both of whom are residents within 'the limits of the New Parish, can only be made in the Church of the New 'Parish; and that, consequently, publication of the Banns elsewhere would 'be illegal; and that a clergyman knowingly solemnizing a marriage upon 'such an undue publication would be subject to penalties, and that the In-'cumbent of the New Parish may recover in an action Fees received by the 'Incumbent of the Old Parish for the solemnization of such marriages.' We are aware that in most places it is believed that the inhabitants of District Parishes may be married in the mother-Church, and that the Incumbent of the mother-Church claims the right to celebrate the marriages of all inhabitants of the original parish, as though it were not divided. This opinion is fatal to those rights; and in order to allay or anticipate a good deal of the ill feeling which exists on this subject as to the mutual rights of several Incumbents in a large divided parish, it would be well for the Bishop at once to issue his prohibition against the present illegal practice.

An important paper has been circulated by Dr. Maitland, in the shape of a Proposal for a 'New Edition of Strype' (Rivingtons), in which, with his usual learning and wit, the writer points out the blunders of this voluminous writer and the miserable state of the present editions. It remains to ask why such a work, of which Dr. Maitland demonstrates the necessity, is not undertaken by the Clarendon Press?

Among important Sermons of the quarter, we select a set of four: 'Perilous Times,' privately printed, delivered in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury: three of them by Mr. Forster, and one by Mr. Penny, two of the 'Six Preachers' of the Cathedral. They are certainly controversial, and are theological lectures rather than Sermons, and rather suited for an academic audience. They are directed against Mr. Jowett's dangerous teaching. Mr. Forster is, we think, somewhat vituperative; but Mr. Penny's is a very able discourse on the doctrine of the Atonement, and exhibits much and sound reading.

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ART. I.—*The Choephoræ of Æschylus: with Notes, Critical and Explanatory.* By JOHN CONINGTON, M.A., Professor of Latin, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1857.

THE days have passed when to edit a Greek play was popularly considered an introduction to the Episcopate. On the question whether bishoprics are better administered since the discontinuance of the practice we are not audacious enough to speculate. But, on the cognate question, whether Greek plays are better edited we may perhaps venture to form an opinion. There are, at any rate, those who have quite made up their mind upon the matter, and they occasionally communicate their conclusions in a somewhat lugubrious strain. 'The glories of 'the Porsonian school,' say these *laudatores temporis acti*, 'have passed away. With the worthies of our youth, the '*illustrissimi, præclarissimi,* and *amplissimi viri* of prefaces and 'dedications, the knowledge of the classical languages has 'perished from the earth. The age of critical canons, brilliant 'emendations, neat notes, and learned glossaries has gone by; 'we have fallen upon an age of editorial charlatanism, intolerable 'prosing and wire-drawn speculation, or mere hand-to-mouth 'compilations, abstracted from the *scrinia* of German professors.' We are constrained to admit that there is some reason in these complaints. Editions of classical authors, and all sorts of compendia, and hand-books upon classical subjects, are to be found in every bookseller's shop. We have them in octavo and duodecimo, in English and Latin, in the blotting-paper of Leipsic, and the hot-press of Paternoster-row; but very few of them are constructed with any more exalted object than that of the Jew razor-dealer who imposed upon poor Hodge. They

are simply 'made to sell.' Accomplished editors, ready to edit anything, from Phædrus up to Lycophron, arise at the bidding of Mr. Bohn. 'Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum.' There are to be found, or were lately to be found, gentlemen anxious to try their hand upon any possible author with rather shorter notice than that required by our distinguished statesman for steering the Channel fleet, or performing the operation for the stone. Now this is a great disadvantage and discouragement to real scholarship. It sets at nought the rule which alone insures the fit treatment of any subject. We ought to write because we have something to say, not to say something be cause we are compelled to write. With the persons of whom we have been speaking, the case is exactly and painfully the reverse. There is no reason why they should prefer one subject to another, or edit one book more than another. They have no utterance to deliver, no special message to declare, no literary partiality to vindicate, no theory to support, no carefully accumulated knowledge to communicate. And therefore what they do write is, for the most part, without life, meaning, or value. Any one who has reflected upon the state and prospects of classical learning in this country, must admit, that there is some danger of its falling into a decadence of this sort. We are so very practical that we are in danger of losing the fruits of practice altogether. We confine scholarship within the limits which certain accredited scholastic examinations require, and thereby impair, if we do not destroy, its highest uses. Learning is, always must be, a slow process; we live too fast to learn. The national spirit breaks out in all we do. Our impatience will no more pause over the difficulties of an author, than wait an hour at a railway station. Whatever be the consequence, we must 'get on;' get on to the end of our Æschylus or Thucydides, just as much as get on to Paddington or Euston Square. Consequently we use the means which we imagine will enable us to get on, and are careless of everything else. Now, if the object of study was identical with the object of a journey; if the one thing needful was speedy arrival at the terminus, this would be defensible, and indeed most wise. But it is not so. If classical studies are pursued in this way, they are simply stripped of all that renders them worth pursuit. They are emphatically ἐνεργείας ἕνεκα; it is the process of prosecuting them, more even than the results of the process, which gives them value. 'If the Almighty,' said the philosopher, 'held 'Truth in the one hand, and the investigation of Truth in 'the other, I would choose the latter.' The sentiment is a noble one, even though it be expressed in an exaggerated form, *and is* eminently applicable to the pursuits of scholarship; for

in them, could we have the result without the process, it would be of comparatively little worth, whereas the process, even without the result, would confer no mean benefit upon the intellect which had been engaged upon it. We must, therefore, concede somewhat to the representatives of the old school of Philology, since we share their dislike of all royal roads and railroads to that goal which our fathers reached by the painful paths of the ancient discipline. But we cannot go along with them altogether. If classical scholarship is to retain its place in the education of our countrymen, it must lengthen its cords, and strengthen its stakes; it must forego some things of which it was proud, and condescend to others which it despised. Are there any indications to show that it is, as our neighbours say, master of the situation, and has the genius and courage to maintain its place? It is because we believe that the present work of Professor Conington is no mean contribution to the possibility of an affirmative answer, that we have selected it as the subject of these remarks. And we attribute to it this character, because it seems to us to unite very remarkably the merits of the two philological schools which divide the world of classical criticism and commentary. It occupies a sort of intermediate position between the old school and the new. Mr. Grote has taught us to distrust this useful formula of speech; and, without doubt, we are not prepared to maintain an exact intercommunity of opinion or purpose between all whom we classify together as members of the one school or the other. Still we take leave to say that here, as in the case of the Sophists, the distinction is a real one, and for all practical purposes definite enough. There is the school of the letter, and the school of the spirit; the first busy with an analysis of the external form in which the thought is expressed, the second with the thought itself. The one has laboriously built up a theory of the language, and may be said mainly to value the literature as the material out of which the theory is constructed, and the actual concrete expression of its laws. The other regards the written document in the light of the shell which contains the fruit, and strives to penetrate beneath this into the writer's mind and meaning, for the purpose of reaching the treasures of poetry, philosophy, or fact, which he may be made to render up. Each method has its own merits, each its own defects; but the common practice of considering them to be mutually exclusive has in no small degree operated to the detriment of both. We could ill afford to lose either. The habits of mind, formed and fostered by philological studies, even taking the words in their narrowest sense, are of the utmost value. Elaborate accuracy, critical tact, and cultivated taste, the nice dis-

crimination which discerns aright the likeness of things different and the difference of things alike; these and many other mental excellences are the genuine fruit of that careful analytical treatment, which classical scholarship *κατ' ἐξόχην* applies to the texts of the great writers of Greece and Rome. Still this is very far from all that we should ask from modern learning, when she sets herself to the task of unfolding what Göthe has aptly called the 'seven-sealed volume of antiquity.' It is hers to resuscitate a perished Past with its habits of thought, and feeling, and belief; its customs, institutions, literature, arts, and arms. It is hers to gather up the experiences of an elder world, not only in the wider field of policy and war, but in the most intimate details of social and private life. And if some stern utilitarian interpose his triumphant *Cui bono?* the answer may surely be, 'Much every way.' For the scholar may plead with the ancient Solver of riddles, *τὰ καινὰ τοῖς πάλαι τεκμαίρομαι*, and may confidently point to the practical results which have been found to follow a calm and far-looking contemplation of the social and political, or even the religious analogies of an elder civilisation. Or he may rest his case simply upon the universal interest of humanity in all human beings, human societies, and human forms of thought. But whatever vindication of his character and pursuits he may be inclined to adopt, it is plain that he can easily justify himself for not looking upon the works of ancient authors, either altogether or mainly, with an eye to their outward form. His concern is with the knowledge of which that text is the depository, quite as much as with the text itself; and his scholarship, therefore, evolves itself rather in the shape of archæology, history, philosophy, or poetry, than of philology commonly so called.

It would be interesting to extend our inquiry somewhat further, and to ask, 'What was the effect of the older classical 'training upon the public mind, and upon those who mainly 'influenced and directed it? What modifications are mainly to 'be expected from the new?' This is a more ambitious design than we can venture to entertain. But if George Canning, and perhaps the younger Pitt, may be considered as 'representative men' of the class whom it was the purpose and the pride of our ancient system to form, we may console ourselves for the loss of the extreme polish and brilliancy which shone forth in all they did, by the presence of a more genial spirit of general cultivation, a larger range of philosophical inquiry, and a more lively sympathy in living interests among the men now distinguished in literature and politics. The 'Homer' of Mr. Gladstone would have been impossible, even in conception, to the *authors of the* anti-Jacobin. Party prejudices may have misled

Mr. Grote, but who will not admit that the parallelism which he tries to establish between ancient and modern politics has given a new and vivid interest to Greek history? A Chancellor of the Exchequer under the Georges would scarcely have trained himself for his office like Sir Cornewall Lewis, by the study of Greek literature and German learning. Even the wonderfully cultivated intellect of Burke would have seen with surprise a treatise on early Roman history emanating from the arid atmosphere of Downing Street. And what would have been the amazement of the cotemporaries of Elmsley had they found an Oxford professor, even in that classic air, for ever redolent of Greek particles and Aristotle, devoting his time to an English poet, and producing, like Professor Conington, a capital paper of discriminating criticism upon Pope? We might easily pursue the subject further; but perhaps we have said enough to show what we mean by two schools of classical learning, differing in their character and effects.

We have already admitted that in this, as in other analogous cases, it would be exceedingly delusive to separate these Schools from each other by any definite lines of demarcation, to say that they have no points of contact, or to assert that no scholars have ever imbibed the spirit of both, and given evidence of mature philosophical, as well as philological scholarship. But undoubtedly the two schools appear in an attitude of antagonism more commonly than the circumstances of the case require: and, with all possible respect for the names of the great critics familiar to our youth, we cannot but believe that the fault lies in a great measure with Porson and his immediate successors. Indeed the brilliant genius of Porson, his surprising achievements, and the fascination of his nearly perfect style, have exercised an influence in England, long paramount, and scarcely even as yet disputed. Now Porson never gave a reason for anything, and consequently some of his disciples are very angry, and seem to consider you exceedingly unreasonable when you make a demand upon them for anything of the sort. To discover and propound a critical canon after the manner of Dawes and Elmsley, is in their judgment a triumphant intellectual exploit, the glory of which is only impaired, and vulgarised, by assigning the reasons upon which it rests. To them it is nothing that a particular form of expression is rendered necessary, or excused by the universal laws of thought and language, the real ground of its authority being that it occurs five times in Æschylus, eleven in Sophocles, and twenty-nine in Euripides. If Porson had condescended to give, as he very well might have given, the *rationale* of those rules in which he embodied the result of his observations, we do not think that the

rules themselves would have been less satisfactorily established, less likely to impress themselves upon the memory, or less valuable additions to the sum of human knowledge. We cannot agree with a distinguished living member of the Porsonian school, that philology has little or no concern with the *causes* of inflexion, idiom, and other grammatical phenomena. If philology be a science, it must deal with its own phenomena, as other sciences deal with theirs; it must seek to explain their laws, and failure in the attempt is undoubtedly a misfortune, and to a certain extent a reproach. The opposite system results in a narrowness of view, and corresponding exclusiveness of method, which has circumscribed philology within unworthy limits, and depreciated its value in the eyes of a practical generation. Isolated from all other forms of human knowledge, it has been isolated also from human interests, and banished by the world to the Grammar School, and the College Lecture Room. And with the profoundest conviction that philology, even in this shape, possesses the highest value as an intellectual discipline, we cannot but feel that the world is right, if what is called scholarship shall persist, at such a time as this, in confining itself to mere verbal and exegetical criticism, and be content to see in the broad page of Greek and Roman lore, radiant with the light of genius, and teeming with the fruits of wisdom, nothing nobler than the 'happy hunting grounds' of a pedant's imagination, where the philological sportsman may prowl for ever after particles, hunt idioms through the mazes of many a linguistic labyrinth, and occasionally unkennel some monster of a solecism from its lurking-place in the text. Seriously speaking, in the possibility of rising above this narrowness of method, without abandoning that which it contains of useful discipline,—in the possibility, that is to say, of combining the spirit of the two schools, without sacrificing their special excellences, is involved the future fate of classical scholarship in England. If by an enlarged treatment of the subject we are enabled to give a living interest to the old philology, by showing its intimate connexion with other living interests that come home to 'the business and bosoms of men;'—if we can see how largely the literature with which that philology deals, has contributed to nurture the intellectual life of the modern world, how the thoughts which are still living, and stirring, and working among us, may be traced back in a thousand instances to those learned and liberal studies, those 'literæ humaniores,' which for centuries have occupied and exercised the strongest intellects of Europe; if by any modification of our method we can do this;—then *Philology* may stand her ground, to the infinite advantage not

of the commonwealth of letters only, but of the civil commonwealth as well. To do this successfully we must deal with antiquity in a genial spirit. We must project ourselves, out of our modern selves, and enter into the inner meaning of the past, its thoughts, and feelings, and utterances; we must read the record of its outer life with a human sympathy, trace out the ties which bind the brotherhood of men together, and link the chain of its fortunes with our own. The débris of the old world must be something more in our eyes than a heap of antiquarian rubbish. The dry bones must live, and the breath of genius can make them live. A genuine and sympathetic criticism analyses the gifts with which God has dowered the human soul,—treasures of knowledge, power, and beauty—traces their birth and growth through past developments, and seeks to find how far they form a part of that great heritage, bequeathed to us by the ancestors of our intellect who lived, and thought, and spoke in the earliest homes of philosophy and song. We must not sink into mere antiquarian pedantry, or modern dilettantism. If liberal studies are worth cultivation for their own sake, we must be content to admit that to us they are more precious still, as means of mental training. By them we believe that we may sharpen the perceptions, refine the taste, strengthen the logical faculty, and in short multiply the powers of the mind's action, by multiplying the objects upon which they are enabled to act. And therefore no thoughtful man will give his suffrage to any intellectual pursuit, as a means of education, where these objects are not paramount, and in which the possibility of carrying them out successfully is not attested by experience. Is then, classical scholarship of this sort possible at the present day? is it a probability? Can we point to scholars who within the last few years have shown themselves capable, either individually or collectively, of carrying out the conception? This is a question which we believe that many persons are asking with no affected anxiety. To answer it satisfactorily would demand a much larger share of attention than we have any right to claim. But some remarks concerning the condition and prospects of scholarship, in the various phases which it may assume, and indeed has assumed among ourselves, may aid us in assigning his true position as a critic and editor to Professor Conington, and in determining the value of his present contribution to classical learning.

What we have called the old school of philology, the dogmatic criticism conducted after the exemplar of Bentley, Porson, Elmsley, and other well-known adepts in the art,—scholarship in short, *κατ' ἐξόχην*,—has long formed the glory of the University of Cambridge, where it is cultivated with surprising success,

perhaps we may say practised with exaggerated exclusiveness. We must, however, admit that this special culture has borne noble fruits. And the University of Porson, Dobree, Monk, Blomfield, the Wordsworths, Kennedys, and Selwyns may well be proud of the children she has reared, and the achievements she has wrought during the last half-century. Those acquainted with the work still done by Mr. Shilleto, with his boundless learning of a special sort, and his Attic taste, 'plus Arabe qu'en Arabie,' will not hesitate to admit that he is a worthy son and successor of sires like these; and the pages of the Philological Journal show that many younger men, Mr. Cope, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Lightfoot, Mr. Clark, Mr. Scott, and several others, as Mr. Paley, who has a separate claim to our consideration, are determined that the ancient character and renown of Cambridge scholarship shall not degenerate in their hands. Oxford adopts a different line. But the shade of the Great Athenian Dean still lingers in the classic halls of Christ Church. We may, perhaps, regard the Dean's able successor, and his co-lexicographer, the Master of Balliol, as belonging to the same school; and if so, they certainly must be classed among those members of it who have done the highest service to the cause of classical learning in England. Mr. Linwood also would surely be acknowledged by the most fastidious Porsonian as one whose ability and performances entitle him to be considered a successful editor and critic, after the manner of the old masters. And doubtless there are others, of more local reputation, not unworthy to be classed with these.

For scholarship, therefore, in the old and restricted sense of the word, we have no fear. But this is not all. Even among those who agree that a careful and continuous elucidation of his author's text is the legitimate office of an editor, there is no small difference of opinion as to the manner in which this elucidation is to be conducted. The strictest sect, as we may call them, of the old school, observed facts, noted down words, pointed out idiomatic turns of speech, illustrated them by an accumulation of parallel passages, and embodied the results of this sort of induction in a dogmatic canon, all rebellious exceptions to which they reduced to submission by a procrustean process of emendation. There are, however, those who protest against a system which, while it rests upon the rule, ignores the reason, and by omitting to investigate the causes of its own phenomena, tacitly cuts itself off from the fellowship of the sciences, because it repudiates the method by which all science is built up. It is, perhaps, to Dr. Peile that we owe the first serious attempt conceived in an opposite spirit. He was unfortunate in selecting a great poet for his experiment, for his plan fre-

quently forced upon him a very unpoetical phraseology; and, while labouring to convey the exact English equivalent to some Greek phrase, he was often betrayed into the employment of language which sounded more like a travesty than a translation of the sublime original. Nevertheless, he did good service, and has not been without a wholesome influence upon his successors, as indeed Professor Conington has gracefully acknowledged. And now, the growth of a more rational, or at any rate more reasoning, criticism, is visible in many things, perhaps most particularly in our grammars. That miserable amalgamation of false principles, repetitions, and self-contradictions, known as the Eton Syntax, is no longer lord paramount of the realms of Priscian.

Kühner, Bernhardy, Rost, Madvig, Kennedy, and Donaldson, have superseded 'Verbum personale.' Peace to its manes! He must, indeed, be an enthusiastic philological Old Mortality who would seek to perpetuate its memory.

Closely united to this sort of commentary, but by no means identical with it, is a method of illustration to which we attach the greatest importance. What Buhle has said of the great Peripatetic master, 'Non nisi ex Aristotele ipso Aristotelem intelligas,' is perhaps true of every writer whose works it is worth while to study at all. To understand the man's writings you must understand the man; you must know him *intus et in cute;* you must familiarise yourself with his habits of thought, and ways of looking at things; his little weaknesses and reticences, and wrongheaded twists of taste and judgment, as well as with the more patent principles of his philosophy, and his more brilliant conceptions and modes of expression. You must, in short, penetrate below the surface, and so enter into your author's spirit, as to have some idea of what he is likely to say upon any given subject, before you know what he *does* say. And further, he who is conscious of the wonderful power of words, how they symbolise, not the working of the reason only, but that of the imagination also, and sometimes guide and master us by their subtle influence when we fancy them our slaves,—he who feels this will readily understand how particular words call up whole trains of thought, religious, philosophic, and poetical, and how much, therefore, is implied by their recurrence. Accordingly the study of a writer's words, as he himself employs them, can never be superseded by any more general notion of their meaning derived from vocabularies or lexicons. Every scholar will recognise the truth of this assertion in reference to his favourite author. It is particularly true with respect to Æschylus, as, did space permit it, would be an easy task to show. Not only, then, does it require rare intellectual power

for a German or an Englishman of the nineteenth century to divest himself of his subjectivity, and so to come out, as it were, from himself, and the thoughts of his own generation, as to enter thoroughly into the mind of a man whose intellectual life and training must have been entirely alien from his own, but to do this demands much labour, patience, discrimination, and self-denial of a particular sort. No wonder, therefore, that the extreme difficulty of the task has rendered its successful accomplishment unusual, and perhaps even the notion of attempting it unpopular. The scholar will readily perceive that we refer to something like that which Dissen has tried to do for Pindar, Klausen for Æschylus, and Schneidewin for Sophocles, but which Porson, Elmsley and Blomfield have not done, or perhaps considered it desirable to do, for their respective authors. Yet they can hardly have been in the right. The gradually increasing insight into an author's mind and meaning, the clearer vision of the ὄμμα ἐξ ἐμπειρίας which a careful study of the *nexus sententiarum* gives, is one of the greatest results which an editor can achieve, and is as satisfactory to himself as it is useful to his readers. No one can conscientiously say that anything of the sort has hitherto been practised successfully by English scholars. On the contrary, the attempt has been coldly looked upon both here and elsewhere by those who claim *par excellence* the scholar's name. Even Hermann, who possessed, in no ordinary degree, the mental subtlety necessary for conducting such analysis, and not seldom exercised it, appears to ignore, in his late edition of Æschylus, the existence of so able and painstaking a predecessor as Klausen, a fate which the latter did not deserve, notwithstanding his metrical ignorance and most injudicious attempts at emendation. It is not probable that we shall for the future have to complain of a similar defect. There are many indications to the contrary. The principle for which we contend seems to be recognised in the volumes of the 'Bibliotheca Classica' which have lately appeared. Indeed, the attempt to develop it is, or, we regret to say, has been, obviously the most successful portion of Mr. Macleane's books. And Mr. Paley, we are glad to see, appears now fully to sympathise with our sentiments. His observations on this matter in the preface to his English Æschylus are able and satisfactory, and we recognise with satisfaction a progress in the right direction from the elegantly written but somewhat supercilious preface to his Latin edition of the same poet.

Once more: 'All philology,' says Dr. Donaldson, 'which 'pretends to be scientific must be comparative, or rest upon the 'comparison of cognate idioms.' This has certainly not been hitherto admitted in England. Even now, many scholars

believe Dr. Donaldson's doctrine to be founded on affection for his own *spécialité*, and, like Ellendt, regard with unconcealed aversion the troublesome innovations *qui Sanscritice balbutire vellent.* But Dr. Donaldson is a sufficiently good scholar, in their own sense of the term, to prove the possibility of uniting both characters in one person, and the scientific principle for which he contends is beyond dispute. Comparative philology, even more than comparative anatomy, by extending our knowledge of the genus, renders our acquaintance with the cognate species more full and precise. Thus, even, for Greek and Latin philology, in the narrowest sense of the term, it does a valuable work. But it bestows a still greater boon upon the old scholarship, by uniting it to ethnography and history, and thus conferring upon it that wider and more human interest which it has sometimes, not unreasonably, been supposed to want. If it be true, that there once existed, and in the second degree still exists, a common chain of Languages, stretching from the Ganges to the Douro, the attempt to treat any one of them as autocthonous and independent of the rest, must be a violation of all scientific principles, and indeed a wilful relinquishment of the soundest sources of scientific knowledge. The connexion of the Indo-Germanic dialects with the Sanscrit is the great exploit of comparative philology; at any rate, the exploit in which we are more immediately interested. The impulse given to the science by Humboldt, in Germany, is still, it is needless to tell our readers, followed up with the learned enthusiasm of that learned land; and the great works of Bopp and Grimm have laid a broad and solid foundation upon which many distinguished men are assisting to raise a superstructure. In England, Dr. Donaldson, Frank Newman, Professor Key, and a few others, have laboured not very harmoniously in this new field; but, with the exception of the first, without producing any very remarkable effect. We personally have not arrived much further than a dim consciousness that something ought to be done we cannot, as yet, exactly see or say what. An adopted son of Oxford, with learning rare, at any age of human life, but truly marvellous at his early years, Professor Max Müller has done much to awaken an interest which none but himself can satisfy, in this wider and more scientific philology. His work on the Languages of the Seat of War in the East will form a new era in the prosecution of these studies in England. But we are, however, at least alive to the necessity of treating the Indo-Germanic family of languages as one great whole; of searching out among them identical roots, and similar forms of inflexion and derivation; of investigating the laws of the changes of sound and phonetic equivalence; of determining the point of diver-

gence in kindred dialects, and classifying together those most intimately related to each other. These inquiries lead us into a period antecedent to all known history, yet they assume a direct bearing upon known historical problems. The asserted Tyrian origin of the Greek Alphabet; the whole question as to the connexion of Greece with Egypt and the East; the relative antiquity of the Greek and Latin, their separate and parallel development from one parent stock, or their hypothetical connexion in a hypothetical pre-historic Pelasgic speech; the ethnography of the ante-Roman inhabitants of the Italian Peninsula, and the weight to be assigned to the Greek element among them; the descent of the languages of France, Spain and Italy, with the sister dialects to which Max Müller directs attention, through the mediæval romance dialects from the language of old Rome; the amount of corruption introduced from Gothic or Teutonic sources, as illustrated, for instance, in the *Langue d'Oc*, and the *Langue d'Oil*;—all these, and others which might be mentioned, are surely matters which stand in very intimate relation to Greek and Latin scholarship, limit our conception of it as we may: but they are matters for the elucidation of which we must look to the future rather than to the present or the past. No subjects, we are convinced, more thoroughly deserve to attract the attention of those, who, like Professor Conington, have been called to occupy our newly constituted classical chairs.

But lastly, no similar reproach can be brought against English scholarship, for its treatment of ancient history in the narrative form. To say nothing of what has been done by our ancestors, there are names among our contemporaries destined to occupy the highest place among the labourers in this great field. Fynes Clinton, Thirlwall, Arnold, Grote, Merivale, Cornewall Lewis, need not be ashamed of comparison with any writer whom France or Germany has produced. We look with confidence to England's greatest orator and statesman to vindicate the ancient studies, in a work which shall 'hold the mirror up to nature,' and reflect the 'very age and body' of the Homeric times. Colonel Rawlinson and his coadjutor are doing more than any man has yet done for our knowledge of Herodotus, and consequently for our knowledge of the history, antiquities, ethnography, geography, and inner life of that old world which once seemed to have passed utterly beyond our grasp. They have had an able predecessor in the biographer of Aristotle, the Hertfordshire Incumbent, whose name is now so widely known. It would not be easy to over-rate the services of Mr. George Long in all that relates to Roman law, and the civil life of Rome. Much has been done by Professor Ramsay, much is

expected from Mr. Donne.[1] Indeed, Englishmen seem to us particularly well qualified to edit the ancient historians. Spite of its critical defects, Arnold's Thucydides is a masterpiece of its sort. Is it to have no successors? What has become of the Rugby school? The Professor of Ecclesiastical History has devoted his keen taste for the picturesque in scenery, and incident, to the land and life of the people whose fortunes are most closely connected with his chair. Mr. Congreve once gave good promise, in a somewhat hastily executed edition of Aristotle's Politics. But this was in former days. We can scarce follow him through the phases of Oxford Tutor, Democrat, Propagandist of Imperialist, and Positive Philosopher, till, like Erostratus, he seems to have mistaken notoriety for fame, without being reminded of Lucian's *ὁ κακοδαίμων Περεγρῖνος, ἤ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔχαιρεν ὀνομάζων, ἑαυτον Πρωτεύς· ἅπαντα γὰρ δόξης ἕνεκα γινόμενος, καὶ μυρίας τροπὰς τραπόμενος, τὰ τελευταῖα καὶ πῦρ ἐγένετο, τοσούτῳ ἄρα τῷ ἔρωτι τῆς δόξης εἶχετο.* Our business, however, with him at present is as an Editor, not as an assailant of Christianity; and we can only regret that one who once affected the style of Arnold, should have deviated so widely from the manner, as from the morals of his great master.

We have not been led into the foregoing remarks for the mere pleasure of ventilating our own notions upon things in general. We have ever kept in view the purpose of the present paper; but something like a sketch of the whole field of English scholarship was necessary if we wished to ascertain the place which we are to assign in it to Professor Conington. He may, we think, be said to occupy an intermediate position between the two schools whose general features we endeavoured to delineate. Like a wise householder—and we employ the comparison in no irreverent spirit, for we speak of serious things, truly serious in their vast capacity for intellectual good and evil—Professor Conington brings forth from his treasure-house things new and old. He cannot be said to want himself, or to depreciate in others the exact scholarship of the Porsonian school. But even when a very young man, he seems to have seen the necessity for a more literary, that is, a wider and more sympathetic treatment of the writers of Greece and Rome. He showed himself desirous of bringing to bear upon them an acquaintance with modern poetry, philosophy, and æsthetical criticism, and of associating the ancient studies with other studies of more general, living, and human interest. His

[1] Mr. Butler has, we see, succeeded to the task. His elegant taste will find a fitting field in Tacitus; and with the materials ready to his hand, he need find no difficulty in giving to the world an edition which shall reach the required standard of scholarship and erudition.

edition of 'The Agamemnon,' conceived in this spirit, was a very creditable performance; and if he has not altogether transferred the sublime peculiarities of the Greek Pythagorean into our mother tongue, he has only failed where, perhaps, we should all fail; where Symmons and Blackie have been only partially successful; and where Potter, Sewell, and many others have not succeeded at all. But the courage with which he ventured to express his approbation of the somewhat unpopular attempt of Dr. Peile to determine the *rationale* of Greek idioms by analysing the mental operations which they express, and seeking for illustration in the requirements of our own language; his correct estimate of the special ideas, poetical, religious, and philosophic, which stamp so singular an impress upon the genius of the father of the Greek drama; his just and artistic appreciation of dramatic characters, and particularly of Clytemnestra's character; his power of detecting those points of likeness, or diversity, in ancient and modern literature, the critical development of which cause the former to become to us a vivid and intelligible reality; and, finally, his care and acuteness in all matters pertaining to the received philology;—all this gave promise of great future excellence when maturer powers should be combined with increased culture and more extended observation. The present edition of 'The Choephoræ' does not belie this promise. He himself tells us that it is 'the well-ripened fruit of wise delay;' and such it evidently is. Its pages bear the mark of much patient pondering, and well-exercised thought. Most happily, we think, he has united the exact observation of the letter with the cultivation of the spirit; the old, careful, critical commentary on the text, with the attempt to penetrate into the mind and meaning of the man. The general literature of the subject is ably discussed in the introduction, and the treatment of the great Agamemnonian legend by Æschylus well distinguished from the simplicity of the Homeric narrative, and the more vulgarized form which it assumed under the hands of Euripides. And the commentary itself goes far to fulfil the conditions which we have described as necessary to classical criticism, if classical criticism is to hold its ground. The power of throwing himself thoroughly into his author, which nothing but long study and familiarity can give, is, we think, very satisfactorily evinced by Professor Conington in his interpretation of the text. The *nexus sententiarum*, the latent links of thought often depending upon associations which belong to the idiosyncrasy of the author, mythological allusions, or obscure historical facts, are sagaciously worked out, and stated in a continuous form. This is well done throughout; but we may refer our readers for confirmation and

illustration to the notes extending from the 305th and the 480th line. They may also learn how good critical taste and tact conduct to the true meaning, where mere dry, verbal scholarship is at fault, by examining the explanation given of such passages as v. 201—4, 207, 208. At the same time, the more strictly critical and philological portion of the notes is sufficiently elaborate and exact to satisfy the most uncompromising adherents of the old school. Indeed, the Professor sometimes, though rarely, evokes the shades of those wonderful 'figures of speech,' which, like 'Lar and the old Penates,' formed the ungainly, but fondly-worshipped household divinities of the Old World generation of scholars. We do not hear much of Hyperbaton, Hypallage, Prostosemainomenon, and the like, though the citation of the 'Anacrusis of the Antispast,' from Bamberger, must have warmed the heart of Dr. Bloomfield, if that worthy editor has condescended to the perusal of so unorthodox a commentary. But, at any rate, Professor Conington does not merely dogmatise after the old fashion upon these questions; he is prepared to render a reason for his faith; and, unlike those with whom we have compared him, if we are obliged to differ, he gives us something to differ from. With respect to the delicate and difficult question of textual emendation, he takes up what we are more and more inclined to believe is the only legitimate ground, and on the rare occasions where he resorts to conjecture is fairly successful. To a certain extent, *nascitur emendator non fit.* But extensive reading and many trials may partially supply the place of natural aptitude. We should imagine that Professor Conington's emendations are derived rather from the former than from the latter source. We miss that brilliant intuition which distinguishes the happier efforts of Dr. Badham; but we always find sound sense supported by careful scholarship. And perhaps the second is the less perilous power after all. It may happen that the appetite for conjectural improvement will follow the course described by Hermann. The young scholar rushes forward, impelled by a sort of 'furia Francese,' to do battle with the grammatical anomalies of MSS. In time, his ardour cools; and he sees reason to repent of an impetuosity which not unfrequently results in the very evils by which it has been excited. 'Initio 'nihil non corruptum esse suspicatur; ubi autem maturuit 'scientia, paullatim intellegit, multo minus corruptos ad nos 'pervenisse veteres scriptores, quam a criticis esse corruptos.' (Herm. ad Medeam.) But it may also happen that the matter takes a different turn. The emendator is successful; and success is a dangerous temptation. 'Increase of appetite doth grow with what it feeds on.' The restorer of corrupt passages

would be always restoring; but as corrupt passages are happily not subject to the law of increase, he is compelled to resort to those which need no emendation; and sooner than permit his conjectural faculty to become rusty from disuse, he exercises it, at last, as wildly as Bentley did upon Milton, and Burgess does upon everything inscribed upon parchment or paper. Professor Conington, as we have said, takes up what we feel assured is the right position in this matter. It is, on the one hand, most undesirable to alter, and print your alteration of everything in the text which appears exceptionable. A faulty reading may contain a trace of the true one. A bad emendation will probably obliterate it. The successive guesses of editors, each more ingenious than its predecessor, overlay the original passage so entirely that the writer himself would never recognise his own thought. And sometimes increased experience shows that the supposed error ought, in all wise, to be retained. How much of the Greek language would ere this have been swept away if scholars had always worked their will, and expunged from the text every usage which they could not reconcile with the state of linguistic knowledge existing at their own time? And even yet, we have not passed beyond the possibility of such literary deputation. Even yet, for instance, persons are to be found who would condemn to unconditional banishment every instance of the naked optative occurring without *ἂν*, except in the strictly optative sense of a wish or aspiration; whereas we believe the usage to be as legitimate, and to possess as distinct a sense, as any in the language. On the other hand, it is equally undesirable to take under our protection every monstrous form of speech which a MS. may present. Such commentators as Wellaner, who exult over a solecism, and welcome with delight a reading which no man, under the present conditions of human intelligence, shall ever understand, are, in their own way, quite as offensive and mischievous as those re-writers of the ancient poets and historians, whose names we do not care to specify. If the ingenuity of the latter gentlemen could almost dispense with MSS. at all, the blind belief in them of the former far transcends the limits which separate reasonable faith from superstition. Cicero, even in his days, could complain in a very remarkable passage, 'De Latinis libris quo me vertam nescio, ita mendose et scribuntur et veneant.' (Ad Fam. iii. 5.) If such was the case with Latin works, Greek would probably be in a still more evil plight. Where, then, the necessity is imperative, and the remedy plain, it would be mere unreasoning obstinacy to reject an excellent emendation. Some variety of opinion will assuredly always exist as to the particular emendations which meet these requirements; but this is the common

condition of all human affairs. The right course in this, as in all other matters, is not to be determined without labour, thought, discipline, and experience. Doubtless, it is as well for scholarship as it is for morality that this should be the case. A firm belief in the fact protects us against our own presumption and the sciolism of others; but on this, we cannot enlarge. We have said enough, we trust, to induce our readers to examine Professor Conington's 'Choephoræ' for themselves, for it is no part of our design to write a commendation of any book or man, *per se*. We are anxious about the state of classical scholarship; anxious about its future prospects, and the probable state of public opinion upon the subject. And we have written because we entertain some very positive views respecting the method under which it must be pursued, if it is still to retain the influence which it has long and usefully exercised upon the national mind. One very important element in that method is the time-honoured practice of editing a Greek play. We have explained our opinion as to the right way of doing this; and we now invite our readers, if they share our belief in the importance of the matter, to test our conclusions by comparing the present edition of 'The Choephoræ' with the far-famed performances of a similar character by English scholars of the last generation. If our principles are sound, Professor Conington will not suffer from juxtaposition with the great names of Porson, Elmsley, Monk, and Blomfield. Nay, we even think that there are some traces of special and national excellences in his work, which render it as able a performance as if it had been written beyond the Rhine. We sincerely trust that no jealousy at home may, in any way, blind our schools and universities to the fact; and assuming the appropriate function of the ancient chorus, we will conclude in the words of worthy old Eupolis:—

> Ἀλλ' ἀκοίετ' ὦ θεαταὶ τἀμὰ καὶ ξυνίετε
> ῥῆματ'· εὐθὺς γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἀπολογήσομαι,
> ὅ τι παθόντες τοὺς ξένους μὲν λέγετε ποιητὰς σοφούς,
> ἢν δέ τις τῶν ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ἓν χεῖρον φρονῶν
> ἐπιτιθῆται τῇ ποιήσει, πάνυ δοκεῖ κακῶς φρονεῖν,
> μαίνεταί τε καὶ παραῤῥεῖ τῶν φρενῶν τῷ σῷ λόγῳ.
> ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε πάντως μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους
> μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῇ χαίρῃ νέων.

We have trespassed so long upon our readers' attention that we are compelled to defer to a future occasion a few remarks of a critical character, which the notes appear to demand.

ART. II.—*Ancient Collects and other Prayers, for the Use of Clergy and Laity; selected from various Rituals.* By WILLIAM BRIGHT, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford, Theological Tutor of Trinity College, Glenalmond. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker.

'I HAVE been studying,' said General Paoli to Dr. Johnson, 'the ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages.' 'Why, sir,' replied Johnson, 'they are very curious.' The one and the other spoke of the pursuit as of something which might occupy some six or eight weeks of a busy man's leisure time: and that was about the idea which the last century had formed of the various Church works and Church sciences of the Middle Ages. Notice how completely such books even as Wheatley's ignore all liturgical writers previous to the Reformation; how to him, and to such as him, the Millennium, which elapsed between the time of Justinian to that of Luther, is a pure blank. How little could the men of that generation, so wise in their own conceit, so contentedly and equally anathematizing Rome on the one hand, and Methodism on the other, form an idea of the distinct and separate sciences, each of them not to be acquired but by the labour of a life, which the narrowest boundary of the term Ecclesiology must needs embrace! Art on the one side, Antiquarianism on the other. Art, with her separate divisions of architecture, music, painting, and the crafts and mechanical studies that minister to all these; the precious works of the needle, in which England by the consent of all stood first; the various schools of glass painting, the work of the potter, the enamels of Limoges, the manipulation which could raise a Quentin Matsys to the very first rank of artists, and endue the flowers of the field with the cold metallic life of iron and brass;—all this on the one side: on the other, the gradual compilation of Liturgy, Office, Sacramentary, the living kernel of devotion enshrined in its art-shell, the breath of life, animating the otherwise worthless, though glorious, forms of mediæval skill. On which of these subjects might not volumes on volumes be written? On Hagiology? Let those patient Fathers of Brussels, now in the third century of their labour, toiling on with the Bollandist October, answer the question. Then we need a history of the Missal, tracing it out in its various European families. We want the wealth that can first amass a library full of those invaluable Incunabula, printed according to the use of all the more celebrated Churches of Europe; from those which *Norway gave us*, the Missale Nidrosiense and Upsalense, to those

of Seville and Evora in the far south, and those of Dantzic, Strigonia, and Cracow, on the confines of the Eastern Church; glorious tomes bound in half-inch oak or chesnut, armed, and nobbed, and studded with wrought brass or silver, scaled, tortoise-fashion, with metallic lappets, and bound together by the hogskin back, relic of boars that had fattened themselves plentifully in great forests of beech; those volumes that have initials of such marvellous splendour, with flowers and fruitage curling down the side of the page, or symbolising in their very pattern the meaning of the Epistle or Gospel which they prelude. All these books have to be collected, divided according to their families, need their histories related, their various developments and corruptions set forth, till the outbreak of the Reformation on the one side, or the all-grasping, all-levelling interference of Rome on the other, drove them from the cathedral choir into the royal or municipal library. And if the Missal needs this history, equally so does the Breviary. Let the reader try, as the writer has done, for nearly twenty years, and he will find that scarcely a third-rate town in France or Germany but will yield him, in its library, some ancient Breviary of a family hitherto unknown to him. We could specify, at the present moment, between three and four hundred of a date anterior to the Reformation; and, in all probability, that amount is not the half that diligent examination could produce. What further are we to say of Hymnology, the history of which remains still to be written? What of the endless varieties of Antiphons and Responses? What of Antiphonaries, Sequentiaries, Graduals, Processionals, Benedictionals, and their countless varieties? Surely this, that the science of Ecclesiology is truly infinite. Well may that noble description in the Wisdom of Solomon, consequent on the 'command to build a temple upon 'Thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein Thou dwellest, 'a resemblance of the holy tabernacle which Thou hast prepared 'from the beginning,' be applied to the treasures of art and learning laid up in the storehouse of the Catholic Church.

Of one small division of this great shrine it is our purpose now to speak. We have in various preceding papers given some account of the general arrangement of Missals and Breviaries,—have endeavoured to show the grand distinctive features of the various liturgical families of East and West, while no long time since we offered some remarks on the basis of all Catholic rituals, the Psalter. From the *Lex Psallendi*, we naturally turn to the *Lex Orandi;* and we now propose to say something as to the character, history, and various modifications of actual prayers, whether Collects or Litanies, both in the East and West. The subject is entirely new; and we must

therefore entreat the reader's pardon if, in endeavouring to untwist a somewhat tangled skein, we should sometimes ourselves become confused; if, where we have scarcely a guide to precede us, we should be guilty of occasional mistakes.

The prayers to which we are about to direct the reader's attention, may conveniently be divided into six classes:—

1. Collects, properly so called.
2. Longer prayers, such as have no distinctive name, but are the Euchai of the Eastern Church.
3. Litanies.
4. Illations.
5. Exhortations.
6. Responsory Prayers; the *Preces* of Lauds, Prime, and Vespers.
7. Benedictions.

Each of these we will by turns consider, and we will commence with the Collect. The derivation of the word is uncertain. It may be because the substance of the prayer is *collected* from the Epistle and Gospel which it accompanies; or much more probably, because into that prayer the priest *collects* the wishes and supplications of the by-standing faithful. This much better agrees with the Greek synonym, *Synapte*.

A Collect, then, is (1) a liturgical prayer; (2) must be short; (3) embraces but one main petition; (4) consists but of one sentence; (5) asks through the merits of our Lord; and (6) ends properly with an ascription of praise to the Blessed Trinity. It is a composition belonging to the Western Church; for, as is well known, the Eastern Church has nothing resembling it. In the East, 1. There is no varying Collect for Sunday and Festival. 2. The prayers are almost all lengthy. 3. They form various sentences, and embrace a variety of particulars; and 4, they do not, in so many words, base their request on our Lord's merits.

There is nothing more wonderful than the immense variety of the Collects said, or that have been said, in the Western Church. Numerous as those are which the Latin Communion still possesses, a still larger number have probably perished in the destruction and desolation of Diocesan Missals. Our own Prayer-book contains less than a hundred. It might not be difficult to find, without searching very far, a thousand of equal beauty; and Mr. Bright, in the little book which stands at the head of our article, has done good service in familiarizing the English reader with a few of these.

The construction of Collects is on a plan which is tolerably unvarying. When fully developed, it consists of five parts.

1. The Invocation.

2. The Antecedent Reason of the Petition.
3. The Petition itself.
4. The benefit which, if it be granted, we hope to obtain.
5. The Conclusion.

Take an example.

1. Almighty God.
2. Who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves.
3. Keep us both outwardly in our bodies and inwardly in our souls.
4. That we may be defended . . . . hurt the soul.
5. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

This, as we have said, is the fullest version of a Collect, though the Petition may sometimes consist of two or more members. Frequently the fourth clause is omitted: still more frequently the second: rarely both.

Let us now, by way of understanding better these Collects, go through the more interesting half of the Church's year,—from Advent to Trinity, with a comparison of the Collect for the day in various uses. We must remember that the one English Collect supplies the place of the Collect, the Secreta, and the Post Communio, of the Roman Church; all of them in like manner varying with the Festival: although the Collect, the Maxima Collecta, (the Oratio Supersindonem of the Ambrosian rite,) is almost always the fullest and richest. We will take as a specimen of the rites of various Churches—1. The Roman; 2. The Sarum; 3. Our own English Prayer-book; 4. As an example of a Mediæval German rite, the Liège; 5. The Aquilæan; and 6. The Modern Paris. To these we will add as an example of that reform which it was intended at the revolution to carry out, the amended Collects proposed in the Royal Commission, but which were never presented to Convocation, and which lay buried in the library at Lambeth till a Parliamentary vote the other day dragged them out to light. A diligent comparison of documents so various and yet all so illustrative of the times and circumstances under which they were composed, cannot be without its advantage.

It has always appeared to us that in beginning the arrangement of the yearly Collects, the English Reformers had intended to deviate far more widely from the Sarum use, than they afterwards found it convenient to do. The Collects for the three first Sundays in Advent have no resemblance in the Missal and in the Prayer-book. The ancient Missals to which we have referred give it thus (and we may observe once for all that, where we quote the Roman alone, it is because the Sarum, Liège, and Aquilæan agree with it):—

'Raise up, we beseech Thee, O LORD, Thy power, and cause that from the imminent perils of our sins we may merit through Thy protection to be delivered, and through Thy liberation to be saved.'

Our Reformers, dismissing the ancient form, composed a fresh one from the Epistle; not without its own beauty, but at the same time containing an awkwardness in its arrangement which would at once prove it of later date.

That for the Second Sunday in Advent is as follows:—

'Stir up, O LORD, our hearts to prepare the ways of Thy Only-Begotten Son, that, through His Advent, we may merit to serve Thee with purified minds.'

Here, again, our Reformers have formed their Collect from the Epistle.

In like manner with the third.

'We beseech Thee, O LORD, to bow down Thine ears to our prayers, and enlighten the darkness of our minds by the grace of Thy visitation.'

So here, once more, our Reformers compounded their Collect from the Epistle, though with a glance here and there at the more ancient form.

In the fourth Sunday we find them for the first time translating from the old Collect, but so translating as to lose almost wholly its true spirit and emphasis. In the original it is addressed to GOD the SON; and with the dramatic effect which permeates every ecclesiastical office, calls upon Him,—as if the work of our redemption were not yet begun,—to raise up His power and succour us, to be born, as it were, for our sakes. In our version, this beautiful realization of the approaching festival is lost: the silver is become dross, the wine is mixed with water; the prayer is now addressed to 'GOD the FATHER,' and ends, 'through the satisfaction of Thy SON, our LORD,' &c. In these Advent Collects, then, our Prayer-book falls short of its original; we shall find in many that succeed, that this is far from being the case. King William's Divines still further injured this Collect, merely transcribing the Epistle:—'O LORD, 'Who hast given us cause of perpetual joy by the coming of 'Thy Son, our Saviour, among us, raise up Thy power, we 'pray Thee, and possess us with a mighty *sense of Thy wonder-* '*ful love,* (!) that whereas through the cares of this life we are 'sore let and hindered in running the race,' &c.

On Christmas-day it has usually been thought that our Prayer-book had adopted an original Collect. 'The Collect 'for this day,' says Palmer, 'is not directly translated from the 'ancient Offices of the Church.' It is true that the Roman and Sarum uses give a perfectly different prayer:—'Grant, we 'beseech Thee, Almighty GOD, that the new birth of Thine '*Only-Begotten* SON in the flesh, may liberate us whom ancient

'slavery held under the yoke of sin.' But we have noted our own Collect in more than one German Missal: a fact which ought to be known to English liturgical scholars.

On S. Stephen's Day, our Prayer-book has, in our opinion, a clear advantage over its original. The Gregorian Prayer is somewhat lean and poor. 'Grant to us, LORD, we beseech 'Thee, to imitate that which we celebrate, that we may learn 'to love our enemies, because we celebrate his birthday, who 'could pray even for his persecutors to our LORD JESUS CHRIST.' And the same remark may apply to that for S. John. The *Ecclesiam tuam benignus illustra* is but poor compared with its exquisite development, 'Merciful LORD, we beseech Thee to cast Thy bright beams of light upon Thy Church.' If the reader wishes for a bathos, he has only to turn to King William's book: 'Merciful GOD, Who art light, and in Whom 'is no darkness at all, enlighten our minds, we humbly be-'seech Thee, with such a full understanding of the doctrine 'taught by Thy blessed Apostle and Evangelist S. John, that 'we, walking in the truth and in all holiness and purity of 'life, may have fellowship with Thee and Thy Son JESUS 'CHRIST, by Whose blood being cleansed from all our sins, we 'may at length attain to everlasting life.'

The first Prayer-book of Edward VI. gives the Collect for Holy Innocents from the original:—'Almighty GOD, Whose 'praise this day the young innocents, Thy witnesses, both 'confessed and shewed forth, not in speaking, but in dying: 'mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our conversation our 'life may express Thy faith, which with our tongues we do 'confess, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.' So far as we know, our present composition is original; it seems no improvement on the old Collect. King William's Divines have, however, sunk far beneath it:—'O most Blessed GOD, Who, having sent 'Thy Son in our nature, didst preserve Him in His Infancy 'from the malice of Herod, by whom many other children were 'slain, grant that in all dangers and adversities we may put 'our whole trust and confidence in Thee, and do Thou by Thy 'good providence preserve us from the rage of unreasonable 'and wicked men, or strengthen us by patient sufferings to 'glorify Thy Holy Name, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. 'Amen.'

It were difficult to say why the Sunday in the Octave of Christmas has no especial Collect: its original one has certainly no small beauty:—'Almighty, everlasting GOD, direct 'our acts according to Thy good will; that in the name of 'Thine Only-Begotten Son, we may be fruitful in all good 'works.'

In the *Circumcision* we have—what is not usual—deep theo-

logical teaching slurred over for the sake of a smoother prayer; and it is worth noticing how the same process takes place in the Parisian Missal as in our own. The Collect in the Roman and most other Missals is simply a prayer for the intercession of S. Mary: that which our compilers were imitating is a Gregorian Benediction 'On the Octaves of the LORD:'—'Almighty GOD, Whose Only-Begotten SON received corporal 'circumcision on this day, to the end that He might not destroy 'the law which He came to fulfil, purify your minds by spiritual 'circumcision from all the incentives of vice, and pour upon you 'His benediction.' We see how our own Prayer-book polishes this Benediction, losing at the same time some of its value: the Gallican compilers write thus:—'O GOD, Who being made 'Man for our sakes, didst vouchsafe as on this day to be circumcised, and to receive that name of JESUS: grant, of Thy 'mercy, that we, renouncing the works of the flesh, may obtain 'the reward of eternal salvation by the invocation of Thy Holy 'Name; Who with the Father,' &c.

On the Epiphany, we have a mere translation of the Sarum rite. The Parisian agrees with it. King William's Commissioners do little more than dilute it, without any material change in the substance.

First Sunday after Epiphany.—Our Prayer-book sadly falls short of the pithy vigour, and what the French would call *verve*, of the Collect from which this is taken:—'Ut et quæ agenda sunt videant, et ad implenda quæ viderint convalescant:' where notice the admirable force of the last word, and especially of its preposition, so feebly expressed by the 'may also have grace and power.' The Commissioners dilute it in the following fashion:—'O GOD, Whose infinite mercies in our blessed 'Saviour encourage us to call upon Thee: we beseech Thee 'graciously to hear us, and grant that we may both perceive 'and know what is Thy good and acceptable and perfect will 'revealed in us, and also,' &c. We can find no variation in the ordinary Liturgies.

Second Sunday after Epiphany.—Again a literal translation from the Sarum. All the books agree. The Commissioners:—'and so rule and guide us, that we may do our duties faithfully, 'in their several places and relations, constantly abhorring that 'which is evil,' &c. &c.; taking it, according to their usual fashion, from the Epistle.

Third Sunday after Epiphany.—Again a translation: except that 'in all our dangers and necessities,' is an addition of the compilers. Notice how beautifully, in the original Office, the 'right hand' of the LORD, stretched out in the Gospel to heal *the leper*, prayed for in the Collect to be our own defence, is *glorified in the* 'Offertory:' 'The right hand of the LORD hath

'the pre-eminence; the right hand of the LORD bringeth mighty 'things to pass.' The Commissioners, as usual, insert a large portion of the Epistle.

Fourth Sunday after Epiphany.—Here the famous expression, 'that by reason of the frailty of our nature we cannot always stand upright,' is, probably, as good a translation as can be made of 'pro humana fragilitate non posse subsistere.' By the Commissioners it is softened down into 'that in many things we offend all.' There seems very little connexion between this Collect and the Epistle: whether taken, as in our Book, from the beginning of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; or, as in the Sarum and Roman, from the eighth and following verses. But it is worthy of notice, that there is a very strong connexion between our Collect and the Mozarabic Epistle,—the complaint of S. Paul in Romans vii., regarding the struggle of the two natures. One cannot but think that the two were originally co-existent for this Sunday. The curious difference in the termination of the Sarum and our Collect, is not easily to be explained. Instead of 'as may support us in all dangers, and carry us through all temptations,' the original has, 'that the things which for our sins we suffer, by Thy help we may overcome.'

We will now go on to Septuagesima.—Here all the books seem to agree. The Commissioners introduce a long insertion as to the Christian race from the Epistle.

Sexagesima.—Here the more ancient books have, for the conclusion, instead of 'mercifully grant that by Thy power we may be defended against all adversity,'—'mercifully grant, that 'by the protection of the Doctor of the Gentiles, we may be 'defended against all adversity;' a clause, which, from its very nature, is not of remote antiquity, and which manifestly has reference to the actions of S. Paul, as related in the Epistle. Quignon, who eliminates several passages of a similar kind, allows this to remain. But in the Parisian, instead of 'Doctoris Gentium protectione,' we have, 'Gratiæ tuæ protectione.'

Quinquagesima.—Here the compilers of our Prayer-book introduce a new Collect: and, it will scarcely be denied, to the manifest improvement of the Office. The key-note of the whole service for Quinquagesima is, and ought to be, 'the greatest of these is charity:' but to that charity the Sarum Collect makes not the slightest reference. 'We beseech Thee, O 'LORD, graciously to receive our prayers, and having freed us 'from the chains of our sins, to preserve us from all adversity;' —a mere repetition of what has occurred in previous prayers. Ours must be regarded as one of the most successful of modern compositions in this line. The Commissioners leave it almost unaltered.

Ash-Wednesday.—Our Collect is rather a *résumé* of that recited at the benediction of the ashes, than a literal translation of any. It is rather wonderful, that the Collect for the first Sunday in Lent was not transposed with this. At the same time, it shows the most venerable antiquity of these compositions, that fasting should be for the first time mentioned, not on the Wednesday, but on the Sunday: the four extra days being, as every one knows, of comparatively modern introduction. They were not introduced into the Mozarabic ritual till the revision of Cardinal Ximenes. And here, in entering on Lent, it is impossible not to bewail the ritual loss we experience in the rejection of the daily varying Collects during that most holy time. That there is a certain amount of sameness in them, may not be denied: but, surely, had it been thought not desirable to retain all, every Wednesday and Friday might at least have been distinguished by their own. We will give examples of these for one week, noting the variations in varying rituals. And for that purpose we will take the first Sunday in Lent.

The First Week, Monday.—The Roman and Sarum:—'Turn 'us again, O God of our salvation: and, to the end that our 'fast of forty days may profit us, instruct our minds with Thy 'celestial discipline.'

Parisian:—'Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that our fasts 'may be acceptable to Thee: that by purifying us, they may 'make us worthy of Thy grace, and may bring us to eternal 'glory.' And this is the general Collect for the day in most of the modern French Breviaries, although some few, as the Rouen, agree with Rome.

Let us turn to the Ambrosian. The first of the five at Lauds is the same as the Roman. The second:—'We beseech 'Thee, O Lord, vouchsafe to hear, of Thy mercy, the morning 'prayers of Thy servants; and to them that desire to attain to 'Thee, let the door of Thy indulgence ever stand open.' The third:—'God, Who sheddest forth light at the morning hour, 'guard, we beseech Thee, of Thy mercy, our steps, that while 'we walk in good works, the faith of believers may ever shine 'forth in us.' The fourth:—'Sanctify, O Lord, we beseech 'Thee, our fasts; and, of Thy mercy, give us the pardon of 'all our faults.' The fifth:—'Stretch forth, O God, Thy hand 'over us, and bestow upon us the help of celestial virtue.'

From the Ambrosian, turn we to the Mozarabic. The Collects at Matins are as follows:—'Although, O Lord, the multitude of 'our enemies may deny that there is any help for us in Thee; 'yet the strength of our hope is mightily increased, because 'Thou didst vouchsafe to undertake our cause. Wherefore the 'mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped, since perpetual

'mercy surrounds them that put their trust in Thee.' The second:—'O LORD, with Whom is the full salvation of righteous-'ness, and the perfection of incorruptible beatitude; grant to 'us that we may pass the time in the meditation of Thy law by 'day and night, and may forsake the way of sinners, and the 'seat of the scornful; to the end that, like a tree which bringeth 'forth its fruits in due season, planted by the rivers of waters, 'we may be full of fruits, and beautified with grace.' The third:—'Let Thy discipline both join us to Thee by holy fear, 'and by fear, bring us to Thy joy: and, to the end that we 'may not depart from the path of righteousness, restrain us; 'and, to the end that we may attain to felicity, give us faith in 'Thee.'

Notice the marvellous difference between the brevity of the Roman, the quaint amplification of the Ambrosian, and the derivation from the Psalter, of the Mozarabic rite. It helps to give one some idea of what the treasury of the Church really is, when one calls to mind their countless Collects, each composed, not for the sake of appearing in an Office, but as the real utterance of some soul in affliction or distress; composed at the expense of how much suffering, collected and arranged at the price of how much labour; starting from so many different points, twining themselves round so many passages of Scripture, employing so many varied forms of expression! Commentators admire, and rightly, the richness of our own Collects. But what, when instead of one a week, there are three or four for each Hour of the day? and what, still further, when we take the aggregate of all these Offices, and consider them as a whole? To us it is perfectly marvellous what multitudes of exquisitely beautiful prayers, once the daily heritage of thousands who have now entered into their rest, are now absolutely lost; dead prayers, as it were, to be found in folios which but few scholars open, and they principally for antiquarian, rather than for religious, purposes. The two folios of the Mozarabic ritual, absolutely unused, except in a few Spanish churches; the Ambrosian, confined but to one province, and beyond that exercising no influence whatever.

We will proceed to the Tuesday.

Roman and Sarum:—'Look down, we beseech Thee, O 'LORD, upon Thy family, and grant that our souls may through 'Thy love be accounted glorious with Thee, forasmuch as they 'chasten themselves by the mortification of the flesh.'

The Parisian:—'Preserve, O LORD, Thy family, so as to be 'ever instructed in good works; and so console it with Thy pre-'sent assistance, that Thou mayest of Thy mercy lead it on to 'eternal joys.'

Ambrosian. *First Prayer*, the same as the Roman. Second:—

'Pour forth in our hearts, Almighty GOD, the pure and serene 'light of Thy truth; that we may have no portion in the dark-'ness of sin, who have merited to know and to fear the eternal 'life.' The third:—'Hear us, O GOD of our salvation, and 'exclude from the consent of our will all evil concupiscence; 'that since we know Thee to be the true light, we may not be 'entangled by any chains of the world.' Fourth Prayer:—'Let our prayers, O LORD, ascend to Thee, and repel all wicked-'ness from Thy Church.' Fifth Prayer:—'Grant to us, LORD, 'we beseech Thee, to lay aside perverse dispositions, and ever 'to love holy justice.'

Mozarabic. First Prayer:—'Give, O LORD, fortitude to Thy 'people against all adversities, and enrich Thy servants with 'the gift of peace; that according to the abundance of their 'quiet, they may with one voice celebrate Thy praise in Thy 'temple, and, forgetting the ills of their life, may ever offer 'glory and honour to Thy Majesty.' Second Prayer:—'For-'give, O LORD, the wickedness of our hearts, for which every 'one that is godly maketh his prayer to Thee in an acceptable 'time; and give us understanding, through the prayers which 'we offer, and instruct us in the path of this life, along which 'we journey.' Third Prayer:—'Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O 'LORD, in the hearts of Thy servants, the joy of the righteous 'which is in Thee, that Thy praise, which becometh well the 'just, may expel all depravity from our senses.'

These specimens may serve as an example of the infinite richness of such supplications. We will now continue the ordinary course of the Sundays.

First Sunday in Lent. Our Collect is scarcely more than a distant imitation of the Roman and Sarum:—'GOD, Which 'purifiest Thy Church by the yearly observation of the forty 'days' fast, grant to Thy servants that the things which by 'abstinence they endeavour to obtain from Thee, they may 'through good works achieve.' Mr. Palmer quotes an Ambrosian Collect, which hardly bears a stronger resemblance to that of our Prayer-book. We can find no variation in the French or German Liturgies. The Commissioners, besides diluting the prayer, think fit to prefix what they call a sermon or homily, containing about ten lines, and in which they say:—'It is most earnestly recommended to all persons, but more 'particularly to all Churchmen, to observe that time religiously, 'not placing fasting or devotion in any distinction of meats, 'but spending larger portions of their time in prayer,' &c.

Second Sunday in Lent.—The Collect is almost a verbal translation; in the Gospel we follow the Sarum, which here *curiously* differs from the Roman, use. The latter reads the *Transfiguration* from S. Matthew; and some of the most striking

discourses of Italian preachers have been delivered on this day. But it is remarkable that Durandus explains our Gospel, and makes no allusion to the Roman: so does Sicardus. And this also was the case in the greater part of the Churches of Germany.

Third Sunday in Lent.—Except that the epithet in '*hearty* desires' is added, and that the object of God's defence, 'against all our enemies,' is subjoined, ours is a literal translation of the Sarum Collect. This Sunday is, by Latin liturgists, said to set forth to us more especially the doctrine and the duty of Confession, its key-note being that passage in the Gospel:—'When the devil was gone out, the dumb spake.' In the Mozarabic Office, though both Epistle and Gospel are entirely different, the idea is evidently the same; the raising of Lazarus involving the doctrine of absolution in 'Loose him and let him go;' and the Benediction in Lauds brings out this idea very strongly.

Fourth and Fifth Sundays in Lent.—Here again our Collects are almost verbal translations of the Sarum. It may well be asked why, when everything else on Passion Sunday directs us more immediately to the subject on which from that day forward our thoughts are to be employed, the Collect should in no respect differ from those of the other Sundays in Lent.

The Parisian Missal substitutes another in its place:—'O 'God, Who by the Passion of Thine Only-Begotten Son, and by 'His humiliation, even unto death, hast destroyed the pride of 'the ancient enemy: grant to Thy faithful people that they 'may both worthily remember that which He endured for us, 'and may by His example patiently bear all adversity; Who 'liveth,' &c.

Even the Commissioners of William the Third saw the propriety of a Passion Collect, as well as Epistle and Gospel. 'O Almighty God, Who hast sent Thy Son Christ, to be an 'High Priest of good things to come, and by His own Blood 'to enter in once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal 'redemption for us; mercifully look upon Thy people, that 'by the same Blood of our Saviour, Who through the eternal 'Spirit offered Himself without spot unto Thee, our consciences 'may be purged from dead works, to serve Thee, the living 'God, that we may receive the promise of eternal inheritance, 'through Jesus Christ, our Lord.'

Palm Sunday.—The Collect is again a mere translation; but it must be confessed that the arrangement of the Gospels for the following week is the great blot in the ritual of our Prayer-book. Let us compare their arrangement in ours, the Roman, the Mozarabic, and the Ambrosian books.

English Prayer-book.	Roman.	Mozarabic.	Ambrosian.
Palm Sunday.. S. Matt. xxvii ...	The Passion from S. Matt.	S. John xi. 55 to xii. 13.	S. John xi. 55 to xii. 11.
Monday ..... S. Mark xiv.....	S. John xii. 1—9.....	No especial Gospel.	S. Luke xxi. 34—38.
Tuesday..... S. Mark xv.....	The Passion from S. Mark	No especial Gospel.	S. John ii. 47—54.
Wednesday .... S. Luke xxii.....	The Passion from S. Luke	S. Matt. xxvi. 1—16.	S. Matt. xxvi. 1—5.
MaundyThurs. S. Luke xxiii.....	S. John xiii. 1—15.....	S. Luke xxii.	S. Matt. xxvi. 17 to end.
Good Friday ... S. John xix.....	The Passion from S. John	A kind of harmony of the Passion.	S. Matt. xxvii.
Easter Eve..... S. Matt. xxvii. 57	S. Matt. xxviii. 1—7.....	S. Matt. 28.	S. Matt. xxviii. 1—7.

In the same way let us now take the Epistles:—

English Prayer-book.	Roman.	Mozarabic.	Ambrosian.
Palm Sunday.. Philip ii. 1—11..	Philip ii. 1—11.....	Gal. i. 3—13.	2 Thess. ii. 15 to iii. 5.
Monday ..... Isaiah lxiii.....	Isaiah l. 5—10.....	No especial Epistle	Isaiah l. 5—10.
Tuesday..... Isaiah l. 5—10 ...	Jer.	No especial Epistle.	Jer. xi. 18—20.
Wednesday .... Heb. ix. 16—28..	Isaiah liii	1 S. John ii. 12—17.	Is. lxii. 11. to lxiii. 7.
MaundyThurs. 1 Cor. xi. 17—34.	1 Cor. xi. 17—32.....	1 Cor. xi. 17—34.	1 Cor. xi. 20—34.
Good Friday... Heb. x. 1—25. ...	Exodus xii. 1—11.....	1 Cor. v. 6 to vi. 11.	Isaiah xlix. 24 to l. 11.
Easter Eve..... 1 S.Pet. iii.17—22	Col. iii. 1—4.	Rom. vi. 1—11.	Eph. iv. 1—6. (1)

It must not be thought, however, that the Roman is by any means the exact norm of the provincial uses of the Western Church in this week. Retaining the ancient use, it here has a Prophecy on the Wednesday, on the Friday, and twelve on the Saturday. Many German Missals have a prophecy for every day of the week; the Aquilæan agrees with them.

As it may well be imagined, the Church seems to have, so to speak, exerted herself that her prayers for Holy Week should be worthy of the season. Departing a little from the strict classification with which we commenced, we will here give a few specimens of some of the most beautiful. Unfortunately, the Mozarabic, Ambrosian, and Eastern rites are so completely sealed books to most students, that we need not apologise for a few somewhat lengthened quotations; and truly glad shall we be if anything that we shall say shall incline them to explore for themselves those treasures of liturgical composition. We will venture to assert, that if the Chaplains of the Archbishop of Canterbury would condescend to give but one week's attention to such books as these, we should be spared the remarkable compositions which on every state fast or festival inundate the English Church.

How magnificent, for example, is this Collect from the Mozarabic Breviary, at Matins for Monday in Holy Week:—

'Arise, O Lord, not from sleep, not from place, not from time, O infinite and eternal Watch; that since many persecute, many harass Thy little flock, Thou, our Redeemer and Defender, wouldest be present as our Hope in the storm, our Shelter in the heat, and tread under foot the fierceness and the evil councils of them that rise up against us, and scatter the collected thousands of them that surround us.'

Or again this, at Sexts, on the same day:—

'Christ, the Son of God, Who, in the extremity of Thy Passion, hadst gall and vinegar given Thee to drink by the Jews, grant to us that by this,

[1] But the Epistle and Gospel "in the Winter Church for the Baptized," are *Romans i. 1—7*, and S. John iii. 1—13.

the bitterness which Thou didst taste for us, we may be made joyful by drinking of the river of Thy pleasures; to the end that both the bitterness of Thy death may increase the sweetness of our love, and the power of Thy resurrection may manifest to us in its perfect beauty the promised glory of Thy face.'

Or again: let us turn to the glorious Missa in the Missal of the same Church, for Easter-day:—

'Let the heaven rejoice, and let the earth be glad: let the sea laugh, let the sun shine out; calm weather has returned, the pestilence is at an end; the tempest has ceased, the darkness has vanished, the Cross has purged the atmosphere, the Blood has purified, the Sun has healed the earth; thus did crucified GOD redeem man. But if we regard the immutability of His Majesty, it was by gifts, not by labour. Because when He, devising the means of redemption, had grieved over our loss, He assumed the body of our vileness, not because He could in no other way assist us against the tyranny of our fallen adversary, but to the end that the oracles of the Prophets might by this miracle of love be fulfilled. All the more certain knowledge, then, have they that are set free, that death wrought its work in the offence of the first transgressor, not through the weakness of man's frame, but through the exceeding vileness of sin: that the cause of destruction was not frailty, but deliberate will: that the origin of punishment was the decay, not inherent in the work, but wrought by the crime: that the condition of the guilt was brought to pass, not by sense but by consent (*non sensus statuit, sed consensus*): that the sin of the fall arose from the contumacy of the world, not from the negligence of the Creator. Let me ask thyself, now that the LORD has redeemed us, in what part of thy frame did the devil first destroy thee? Was there any flaw in it as it came from the hands of its Maker, which brought to pass its destruction? In thy members thou hadst certainly been stable, hadst thou not been unstable in keeping the commandments. The tempter obtained possession of thy soul in which was the pre-eminence of thy dignity. Thou seest that it was the act not of thy LORD, but of thyself, that thou didst perish. I will say it, O Almighty GOD, confessing the depravity of the old man, yet not ungrateful for our present state of liberty; he could never have been subject to captivity, had he not been lord of his own liberty. And in this, then, O merciful Judge, confessing both the pre-eminence of Thine own power, and the iniquity of our own transgression, we pray and beseech that henceforth we may neither be able nor willing to sin any more.'

This Missa is an excellent example of the antithetic style of the Mozarabic prayers: it is curious also to observe how the sentiments appear to have been influenced by the teaching of Faustus of Riez and others who, from the Augustinian party, received the name of Semi-Pelagians.

Take another example from the same book: it shall be the Illation for Easter Monday:—

'It is meet and right that we should render thanks to the Almighty FATHER, and to Thine only Son, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, descending from heaven, ceased not to humble Himself until He found the fugitive servant whom He was seeking, not that having found, He might destroy him, but, setting him free from the chains of diabolical damnation, that He might re-create him as His own possession. Wherein the free-will of Him that descended vouchsafed to endure a voluntary death, not an unavoidable necessity. For He was not unwillingly drawn down, Who descended into

hell by the path which the descending Saviour trod. He rose then the third day, alive from the dead, because He alone was found free among the dead. He accomplished the saying of the Prophet, uttered so long before, "After three days He will quicken us; the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight." According to which prefiguration, Jonah also, after his three days' imprisonment, was set free from the whale's belly; that the mystery of the Trinity might be manifested as co-operating in that which the Person of the SON alone undertook. Yes: He arose alive from the dead, because He was not obnoxious to destruction Who was free from sin. Nor could death hold Him captive Who was not buried by the death of transgression. Yes: He arose alive from the dead, who visited the place of death by the right of a Redeemer, not through the wickedness of a sinner. Death stood aghast at the Advent of the Almighty,—fearing its own death, and trembling with the terror of its own destruction; admired the LORD of Life, and feared Him as mighty whom it acknowledged as innocent; feared Him as the avenger, Whom it could not claim as the debtor. Because it is written, "O death, I will be thy death; O grave, I will be thy destruction." All these things, then, which were thundered forth of old time by the oracles of faithful Prophets, having been now accomplished, not only the heaven of heavens, with the whole army of the blessed angels, but the love of Thy faithful people here in exile, exults together with the seraphim in the hymn of due praise, saying: *R.* Holy, Holy,' &c.

At the risk of wearying our readers, we cannot refrain from quoting the Post-Pridie of the same Office, as one of the finest in the Mozarabic ritual.

'Doing this, Most Holy FATHER, we set forth the death of Thine Only-Begotten Son, by which we are redeemed, as He commanded us to do, till He Himself shall come. We have proclaimed that He died for our sakes: do Thou bestow on us the dignity of dying together with Him. We believe that He rose again; do Thou grant that we may rise from our daily falls. We believe and proclaim that He will come again to judge the world; do Thou grant us to have such a conversation, that we may merit to find that terrible Advent propitious to us. And we humbly beseech Thee that Thou wouldest accept and bless this oblation, as Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous child Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy chief priest Melchisedec offered to Thee. Here, we beseech Thee, let Thy benediction invisibly descend as of old time it descended on the sacrifices of the Fathers. Let the sweet smelling savour ascend in the sight of Thy Divine Majesty from this Thy glorious altar by the hands of Thy angel, and let Thy HOLY SPIRIT come down upon these mysteries and sanctify both the oblations and the vows of Thy people that offer, that whoever may partake of this body may receive spiritual medicine to heal the wounds of the heart, to expel every thought of vanity from the mind, to eradicate hatred, to implant perpetual charity, which covers the multitude of sins.'

Compare with these lengthened supplications the singularly short, and, to modern apprehension, cold Collects in the Ambrosian rite: this for example at Sexts, on Good Friday:—'Grant, 'we beseech Thee, Almighty and merciful GOD that, as the con-'demnation of Thy Son was the salvation of all, and the atonement 'for the rebellious, so, through Thy mercy, a common worship '*may be paid* to it by all that believe. Through,' &c.

Or again, at Vespers on the same day:—'Almighty Redeemer, 'merciful GOD, grant that the temporal death of Thy SON may, 'through our good works, become eternal life to us. Through,' &c.

Or again:—'Almighty, everlasting GOD, Who dost redeem us 'through the blessed Passion of Thy CHRIST, preserve in us the 'works of Thy mercy, that through the observance of this mystery 'we may live in perpetual devotion.'

Let the reader now compare with these some of the more striking passages from the Greek Offices. O what an inexhaustible treasury of devotion is laid up in those two quartos, the Triodion and the Pentecostarion! We have often thought that, if the poor overworked priest, compelled to prepare at odds and ends of time his two expected sermons on Good Friday, with nothing but the old used-up materials, known almost by heart before uttered, would but turn for half an hour to the 'Office of the Holy Sufferings,' or some other of those sublime compositions, what life, what energy, what pathos it would impart to his discourse! Collects, strictly speaking, as we have said, there are none; nor can we say that the following prayer satisfactorily supplies their place:—'GOD and LORD of powers, 'Artificer of all creation, Who through the mercies of Thine 'infinite compassion didst send forth Thine Only-Begotten Son 'JESUS CHRIST for the salvation of our race, and by His precious 'Blood didst blot out the handwriting of our sins that was 'against us, and didst triumph over the powers of darkness on 'the Cross: do Thou, O LORD, and Lover of men, receive also 'from us sinners these our thanksgivings and intercessions, and 'preserve us from every hurtful and blind fall, and from all 'that seek to hurt us, our enemies, visible or invisible. Transfix 'our flesh with Thy fear; and let not our hearts be turned 'aside to words or thoughts of wickedness, but inflame our 'souls with Thy love, that looking ever more intently to 'Thee, and led by the light which is with Thee, and beholding 'Thee, the unapproachable and eternal Splendour, we may 'send up to Thee ceaseless praises and thanksgivings, the 'Unbegotten FATHER, Thine Only-Begotten SON, and Thine 'all-holy and good and quickening SPIRIT, now and ever and to 'ages of ages.'

It must be confessed that this prayer, though occurring at Sexts on Good Friday, has nothing at all to distinguish it from any every-day supplication, and is quite unworthy of the place which it holds. But, in point of fact, it is the Odes of the Eastern Church which are its true prayers, though cast in a shape so widely differing from any Western usage. We will venture on one or two examples, translated not into prose, but, as their very nature seems to require, into verse. Instead of the

penitential Collects of the West, it is thus that the Eastern Church expresses herself on the Sunday of the Prodigal Son:—

The abyss of many a former sin
Encloses and engulphs me in:
Like billows my transgressions roll,
Be Thou the pilot of my soul;
And to salvation's harbour bring,
Thou Saviour, and Thou glorious King!

My father's heritage abused,
Wasted by lust, by sin misused;
To shame and want and misery brought,
The slave to many a fruitless thought,
I cry to Thee, Who lovest men,
Receive me to Thyself again!

In hunger now, no more possessed
Of that my portion bright and blest,
The exile and the alien see,
That yet would fain return to Thee:
And save me, LORD, who seek to raise,
To Thy dear love the hymn of praise!

With that blest thief my prayer I make,
Remember for Thy mercy's sake!
With that poor publican I cry,
Be merciful, O GOD Most High!
With that lost prodigal I fain
Back to my home would turn again.

Mourn, mourn, my soul, with earnest care,
And raise to CHRIST the contrite prayer,—
Thou of Thine own free will made poor,
My sorrows and my sins to cure,
Me, poor of all good works embrace,
Enriching with Thy boundless grace.

Or again: instead of a penitential Collect or Litany, listen to these stanzas from the "Great Canon:"—

Thou formedst me of clay,
O heavenly Potter! Thou
In fleshly vesture didst array,
With breath and life endow;
Thou, Who didst make, Who didst redeem, dost know—
To Thy repentant creature, mercy show.

My guilt for vengeance cries,
But yet Thou pitiest all;
And whom Thou lov'st Thou dost chastise,
And mourn'st for them that fall.
Thou, like a Father, mark'st our tears and pain,
And welcomest the Prodigal again.

I lie before Thy door;
O cast me not away,
Nor in my old age give me o'er
To Satan for a prey;
But ere the end of life and time and grace,
Thou Merciful, my many sins efface.

The priest beheld, and passed
The way he had to go;
A careless eye the Levite cast,
And left me in my woe.
But Thou, O JESU, Mary's Son, console,
Draw nigh, and succour me, and make me whole.

Thou spotless LAMB divine,
Who takest sins away,
Take Thou away the load that mine
Upon my conscience lay;
And of Thy tender mercy, grant Thou me,
To find remission of iniquity.

Once more: let the Easter prayers of the Mozarabic ritual, to which we have just referred, be compared with the "Canon" on Easter-day, the memorable composition of S. John Damascene.

ODE I.

'T is the day of Resurrection;
Earth, tell it out abroad:
The Passover of gladness,
The Passover of GOD.
From death to life eternal,
From this world to the sky,
Our CHRIST hath brought His people,
With hymns of victory.

Our hearts be pure from evil,
That we may see aright
The LORD in rays ineffable
Of Resurrection light;
And listening to His accents,
May hear, so calm and plain,
His own *All hail!* and hearing,
May raise the victor strain.

Now let the heavens be joyful,
Let earth her song begin,
Let the round world keep festal,
And all that is therein:
Invisible or visible,
Its notes creation blend;
For CHRIST the LORD hath risen,
Our joy that hath no end.

ODE III.[1]

Come, and let us drink of that new river,
Not from barren rock divinely poured;
But the fount of life that is for ever,
From the sepulchre of CHRIST the LORD.
All the world hath bright illumination,
Heaven, and earth, and things beneath the earth;
'Tis the Festival of all creation;
CHRIST hath risen, Who gave creation birth.

[1] Every Greek ritualist knows that the second ode of a Canon is always omitted.

Yesterday, with Thee in burial lying,
Now, to-day, with Thee arisen, I rise;
Yesterday the partner of Thy dying,
Glorify me with Thee in the skies.

ODE IV.

Stand on the watch-tower, Habakkuk the Seer,
And shew the Angel, radiant in his light;
To-day, saith he, salvation doth appear,
Because the LORD hath risen as GOD of might.

The Male that opes the Virgin's womb is He;
The Lamb, of Whom His faithful people eat;
Our spotless Passover, from blemish free;
Our very GOD, Whose name is All-complete.

This yearling LAMB, our Sacrifice most blest,
Our glorious Crown, for all men freely dies;
After long darkness, glorious from His rest,
Behold the Sun of Righteousness arise!

Before the Ark, a type to pass away,
David of old time danced; we, holy race,
Seeing the Anti-type come forth to-day,
Hail, with a shout, CHRIST'S own Almighty grace.

ODE V.

Let us rise in early morning,
And instead of ointments, bring
Hymns of praises to our Master,
And His resurrection sing:
We shall see the Sun of Justice,
Risen with healing on His wing.

Thy unbounded loving-kindness,
They that groaned in Hades' chain,
Prisoners from afar, beholding,
Hasten to the light again:
And to that eternal Pascha
Poured their praise, and raised their strain.

Go ye forth, His saints, to meet Him!
Go, with lamps in every hand;
From the sepulchre He riseth;
Ready for the Bridegroom stand:
And the Pascha of Salvation
Hail, with His exulting band.

ODE VI.

Into the dim earth's lowest parts descending,
And bursting by Thy might the eternal chain
That held the prisoners, Thou, at three days' ending,
As Jonah from the whale, hast risen again.

Thou brakest not the seal, Thy surety's token,
Arising from the tomb, Who left'st in birth
The portals of virginity unbroken;
Opening the gates of heaven to sons of earth.

Thou, Sacrifice ineffable and living,
Didst to the FATHER by Thyself atone
As God eternal: Resurrection giving
To Adam, general parent, by Thine own.

ODE VII.

Who from the fiery furnace saved the Three,
Suffers as mortal, that, His Passion o'er,
Our frames, for so He willed, arrayed might be
With glorious immortality once more.
In Whom our fathers still confessed,
GOD over all, for ever blest.

The women with their ointments seek the tomb;
And Whom they mourned as dead, with many a tear,
As living GOD, joy dawning on their gloom,
The mystic Passover they worship here;
Then, to their LORD'S disciples, gave
The tidings of the vanquished grave.

We keep the festal of the death of Death,
Of hell o'erthrown; the first-fruits pure and bright
Of life eternal; and with joyful breath
Praise Him, Who won the victory by His might;
Him Whom our fathers still confessed,
GOD over all, for ever blest.

All-hallowed festival, in splendour born!
Night of salvation and of glory! night
Fore-heralding the Resurrection Morn!
When from the tomb the Everlasting Light,
A glorious frame once more His own,
Upon the world in splendour shone.

ODE VIII.

Thrice hallowed chosen day! that first,
And best, and dearest, shinest!
Lady and queen, and Feast of feasts,
Of things divine, divinest;
On thee our praises CHRIST adore,
For ever and for evermore.

Come, let us taste the mystic vine,
For heavenly joy preparing;
On this propitious day with CHRIST
An endless kingdom sharing;
Whom, as true GOD, our hymns adore,
For ever and for evermore.

Raise, Sion, raise thine eyes! they throng,
Each kindred, tongue, and nation,
From east and west, and north and south,
One glorious constellation:
And in thy portals CHRIST adore,
For ever and for evermore.

O FATHER of unbounded might!
O WORD and HOLY SPIRIT!
In Persons Three, of substance One,
And one co-equal merit:
In Thee baptized, we Thee adore,
For ever and for evermore.

ODE IX.

Deck thee, thou New Jerusalem, with light!
O'er thee the glory of thy LORD hath risen:
The grief hath passed; the joy is infinite;
Mother of GOD! thy Son hath burst His prison!

O voice of gladness, voice of purest love!
'Lo, I am with you alway till the end:'
This is the steadfast anchor from above,
Whereon our hopes, whereon our joys depend.

O truest Pascha, greatest, holiest, best!
GOD's Word, and Wisdom, and effectual Might!
Thy clearer, fuller presence manifest,
Amidst that kingdom's day, which hath no night.

These then, due allowance being made for the injustice done them by any metrical version, are the compositions which are to be set against the Collects, and Prayers, and Illations of the Western Church. We have suffered Passion-tide and Easter to divert us from the path we had chalked out: we now return to the consideration of our Collects.

Easter-eve.—The entire difference of the Roman Office from our own, the benediction of the Font, the twelve prophecies, the anticipatory nature of the whole service, rendered a new Collect here indispensable; the Roman Office contenting itself at Lauds with that for Good Friday. Ours, as is well known, was added at the Savoy Conference: it is partly taken, and very much improved, from that in Laud's book:—'O most gracious GOD, 'look upon us in mercy, and grant that, now we are baptized 'into the death of Thy Son JESUS CHRIST, so, by our true 'repentance, all our sins may be buried with Him, and we not 'fear the grave: that as CHRIST was raised up from the dead by 'the glory of Thee, O FATHER, so we also may walk in newness 'of life, but our sins never be able to rise up in judgment 'against us: and that for the merit of JESUS CHRIST, That died, 'and was buried, and rose again for us. Amen.'

Easter-day.—Mediæval ritualists have inquired what is the connexion between the Festival and the thing prayed for in the Collect, 'That as by Thy special grace,' &c. They generally refer it to those words of our LORD, 'I have a baptism to be baptized with,' &c., and other the like expressions of His earnest desire to accomplish the work for which He came into the world, compared with the 'good effect' to which, on this day, that desire was brought: and this is the least far-fetched of the many explanations which have been given. There is no variation in the Western Offices: the Mozarabic Collect is simpler:—'To Thee we ascribe glory, O LORD our GOD; and 'we beseech Thy *power*' [notice the substitution of this word for

the more usual *mercy*, with reference to the stupendous miracle of power on this day], 'that, as Thou didst vouchsafe to die for 'us sinners, didst again appear on the third day, in the glory of 'Thy resurrection, so we, being absolved by Thee, may in Thee 'merit to obtain perpetual joy: in like manner as the example 'of true resurrection has gone before us.'

Easter Monday.—It is a great pity that, instead of a mere repetition of the Collect of Easter-day, the original prayer was not adopted:—'O GOD, Who by the Paschal solemnity hast 'given the medicine of the world: we beseech Thee to continue 'Thy celestial gift to Thy people; that they may both obtain 'perfect liberty, and advance to eternal life.' And so, on the Tuesday, the Collect is,—here with reference to the newly baptized,—'O GOD, Who continually multipliest Thy Church 'by a new offspring; grant to Thy servants, that in their lives 'they may hold the Sacrament, which by their faith they have 'received.'

The arrangement of the Collects, &c., for Easter Week, in the Mozarabic ritual, is singularly happy. The prophecies are the Epistles to the Seven Churches, from the Revelation, most appropriate (if the reader will think them over) to that season, and acquiring an especial emphasis, for their promises 'to him that overcometh.' The reference too, on each day, to the especial work or character of that day, as to the Passion on Friday, taken in connexion with Easter, is especially noteworthy. Take, for example, the *Alia Oratio*:—

'Behold, O JESUS CHRIST, Mediator of GOD, and Redeemer and LORD of men, the man whom Thou, our GOD, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, didst on the sixth day make in Thine image, Thou didst also visit in the sixth age by taking his flesh, and didst give him regeneration of heart by the truth of the Gospel. Wherefore, on this day, we offer to Thee, the victim of this most excellent sacrifice, as well for the condition of the human race, as for the redemption which Thou didst bring to pass: on this day, in which Thou wast, for our salvation, nailed to the Cross; hadst vinegar given Thee to drink; hadst Thy side pierced with a spear; didst, after death, descend into hell, which, by rising again, Thou didst spoil. For which mysteries and miracles, commending this day to Thy mercy with our sacrifices, we ask of Thee, O merciful Redeemer and LORD, that, calling to mind this day's mystery, and putting off from us the old man with his acts, Thou wouldst clothe us with the new man, which after the LORD is created in righteousness, and holiness of truth. Let the desires of carnal pleasures die in us; let the various passions of vice become extinct. Thou, Who didst bestow Thyself on us as a gift, suffer us no longer to be the cause of our own misery, that we, walking in newness of life, as we have been redeemed by Thy blood, so, being perpetually crucified to Thy Cross, we may both eschew the error which leads to perdition, and may blamelessly hold fast the liberty of that high calling, to which Thou hast called us. Amen.'

Crabbed and difficult as this appears, as do most of the

Mozarabic Collects, the more they are studied the more highly will they be appreciated, constantly reminding us, as they do, of the best parts of S. Leo and S. Fulgentius.

Low Sunday. The original Collect:—'Grant, we beseech 'Thee, Almighty GOD, that we, who have accomplished our 'Paschal Feast, may, through Thy goodness, make good the 'same, in our conversation and in our life:'—a prayer in nowise remarkable, and certainly not equal to our own. The latter has generally been thought an original composition; but it can hardly be called so. In some of the German Missals, the Collect was as follows:—'Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens sempiterne 'Deus, ut qui nobis unigenitum Filium tuum in Victimam 'dedisti, ita populo tuo expurgare vetus fermentum ut nova 'sit conspersio tribuas. Per.'

The Collect for the Second Sunday after Easter does seem to be perfectly new. That in the Roman Office is:—'O GOD, 'Who by the humility of Thy Son didst raise the fallen world, 'grant to Thy faithful people perpetual joy; that those whom 'Thou hast delivered from the misery of everlasting death, Thou 'mayest cause to have the fruition of everlasting gladness.' That in the French Breviaries is the same as ours for the Third Sunday after Easter. One cannot but lament, during this Paschal season, the utter disuse of the Alleluia, which gave so joyous a character to more ancient services. So deeply was this felt among every class of people, that one of the commonest of April flowers still retains, in Sussex, the name of Alleluia. The farewell to Alleluia, in the Mozarabic rite, is touchingly beautiful. It here takes place on the first Sunday in Lent, the ancient commencement of the Fast. After that noble hymn, the *Alleluia Perenne*, the Capitula are as follows:—'Alleluia in 'heaven and in earth; it is perpetuated in heaven, it is sung in 'earth. There it resounds everlastingly; here sweetly. There 'happily; here concordantly. There ineffably; here earnestly. 'There without syllables; here in musical numbers. There 'from the angels; here from the people. Which, at the 'birth of CHRIST the LORD, not only in heaven but the earth, 'did the angels sing; while they proclaimed glory to GOD in 'the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.' *The Benediction*:—'Let that Alleluia which is ineffably sung in 'heaven, be more efficaciously declared in your praises. Amen. 'Unceasingly sung by angels, let it here be uttered brokenly 'by all faithful people. Amen. That it, as it is called the 'praise of GOD, and as it imitates you in that praise, may cause 'you to be enrolled as denizens of the eternal mansion. Amen.' *The Lauda*:—'Thou shalt go, O Alleluia; Thou shalt have a 'prosperous journey, O Alleluia. *R.* And again with joy

'thou shalt return to us, O Alleluia. *V.* For in their hands 'they shall bear thee up; lest thou hurt thy foot against a 'stone. *R.* And again thou shalt return to us with joy, 'O Alleluia.' So the French Breviaries, on this second Sunday after Easter, celebrate the return of Alleluia. After the beautiful lesson from S. Augustine, in his exposition of the 110th Psalm—'The days have come for us to sing, Alleluia. Now 'these days come only to pass away, and pass away to come 'again, and typify the day which does not come and pass away, 'to which, when we shall have come, clinging to it, we shall not 'pass away'—they give for the responses:—

'*V.* Through the streets of Jerusalem, Alleluia shall be sung. Blessed be the LORD who hath exalted her. Let His Kingdom be for ever and ever. Alleluia, Alleluia.

'*R.* Alleluia: salvation, and glory, and power to our GOD, for true and just are His judgments. Let,' &c.

We really beg the reader's pardon for digressing so often from our main subject; but it is difficult to pass by these less-known beauties of mediæval rituals, without stopping for a moment to point them out.

Our Collect for the Third Sunday after Easter is merely translated from the Sarum. The Parisian books, which have recited it on the preceding Sunday, on this employ that which the Roman Missal assigns to that. The Mozarabic Office of the Sundays in Easter-tide, appears very imperfect; its prayers and responses are almost entirely borrowed from Easter Week, and there is no special service for any Feria.

The Fourth Sunday differs in its Collects from the Sarum only by the substitution of 'Who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men,' for 'Qui fidelium mentes unius efficis voluntatis.' The Collect in the Mozarabic is pretty enough:—'Let all the earth, O LORD, sing to Thee a new song, 'that earth which has been redeemed by the blood of Thy Son 'JESUS CHRIST, our LORD; that we who are buried together into 'His death, may enter with Him into infinite gladness.'

The Fifth Sunday after Easter. 'Being,' as the Commissioners add, 'Rogation Sunday.'—Our Collect is a mere translation of the Sarum. We cannot help observing how remarkably the Canon on the previous Saturday is chosen in the French Breviaries. It was one of those of the Council of Cologne, in 1536; a Council which endeavoured to meet the innovation of Luther, by a true and holy reform, and which has always been held in bad odour by Ultramontanes. 'Let not preachers 'dwell too much on the histories of the saints; but let the 'principal part of their discourse be employed in the explanation

'of the Gospel and Epistle. If the legend of the saint appears 'fabulous, they should not even allude to it; if only probable, 'they may just touch upon it, gathering from it the points 'principally worthy of imitation. Let them take care, also, not 'to insist too much on uncertain miracles; but only on those 'which are related in Holy Scripture, or by authors of eminent 'reputation.' Is it wonderful that, when a great German Council could speak of sound lections in the Breviary as allowedly and confessedly false, Quignon, and other enthusiastic reformers, should cut down the beauties, in order to vindicate the exact truth, of the Ecclesiastical Office?

There can be no doubt that the compilers of the Prayer-book had intended to give to the Rogation Days their own Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, but that the general hurry of the compilation caused this intention not to be carried out. The Roman Collect for the Monday is,—'Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty 'GOD, that we, who in our affliction do put our trust in Thy 'mercy, may ever be defended by Thy protection against all 'adversities.' In that Missal we have no proper Collect for the Tuesday; but in the Parisian it is as follows:—'Stir up, O 'LORD, the wills of Thy faithful people, that, intent on Thy holy 'doctrine, they may understand that for which they pray, and 'by perseverance in asking, may obtain the same.' The Commissioners rejected Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, for Rogation Sunday, substituting in their place an Office with reference to the fruits of the earth, and one which might be suitable enough for Rogation Monday. The Epistle was Deut. xxviii. 1—9; the Gospel, S. Matt. vi. 25, to the end. Convocation might surely, without much difficulty, recommend certain Collects for these three days, and might enjoin that the Litany should always be said on the Monday and Tuesday.

Our Prayer-book amplifies a little, and certainly improves, the Collect for Ascension-day, the same in all Breviaries. The Commissioners tried their hands at a new Collect, but seem to have been displeased with their own work, and reverted to the original one.

We will not dwell on the Collects which remain, further than to remark, that the magnificent one for the Sunday after Ascension is merely the Antiphon to Magnificat for Ascension-day, very far superior to the original Collect:—'Almighty, everlast-'ing GOD, grant that we may always devoutly serve Thee with 'our will, and may worship Thy Majesty with a sincere heart.'

We have thus gone through the Collects of half the year: which, as specimens of vernacular translation from originals, the very pithiness of which renders any version of them extremely difficult, can never be surpassed. We can but wish

that the number were double what it is; and, above all things, that the *Orationes ad diversa*, or many of them, had found a place in our Prayer-book. Take a few examples. *For Rain:* (and compare that with the clumsy prayer on the same subject in our Book:)—'O God, in Whom we live, and move, and have 'our being, give us, we pray Thee, a sufficient rain; that our 'temporal necessities being supplied, we may with the more 'confidence desire Thy eternal promises.' Or, again: *For the Murrain among Animals:*—'O God, Who hast appointed that 'even the brute beasts should assist in the labours of men, we 'beseech Thee that they, without whom our wants cannot be 'supplied, may not by perishing be lost to our service.' One more: *For beloved Friends:*—'O God, Who by the grace of the 'Holy Ghost didst pour the gifts of love into the hearts of 'Thy faithful people, bestow upon Thy servants, and on Thy 'handmaidens, for whom we desire to pray, health, both of 'body and mind; that they may both love Thee with their 'whole strength, and may with all love do such things as are 'agreeable to Thee.' Again; for which of the following subjects should we not be thankful to have a form of prayer? For our enemies: for those that travel: that are on a voyage: for the sick: for one in prison: for those that are tempted: against evil thoughts: for love: for patience: for the gift of tears: for continence: in any tribulation. Collects on these subjects, with permission at any time to use them in the Communion Office, would indeed be a great benefit to the English Church.

Let us turn from Collects, properly so called, to those longer Prayers in which the Eastern Church delights, but which have never found much favour in the West. We said, at the beginning, that a Collect might be defined as consisting of the following members:—

O God { Who, as at this time / forasmuch as / Who art always

Grant, we beseech Thee, { to us Thy servants / that we

And to the end that

Give us

Through

And that this is the fullest norm of any; more frequently some one or more of these clauses being omitted. Thus, the longest of these compositions never occupies more than a few lines, eschews all manner of epithets and common-places, and gives in the pithiest and most compressed manner what modern devotion would spin out into pages. The Eastern

Church has nothing whatever of this kind. Take, as a very good contrast of the two, the prayers in time of plague. The Roman Missal:—

'Grant to us, LORD, to receive the effect of our supplications; and turn away from us, of Thy goodness, pestilence and famine, that the hearts of men may acknowledge that such chastisements arise from Thy anger, and cease through Thy loving-kindness.'

The Eastern Church prays as follows:—

'Let us make our supplications to the LORD. Almighty LORD, of long-suffering, of great mercy, easily to be propitiated, Lover of men, All-good, exceeding good, All-powerful, CHRIST, our GOD: Thou, through the super-abundance of Thy goodness alone, didst bring our nature into being from non-existence. Thou didst breathe into us a rational soul and wisdom, and didst honour us with Thy image, and didst vouchsafe to us the delights of Paradise, and divine education, and companionship with the Divinity. Thou, when we had set at nought Thy commandment, and had been brought under the deceit and guile of the devil, and had fallen away from Thy glory, and had changed life for death, and the kingdom for bitter slavery, didst not overlook us, through the ineffable sea of Thy long-suffering and goodness, but didst in divers manners, by the Fathers and the Prophets, visit us. Thou didst set over us angels, as guides and guards, teaching us, and leading us by the hand, as if to the discovery of the better state. But when we had shown that all these things were empty and vain by our measureless bias to iniquity, Thou Thyself didst in the latter times of the world ineffably devise the second workmanship and re-creation of our nature, and didst in a fearful manner unite our whole man to Thy whole Divinity, and didst consecrate flesh by flesh, and soul by soul, and didst by death and sufferings free us from the death and sufferings which were contrary to our original nature, and didst vouchsafe to us eternal life through the keeping of Thy commandments. But we, again transgressing Thy commandments, and yielding ourselves to our own desires and wills, eagerly pursue all sin in each lust, slander, blasphemy, malice, perjury, falsehood, impure words, guile, strife, envy, and every lawless and base deed, both prompted by nature, and contrary to nature, and which we could not even find in irrational animals; our days have passed in vanity: we are stripped of Thy help, we are made a derision and a laughing-stock to all those that are round about us, we have caused that Thy most holy and adorable name should through us be blasphemed among the heathen,' &c.

The above, which is not quite a quarter of the whole prayer, is a very fair example of these lengthened compositions, certainly not without their beauty, but, to Western taste at least, very lengthy, and open to the charge of tautology. They would appear for the most part to have been composed between the year 600 or 1000; or, to speak more generally, between the Patriarchate of Thomas I. and that of Michael Cerularius: though some are even later than the last-named prelate. The length of these prayers sometimes begets a minuteness which is not without positive absurdity. Thus, in the 'Prayer of the holy Martyr Tryphon, which is said over gardens, vineyards, and plantations,' it begins in this way:—'When I was in the 'village of Lampsacus, and tending and feeding my geese, the

'wrath of God came down, not on that place only, but also on 'all the villages round about.' It proceeds:—'God, Who hears 'them that put their trust in Him, Himself send His Angel 'out of His prepared dwelling-place, that He may destroy every 'tribe and race of animals that injure the vines, the place, and 'the garden of the servant of God: and knowing clearly the 'names of these animals, I will thence tell them:—Caterpillar; 'Worm; Worm-Caterpillar; Scantharus; Wingless Locust; Lo-'cust; Apple-Caterpillar; Caligaris; Longlegs; Ant; Louse; 'Woodlouse; Flea; Burning-Worm; Mildew; Cockleworm; 'Razor Worm; and if there be any other thing which destroys 'the fruit of the vine, or of other herbs,' &c. Indeed, the titles of the Prayers themselves seem intended to provide for all possible disasters. Thus, we have a prayer, 'If it happens that any filthy thing falls into a jar of wine or honey:' 'For a polluted vessel:' 'For polluted corn or barley:' 'For the foundation of a house:' 'On entering a new house:' 'For a house haunted by evil spirits:' 'Over the sowing:' 'Over salt:' 'For those that bring the first-fruits of autumn:' 'For the threshing-floor:' 'Over round cakes:' 'Over the young vines:' 'Over the ripe grape:' 'For blessing wine:' 'At the change of the grape on the 6th of August:' 'Over a plantation or vineyard which is hurt by caterpillars:' 'For blessing a flock:' 'For blessing eatables on Easter Day:' 'For blessing cheese and eggs:' 'For blessing nets:' 'For digging a well.'

It is needless to dwell any longer on this kind of prayer. Modern prayer-writers,—those who compose a course of Family Prayers for four weeks, Family Altars, Steps to Family Devotion, the Altar and the Tent, &c. &c., may plead some kind of palliation for their length, in the forms of prayer to which we have been alluding. But, be this remembered;—the Greek Prayers, however to Western ideas spun out and lengthy, are, nevertheless, not without their beauty, are full of matter, and are at all events of one texture: not like the compositions of our modern authors, a series of Collects strung together with or without connexion. In more lengthened prayers we cannot do better than follow the usual Western practice: a series of Collects, without any termination by way of Doxology; that conclusion being reserved till the termination of the last. While speaking of the termination of Collects, we cannot help mentioning an explanation which we ourselves heard given. We were pointing out to a clergyman, a Protestant of the strictest school, the peculiar beauty of some Collect—we forget what—which, in the book which we held in our hand, ended (say) thus: '. . . . . 'may lead us into all good, and preserve us from all evil. 'Through,' &c. 'Blasphemous, indeed!' exclaimed our com-

panion. 'So instead of the one only Mediator, this prayer may 'be offered *through* the merits of any saints that may happen to 'take their fancy!'

We are bound, however, to acknowledge the very great beauty of some of these longer prayers in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Offices. Take the following as an example:—

'By what tears, O LORD JESUS CHRIST, can we reply to Thy Cross? By what lamentations, to the shedding forth of Thy Blood? What rewards, what vows can we offer unto Thee? Behold, Thou art now taken from us to be crucified, with pangs which Thou didst not merit. Thou art taken to be spit upon; Thou art spit upon to be scourged; Thou art scourged to be crucified; Thou art crucified to be derided; Thou art derided to have vinegar given Thee to drink; Thou hast vinegar given Thee to drink to accomplish all things; Thou accomplishest all things to rise again marvellously. Spare us, O CHRIST, our LORD. Spare us, we beseech Thee, by the admirable virtue of Thy holy Passion and Resurrection. And, as Thou didst render the Thief a citizen of Paradise, thus by the Victory of the Cross, free the world from all evil; and redeem all the creation of man. That us, whom the darkness of our conscience has covered with grief, the brightness of the resurrection may raise to glory.'

Hundreds of such examples lie buried in the recesses of these Missals and Breviaries. We wish God speed to the man who, for the benefit of the English Church, will endeavour to dig out and to offer to her these more than Californian treasures. Take one more example—the *Alia Oratio* for Easter-day:—

'Bless the LORD, O my soul; and let all CHRIST'S faithful people rejoice and congratulate each other. Ancient despair hath lost his rebuke, death his sting; the prisoner is set free from the dungeon, the condemned hath escaped from the chain. Let not our rebel flesh arise against us to injure us; let not parricidal concupiscence arrogate to itself, by right of its crime, the domination over us. Man it was who lost; GOD was made man, and He redeemed. Our calamity, O LORD, hath obtained from Thee greater mercy than the unbridled licence of our first-formed parents had lost. Then it was said that they should be servants: now it is stipulated that they shall be sons. Then immortality was promised to the obedient; now, in addition to immortality, glory. Then a portion was to be possessed in a region of delight; now communion is to be enjoyed with the angels. Then they were to live with the creature; now we are to reign with the Creator. Then the devil was to be avoided; now we know that he is to be subdued. Then there was an admonition for the observance of the commandments; now there is an exhortation concerning the terrors of the judgment. Then fear was proposed, as the safeguard of the law; now the will is touched and influenced. Then paradise was lost through sin; now we may hope for heaven through grace. Better, therefore, far better is the condition which we have obtained after our ruin. Wherefore, most humbly and unceasingly, we beseech that until Thou shalt have accomplished Thy cure in us, Thou wouldest not withdraw Thy medicine from our wounds. Amen.'

We will now proceed to Litanies. There is, as every one knows, but one, authorized for public service,—authorized, we

mean, in the fullest sense of the word, by the Roman Church, —that on the Feast of S. Mark, on the Rogation Days, and on one or two other occasions. But of those which are partially authorized, the number is almost countless, and the beauty is frequently exquisite. Most of our readers are probably acquainted with a number of these in the *Paradisus Animæ.* Others of nearly equal beauty are given in the *Golden Manual.* First among them is the Litany of the NAME of JESUS, whether the composition of S. Bernard or not. The Litanies of the HOLY GHOST, of the Holy Infancy, of the Passion, (which in some old rituals we have seen called the Silver Litany,) are remarkably touching. Few things are more striking than to hear a vernacular Litany recited by a poor congregation in a Continental church. We remember, one stormy June morning, hearing the fishwives at Fécamp chanting one,—if it could be called chanting—for their husbands, with the patois response *P'iez pour nous.* Some ten or a dozen such scenes we have, hung up in the picture gallery of our ecclesiological recollection. One in a village church in Champagne, on the afternoon of Ascension-day; the girls and boys who had that day made their First Communion, kneeling on the opposite sides of a venerable Romanesque nave, and reciting the Litany of the Infancy: another,—five or six Sisters, the poor remains of a once flourishing Spanish convent, filling the dark dim aisle of a church in Palencia with the Litany of the HOLY GHOST and their plaintive *Ruega por nos-otros.* Another:—a school, coming in procession with their rude banners and crosses up a narrow, rocky lane, to a little Castilian church, the western sun just gilding the devices and images, as it shot out from under a heavy storm-cloud, that swept away into the vast and distant Paramos of Castile; the Litany of the Blessed Sacrament. Oh, how many beautiful little pictures of this kind may they see in a foreign tour, who have eyes to observe them! But to return to our subject.—Our Litany has tolerably well preserved the norm of all such compositions. Beginning with the Kyrie Eleison, the quadruple invocation of the Trinity, they proceed to that of the Saints with the *Ora pro nobis,* the deprecations with the *Libera nos,* the Petitions with the *Te rogamus audi nos;* the triple *Agnus Dei,* the *Pater Noster,* the Psalm, if one be said, the Versicles, and the Collects. That in our Prayer-book recedes from the original pattern by the greater length of its suffrages, by the omission of any Psalm and of one *Agnus Dei,* by the inferior importance and length both of the Responses and Collects. But if we look at the Litanies of the Universal Church, we shall find that they may be conveniently divided into three families:—

1. The Roman Litany, as described above.

2. The Greek Ectene—which seems generally known to English scholars (but ought not to be) under its Slavonic form of *Ectinia.*

3. And the Ambrosian and Mozarabic *Preces:* which, though the name employed by those rituals, must not be used by us: the word *Preces,* according to all English use, applying to the series of Verses and Responses said at the end of Prime and other services.

The norm of the Greek Ectene is as follows: it may safely be attributed to the fourth century:—

'In peace let us make our supplications to the LORD.—*R.* LORD, have mercy. (And so at the end of every suffrage.)

'For the peace that is from above, and the salvation of our souls, let us make our supplications to the LORD.

'For the peace of the whole world, the stability of the holy Churches of GOD, and the union of all, let—

'For this holy habitation, and for them that with peace, piety and fear of GOD enter into it, let—

'For our Archbishop, N., the venerable Presbytery, the Diaconate in CHRIST, all the Clergy and Laity, let—

'That He would fight on their side, and subdue under their feet every enemy and adversary, let—

'For this holy dwelling, for all the city, and country, and those that dwell in them in faith, let—

'For good temperature of the air, abundance of the fruits of the earth, and peaceful times, let—

'For them that sail, that travel, that are sick, that are in heaviness, that are in bondage, and their salvation, let—

'That we may be delivered from all tribulation, anger, danger and straits, let—

'Assist, preserve, pity and protect us, O GOD, by Thy grace.

'Commemorating the all-holy, spotless, excellently laudable and glorious lady, the Mother of GOD, and ever-Virgin Mary, with all saints, let us commend ourselves and each other and all our life to CHRIST our GOD.—*R.* To Thee, O LORD.

'For all glory, worship, and honour befits Thee, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages.'

This, we say, is the general norm of the Eastern Ectene: the proper reciter of which is the Deacon, and not the Priest, who merely gives the final clause. Notice, that the expression 'CHRIST our GOD,' so constantly occurring in the East, is almost unknown in the West, except in the Mozarabic rite, an indelible stamp of the more tremendous struggle which Arianism there carried on with the Catholic Faith. Every Ectene commences in the same fashion, and then breaks off to its own peculiar subject: as, for example, that of the Bridal Coronation:—

'For the servants of GOD, M. and N., now joined together in community of marriage, let—

'For a blessing on this marriage as on that of Cana in Galilee, let—

'That the gift of modesty may be bestowed on them, and the fruit of the womb, as may be expedient for them, let—

'That they may be made glad by the sight of their sons and daughters, let—.'

And so in all the Offices and rites of the Greek Church, a corresponding Ectene finds its place. That, in a somewhat different form, which occurs in S. James's Liturgy, is well known to all who are acquainted with Bishop Andrewes's Private Devotions.

The Mozarabic Litanies, again, not only differ from those of the Roman and Eastern Churches, but have a much greater variety among themselves. We will give some specimens: here is one for the First Sunday in Lent:—

'We beseech Thy mercy; O CHRIST, hear us.—*R.* Be propitious and have mercy.

'JESU, Only-Begotten Son of the FATHER, Thou that art LORD of unbounded goodness.—*R.* Be, &c.

'Now let Thy clemency conquer our ill: now look upon us with a serene countenance.—*R.* Be, &c.

'Of Thy clemency remove from us Thine anger: put an end to sin: give rest to labours.—*R.* Be, &c.

'Tranquillity of times, abundance of wealth, quiet of peace, and fulness of salvation.—*R.* Be, &c.

'Give Thy succour to the Bishop, N., and to all Thy people that supplicate Thee.—*R.* Be, &c.

'Of Thy clemency give us the remission of all our sins.—*R.* Be, &c.'

Here is one of a more remarkable character, where the Litany is actually put into our LORD's mouth:—

'Behold, O LORD, My humility, for the enemy hath exalted himself against Me.—*R.* Have mercy, Righteous FATHER, and give indulgence to all.

'Sent from the FATHER, I came to seek that which was lost, and to redeem the captive from the enemy by My blood: the wicked people hath rejected Me.—*R.* Have mercy.

'Predicted by the Prophets, I was born of a Virgin; I took the form of a servant to collect that which was dispersed.—*R.* Have mercy.

'They rewarded Me exceeding evil for good; they took wicked counsels against Me, and sold Me for money.—*R.* Have mercy.

'They set a crown of thorns upon My head; they made Me filthy with spitting: they cruelly mocked and afflicted Me.—*R.* Have mercy.

'I was hung on the Cross with evil thieves; I was fed with bitter bread and a bitter cup, and given up to punishment.—*R.* Have mercy.

'They whom I came to set free, the same accused Me: they scourged Me and nailed Me to the Cross; they pierced Me with a lance.—*R.* Have mercy.

'Thou That didst forgive the wickedness of the thief, do Thou loose our bonds and forgive our crimes; save us by Thy Cross.—*R.* Have mercy.

'I was given over to the sepulchre: I burst the bands of hell: I brought forth them that were bound, and restored them to Heaven.—*R.* Have mercy.

'Forgive them all their sins, O most merciful FATHER: they know not what they do.—*R.* Have mercy.'

Here we have a composition which seems to hold a midway place between a Litany and a 'Farce:' our readers may remember that, some time since, we entered at some length into the subject of Farces:—

'*V.* Be mindful of us, O CHRIST, in Thy kingdom, and make us worthy of Thy resurrection.—*R.* With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.

'*V.* Go and prepare the Passover for us, that we may eat.—*R.* Before I suffer.

'*V.* Behold, as ye enter into the city, there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: him follow into the house whereinto ye shall enter; and say ye to the good-man of the house,—*R.* With desire I have desired.

'*V.* The Master saith, My time is at hand: where is the guest-chamber, that I may keep the Passover with my disciples?—*R.* Before I suffer.

'*V.* And he shall show you a large upper-room, furnished: there make ready.—*R.* Before I suffer.

'*V.* And the disciples went into the city, and found as JESUS had told them, and they made ready the Passover.—*R.* With desire I have desired.

'*V.* And when even was come, JESUS sat down and the twelve with Him, and He saith unto them:—*R.* With desire I have desired.

'*V.*—For I say unto you, that I will not eat it henceforth, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of GOD.—*R.* With desire I have desired.'

And so this curious Prayer, Litany, Recitation, or whatever else it may be called, goes through the Last Supper to its conclusion.

We now come to another branch of our subject, namely, Illations; or, as they have been variously called, Prefaces, Contestations, or Prayers of the Triumphal Hymn.

It would seem that the Roman Church, at the commencement, possessed a rich storehouse of these. Two hundred and forty, at least, have been preserved; eleven only are now used. The Mozarabic has one for every Sunday and principal festival; the Ambrosian additionally for every day of the week. Our own Prefaces, as every one knows, have been reduced to five. And, surely, one of the first improvements that should be made in our Prayer-Book would be the addition of others for the more marked seasons, such as the Epiphany, Lent, Passiontide, the Festivals of Martyrs, &c. On the other side, widely differing from, and, in this point, far inferior to, Western ritual, the Eastern Liturgies have, without an exception, only one Preface, let the time of the year be what it may.

The norm of all these is precisely the same. Commencing from the 'It is very meet, right,' &c., glancing at the various events of our LORD'S Life and Passion, and dwelling on the Saint or subject of the day, it closes with spiritual union with Angels and Archangels in the triumphal hymn, 'Holy, Holy, Holy!'

Let us now take some examples of these, commencing from the East, and ending with the Gallican and Spanish Churches. We would hope that, with those magnificent and ecstatic forms of devotion, the Illations of the great primitive Liturgies, the reader is acquainted. Nothing can be more grand, nothing more truly worthy of an Apostle, than those of S. James, S. Clement, and S. Mark. But even in later times, and among heretical Churches, the same spirit remains: and in those Liturgies of the wonderful mediæval ages of Central Asia,—those ages which we can so little realize,—when from China to the Persian Gulf, from Cape Comorin to Siberia, the great Sacrifice was offered with primitive and apostolic rites, the Illations were not unworthy of the mysteries which they accompanied. Let us take an example or two which are not likely to be known to the reader. Here is that of John of Bassora, perhaps of the eleventh or twelfth century:—

'It is verily meet and right, and due from every creature, to glorify Thee, to bless Thee, to persevere in perpetual thanksgiving to Thee, as do those intellectual powers and incorporeal natures which exceed earthly beauty: those spirits void of matter who from the ancientness of their existence possess their dignity, and perpetually, at every hour, stand before the infinite throne of Thy glory. Their only food is to glorify Thee, to honour Thee; to praise Thee and to magnify Thee in hymns, which cannot be expressed by the tongue, nor comprehended by the understanding. But we, children of the earth, are made rich by the ministry of the Sacraments: but that this material figment, this creature endued with sense, might not be deprived of the same spiritual splendour, as if it had nothing in common with it, and would after a short time perish, Thou hast made me a rational being, consisting of an intelligent soul and a material body, mortal and immortal, one undivided nature out of two contraries; to the end that by the spiritual relationship of the intellectual nature with that heavenly beauty, a path might be opened, even to those celestial habitations, to this figment of clay. Wherefore, hearing in the ears of our heart the hymns of perpetual praise, and beholding with the eyes of our understanding those heavenly legions, that which pertains to Angels and Archangels, the honour and dignity of the virtues, the array of the powers, the ministry of the principalities, the adoration of the dominations, the stability of the thrones, we approach to the same hymns which are there sung, to the teaching, useful and salutary to souls, to the blessed and most wise tradition of the unceasing and divine worship of the Seraphim, which with incorporeal tongues they offer to Thee, O our GOD; to Thee Who art one beginning, one nature, and one substance, Who art acknowledged in three Persons, by which the whole infinity of GOD is embraced, and without Whom was not anything made that was made: by Whom and by each of Whom, by it and to it, GOD is united in substance of nature, as to the LORD, and in very deed, according to the very self-same Divinity, not by communication alone nor introduction. For the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, are one substance and one nature of Divinity in their operation and according to the truth, not according to the imagination and fiction of the human mind; which nature we distinguish trinely, but undividedly, we believe to exist onelily, not by effusion; and the hymn which exceeds human comprehension, we offer to Thee as the testimony of fear, the same, namely,

which all the principalities of the orders of the heavenly host, the many-eyed Cherubim and the Seraphim of six wings, sing to Thee with triumphal voice, glorifying Thee indesinently:—*R.* Holy,' &c.

Or as another example from the Litany of Ignatius Bar-Wahib, patriarch of Antioch, of a still later date:—

'Thou art worthy of praise, Thou art worthy of thanksgiving, Thou art worthy of adoration from all the celestial host and all men on earth, and all things which Thy essence has created, whether sensible or insensible, or between the one and the other: because Thou art to be praised and glorified with Thy Son and with Thy HOLY SPIRIT. For Thou art He, O LORD, of Whose praises the heaven and the earth are full, and all that therein is; Who by Thy power preservest heaven and earth, which Thy Majesty has created, and ordained to the glory of Thy essence: which although silent in their own nature, yet honour Thee. The Angels who are illuminated by the light of Thine eternity, glorify Thee, through the mediation of the Archangels. The Archangels rejoice before Thee, enlightened by the splendour of Thine essence, through the mediation of the Principalities. The Principalities honour Thee, irradiated by the glories of Thy hidden nature, through the mediation of the Powers. The Powers celebrate Thee, kindled by the flame of Thy might, through the mediation of the Thrones. The Thrones exalt Thee, inflamed by the fire of Thy Divinity, through the mediation of the Dominations. The Dominations laud Thee, set on fire by the brightness of Thy power, through the mediation of the Virtues. The Virtues venerate Thee in their hymns, filled with Thy fear, through the mediation of the Cherubim. The Cherubim bless Thee, inspired by the brightness of Thy majesty, through the mediation of the Seraphim. The Seraphim, which, without any intermediation, are illuminated from the very sanctuary of the seat of Thy glory, hallow Thy name: with one triumphal voice, flying the one to the other, alternating the hymn between the inferior and the superior order, with tongues more polished than sharp swords, with mouths breathing forth burning flame, with tremulous but exulting voices, beyond the comprehension of earthly minds glorify Thy Majesty which hath given existence to all.'

Thus much for the florid Illations of the mediæval East: the Arabesque imitations, if one may use the metaphor, of glorious Middle-Pointed compositions, like S. James's and S. Mark's, and the Clementine Liturgies.

Let us now turn to the Gallican ritual. It is very singular that this, which, on the whole, and in its chief peculiarities, symbolises with the East and not with Rome, should, in the matter of Illations, differ from the former more widely than does the latter. The East, as we have reminded the reader, in all its varying Liturgies, knows but one Illation. The Gallican has a different Illation for every principal festival. Here is one, which, without hesitation, we would ascribe to the third or fourth century:—

'It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, O LORD GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy Son, Who being eternal God, vouchsafed to become Man for our salvation. O singular yet manifold mystery of the Saviour! that one and the same perfect GOD and perfect Man, chief High Priest, and most sacred of all Victims, according to His Divine power

created all things: according to His human condition gave liberty to man: according to the virtue of His sacrifice expiated sin: according to the right of His Priesthood reconciled offences. O singular and only mystery of redemption! in which a new medicine healed for the LORD those ancient wounds; and the privileges of our salvation cut down the evil inflicted upon us by the first man. The one was frenzied by the goad of concupiscence, the other pierced by the nails of obedience: the one extended, in his lust, his hands to the tree; the other fitted them, in His patience, to the Cross: the one, attracted by pleasure, satisfied his appetite; the other was afflicted by the agony of a misery which He had not deserved. And therefore worthily does the punishment of innocence become the absolution of guilt; and rightly are those debts forgiven to the debtor, for which He Who owed nothing had paid. Which singular mystery not only men in earth, but angels also adore in heaven. To Whom worthily Angels and Archangels ascribe glory and honour, saying,—*R.* Holy,' &c.

Compare the freshness and rough beauty of a Preface like the above with the worn-out epithets and gorgeous tinsel of those Asiatic Illations. Just as with Christian art, so with Christian devotion: the young, rude life of the Church bursting forth in those hitherto uncultivated Gallican regions; the same life, but swamped and choked by luxury, ready to expire in the enervating and luxurious indolence of the East. Here is another, which we are disposed to ascribe to the same date:—

'It is meet and right, Almighty FATHER, to render thanks to Thee always, to love Thee above all things, to praise Thee for all things, by whose gifts the dignity of Thy image is given to all men in nature: the enjoyment of eternity is vouchsafed in the soul: freedom of will is bestowed in life: the happiness of baptism is offered in grace: the heritage of the kingdom of heaven is promised in innocence: the benefit of a remedy is preserved in penitence: the pardon of goodness does away with the punishment of iniquity: so that the loving-kindness of GOD abounding to all men, should neither allow them whom it made, to perish in wretchedness; nor them whom it taught, in ignorance; nor them whom it loves, to remain in punishment; nor them whom it has redeemed, to fall short of the kingdom. Before whose presence the Angels cease not to cry and to say,—*R.* Holy,' &c.

That marvellous curiosity, the Illation of A.D. 176, we have already, on another occasion, translated. We will now give an example (so far as we know, it is the only one) of an Illation in verse: the reader must excuse us if our lines are almost as rude as those of the original. They bear a great resemblance to the poem of S. Prosper, and not improbably proceeded from his pen:—

'Worthy it is and meet that we should raise
To Thee, Almighty GOD, the hymn of praise;
Who giv'st the omnipotent decree, and straight
Each form is fixed, each creature animate.
Nature at once obeyed the law decreed;
Worlds sprang to light,—Thy voice their only seed:
Thy SPIRIT stretched the sky and decked the pole,
O'er its appointed bed bade ocean roll:

And when Thy image fell, o'erthrown by sin,
And Death and Satan's empire entered in,
Thou, Ruler of the world, didst deign to dwell
Unknown, rejected in that humble cell:
Hence was the fierce decree that Herod spake
Against the infant army for Thy sake,
Who in their tiny limbs had scarcely room
To own the glorious wounds of martyrdom:
Oh new, unheard-of fate, decreed on high!
Thus to be born that they might only die;
And in the first and last of all their days,
Martyrs in deed, not will, to speak His praise.'

And so it goes on for a good many verses more, with more religion than poetry. And now it is worth while to examine a little more closely the two branches into which the Gallican Liturgy divided itself, the Mozarabic and the Ambrosian; so far as their Illations are concerned. We shall find those of the former by far the longer, generally by far the more beautiful; but sometimes degenerating into wordiness and false antithesis, from which the latter, with its greater brevity and pithiness, is always free. We will give some examples of each.

The Fifth Sunday in Advent. Ambrosian:—

'Through JESUS CHRIST our LORD, the power of whose Divine Nativity was begotten by the unbegotten magnitude of Thine own might. Whom we proclaim to have been ever the Son, and generate before all worlds, because, in its fullest and completest sense, the name of Eternal FATHER was ever Thine; and Whom we confess in honour, majesty, and power equal to Thee with the HOLY GHOST, while we own one equal majesty in the Three Persons, Whom Angels praise, Archangels venerate, Whom Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, and Powers adore; to Whom Cherubim and Seraphim,' &c.

Mozarabic:—

'It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Eternal FATHER, Omnipotent GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy Son our LORD. Whose Incarnation was the salvation of the world, Whose Passion was the redemption of man so long since begotten. May He therefore, we beseech Thee, omnipotent FATHER, lead us on to the reward Who redeemed us from the darkness of hell. He purge our flesh from sin Who assumed it of the Virgin. He restore us unhurt to Thy Majesty, who reconciled us to Thee by His blood. He justify us in the examination of the Second Advent, Who bestowed on us the gift of His grace in the first. He come to judge in mercy Who of old time appeared in humility. He in the judgment manifest Himself as most gentle, Who, in former times, came in secrecy; to Whom, as is meet, Angels and Archangels cease not to cry daily, thus saying,' &c.

On S. Stephen's Day. Ambrosian:—

'Eternal God: Who hast called Stephen to be the herald of the Levites: he first dedicated to Thee the name of martyrdom: he began first to pour forth his blood: he merited to see the heaven opened, and the Son standing at the right hand of the FATHER. On earth he adored the Man, and in heaven he proclaimed the Son of the FATHER. He repeated the words of

his Master; for that which CHRIST said on the Cross, that Stephen taught in the blood of his death. CHRIST on the Cross sowed the seeds of pardon; and Stephen made supplication to the LORD for them that stoned him. Therefore with Angels,' &c.

Mozarabic:—

'It is meet and right and sufficiently beautiful that we should sacrifice to Thee, in the day of Thy holy martyr, Stephen, the circuit of the year having gone about, the oblation of praise, that we should pay our solemn offering. Whom the grace of our LORD, Thy Son, JESUS CHRIST, thus elected, His doctrine thus taught, His power thus confirmed, that among the Levites he should hold the reward, among the disciples the kingdom, among the martyrs the principality. Who confidently opposing the word of truth to those that were in error, endeavoured to prove the truth of that side on which he knew that the victory lay. That blaming the Jews to their faces for their impiety, if he could not correct them when they erred, he might not fear them when they were enraged. Knowing that either way, the preaching of righteousness would be profitable to him; whether they repenting, accepted the wholesome doctrine set before them, or, excited to fury, should be the means of his own passion. In such a resolve was there the love of CHRIST and of his neighbour; either to hope for joy from the amendment of his countrymen, or to expect a reward from the infliction of his punishment; he sought not his own honour if purchased by another's crime; but he saw that from either alternative he must reap glory. But if by preaching the truth he himself gathered others into the Church, or was slain for the truth by any persecutor, he knew his place, he remembered his office: for he knew that he himself was an altar, and prepared himself as a sacrifice. Full of the HOLY GHOST, he manifested the Sacraments, ready to drink of the cup which he preached to others. He stood among those people who had learnt by the death of the LORD not to spare the servant, or who rather had by the death of the servant advanced even to the death of the LORD. O marvellous desire of the LORD'S love! For what else is it to desire to be slain for the LORD, and to confess with fearless devotion the love of Him that was slain, even among His murderers? He knew that by death he would rejoin that LORD from Whom, by surviving Him, he was disjoined. He held fast the precepts of the Master, which he had learnt, that the disciple was not worthy of Him, who did not take up his Cross and follow Him. He desired to arrive where that Master was, who was willing to take up what that Master had commanded: nor was he deceived in his opinion, who was ready for its result. Behold, they who had stumbled at CHRIST as at a stone, rushed upon Stephen with stones. That was thrown by their fury, on which their error had cast them. He who to them was made a stone of stumbling, to Stephen became the crown of martyrdom. To Whom, as is meet, among the glorious Angels and the celestial Virtues he unceasingly proclaims the hymn of due praise, and saith, Holy,' &c.

Let us take another beautiful example from the Mozarabic Missal, first giving the corresponding Illation from the Ambrosian—that for the Third Sunday after Easter.

The Ambrosian:—

'Through CHRIST, our LORD: Who pitying human error, vouchsafed to be born of a Virgin; and by the passion of death delivered us from eternal death, and by His resurrection hath bestowed eternal life on us: the same CHRIST JESUS, our LORD: Whom, together with Thee,' &c.

The Mozarabic:—

'It is meet and right, very just and salutary, that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Omnipotent GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy Son, our LORD, the Eternal King, and joint Monarch with Thee: Who vouchsafed to bear so much and such grievous sufferings for our salvation. Judged was He by the Jews, Who shall judge the quick and the dead. Before the tribunal of the governor He stood, Whose tribunal is heaven itself. He condescended that His face should be spit upon, Who, a little while before, had touched with His spittle the eyes of the man born blind. He condescended to be crowned with thorns, by Whom the martyrs merited to be decorated with celestial diadems. He condescended to have vinegar and gall given Him to drink, Who, out of the hard rock, had caused the people to be satisfied with honey. He endured that His side should be wounded with a spear, by Whose sword hell was conquered. He vouchsafed that His hands and His feet should be pierced with nails, Whose hands made the fabric of the heaven. Taken down from the Cross, He willed to be buried, at Whose word the dead were in a moment raised to life. He gave commandment that He Himself should be offered for us, that no longer the blood of bulls and goats should be poured forth upon the altar. He vouchsafed to be the Priest and the Victim, by Whom all that believe should inherit eternal life. Wherefore, all the Angels and all the Saints cease not to cry to Thee thus, saying: Holy,' &c.

Let us now give an example of some of the shorter Illations of the Ambrosian Office. In this ritual, the Sundays after Trinity can, at the outside, only be fifteen in number; for let Easter fall as early as it may, the sixteenth Sunday must be the first after the Decollation of S. John Baptist. There are, then, five Sundays after Decollation, the last of which does not occur when the Sunday letter is A, B, or C. The first Sunday in October has its own festival of S. Mary; the second Sunday is that before the Dedication of the great Church; the third is The Dedication of the great Church, namely, the wonderful cathedral of Milan: after which there may follow three Sundays after the Dedication, and then begin the six Sundays of Advent. The first Sunday in Advent is that which immediately follows S. Martin's Day: when the Sunday letter is A, this, in point of fact, involves seven Sundays before Christmas; but the office of the seventh, which then falls on Dec. 24, is entirely of the vigil. This is a great improvement on the Mozarabic Calendar, which gives only six Sundays after Trinity, and the rest are made up by repetition, so that more than a third part of the year has no proper Dominical office. With this brief explanation, we will proceed to give the Illation for the Sunday before Dedication:—

'Eternal GOD: beseeching Thy clemency that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to direct those who are sustaining the labour of the Divine warfare. And because it is ordained that of him to whom much is given, of him should the more be required, do Thou of Thy mercy direct our actions: that we may not be enfolded in our own errors, and may be delivered from that of others.'

Third Sunday after Decollation :—

'Eternal GOD: And humbly to implore Thy Majesty that JESUS CHRIST, Thy Son, our LORD, may protect us and preserve us by His grace: and because we can do no good thing without Him, that we may receive of His gift the power of pleasing Thee for evermore.'

We may now take our leave of Illations, merely observing that some of those in the Ambrosian book are comprised in two or three lines, and that the longest with which we are acquainted is that for the Festival of S. Vincent, in the Mozarabic, which occupies exactly two folio pages.

We have next to consider those so-called Collects, which are indeed addressed to the people rather than to GOD. These principally occur in the Mozarabic Office, where in the Liturgy they have the name of 'Missa.' Take, for example, the following for Easter Saturday :—

'Ye, who having been adopted by the grace of the sevenfold SPIRIT, celebrate the solemnity of the Resurrection of CHRIST, it befits you to venerate this seventh day, illustrious for the LORD'S rest, by the like obedience. For in this, of old time, GOD Himself, having created and accomplished all things which are contained in the fabric of the universe, rested from His work. He rested when He had accomplished those things which He created; He rested after death in the sepulchre, for the redemption of man. In the one He ceases from work; in the other, being buried, He gives to His work perpetual rest. This is the end of His labours; this is the salvation of His redeemed. This is consecrated by the very number seven; this is commanded to be kept holy by the precept of the ancient law. In this we are commanded to avoid servile works; in this we are also enjoined to keep a Sabbath holy to the LORD. Whence stirred up by the SPIRIT of the grace which has been imparted to us, let us beseech, beloved brethren, our great and wonderful Shepherd, JESUS CHRIST, that He may so grant us to avoid the slavery of the work of sin on this day, that, strengthened by the quiet of its holiness, we may rightly celebrate the feast of the LORD'S resurrection by our tears of love, and by our gift of sacrifices.'

These, then, prayers though they may be called, are distinct sermons attached to the Eucharistic office. No theological work of the kind could be more valuable than one which would trace these Missæ back to their original sources, specifying the changes and omissions which have been made in order to fit them for Divine Service. In our own copy, studied not with reference to that, we have marked five or six of these compositions, extracted from the works of S. Augustin, one or two from S. Fulgentius, three or four from S. Isidore, and a few from other Fathers. No doubt a search, specifically directed to this object, would discover the origin of very many more. Probably also the brief sermons actually delivered by the Archbishops of Toledo were, when thought especially excellent, inserted in the Office: for it is to be noticed that, though at some little distance from it, the *Missa* follows the Gospel (the Creed in the Mozarabic ritual is

placed, strangely enough, immediately after the Consecration). Thus the Missa not only resembles in character, but, to a certain extent, responds in place, to the sermon. Now, take another example from the Office for Whitsunday:—

'Let us, beloved brethren, with as much faith, attention, virtue, joy, exultation, devotion, obedience, purity, as we can, speak of the gifts of the HOLY GHOST promised to us by the SON of GOD, and to-day made good. Let our hearts be thrown open; let the minds of them that believe be purged; and let every sense and recess of the soul be spread wide. For no narrow breast can suffice to narrate the praises and the advent of that infinite SPIRIT. For He, consort with the FATHER and the SON; He, of one and the same substance, the third in Person, but the same in glory; He Whom the heaven of heavens contains not, because it cannot circumscribe nor inclose Him, to-day enters into the narrow tabernacle of our breast. And who of us, beloved brethren, can see in himself one worthy of such a Guest? Who can bestow on Him when He comes a meet reception, when He is the life of angels and archangels, and of all the celestial virtues? And therefore, because we acknowledge that we are unworthy of such an Inhabitant, let us beseech Him to prepare for Himself an habitation in us.'

We now come to the sixth division of our subject, namely, Responses and Versicles: that form of prayer which is called the 'Preces' in most Western Breviaries. In our own Prayer-book a faint trace of them remains in the Versicles which precede the first Collect. In the Sarum Breviary there is one peculiarity which well deserves attention in the ordinary *Preces* at Prime. The usual Office of most Churches has, after the verse, 'Holy GOD, holy and mighty, holy and immortal,' the simple response, 'Have mercy upon us.' The Sarum gives it thus: 'O LAMB of GOD, That takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us;' a change which cannot but remind them of the alteration made in the Trisagion, by Peter the Fuller, which has given rise to such repeated reclamations on the part of the Eastern Church: 'Holy GOD, holy and mighty, holy 'and immortal, Thou that wast crucified for us, have mercy 'upon us.' The Responses at Prime are virtually the same in all Breviaries; though here and there one or two more or one or two fewer verses of the 57th and 118th Psalms may be employed. For verses and responses on particular occasions, the various monastic uses will afford the richest variety, and these more especially in the Benedictions, which will form our last and concluding head. The verses for the Benediction of the Table usually take this form:—

'*V.* He hath dispersed abroad, he hath given to the poor.
'*R.* His righteousness remaineth for ever.
'*V.* I will bless the LORD at all times.
'*R.* His praise shall ever be in my mouth.
'*V.* My soul shall make her boast in the LORD.
'*R.* The humble shall hear thereof and be glad.
'*V.* O magnify the LORD with me.

'*R.* And let us exalt His name together.
'*V.* Blessed be the Name of the Lord.
'*R.* From this time forth for evermore.'

We have seen, however, singular variations in some of the German Breviaries. One of the most remarkable of these was in an Erfurdt book. Here, at the conclusion of the above Responses, the Superior, censing the image of S. Christopher, proceeded with the well-known verse:—

'*V.* Christofori Sancti speciem quicumque tuetur
'*R.* Illo nempe die nullo languore gravetur.
'*V.* Sancte Martyr Christofore.
'*R.* Memor esto nostri pie.
'*V.* Apud Deum omni horâ.
'*R.* Nos tuere sine morâ.'

In a Breviary which belonged to the Church of Cavailon, in south-eastern France, we have seen—what we never saw elsewhere—a series of varying Versicles and Responses before and after dinner, for the chief festivals of the year. In the same book, the Preces at Prime varied in a similar manner; and on some of the most remarkable occasions were forty or fifty in number. An inexorable railway prevented our transcribing what would not have been without its interest to ritualists.

The Preces of the Ambrosian Breviary, though not the same as the Roman, are of the same nature. On ordinary occasions they are as follows:—

'*V.* (*After the Creed.*) The resurrection of the body.
'*R.* And life everlasting.
'*V.* O let my soul live, and it shall praise Thee.
'*R.* And Thy judgments shall help me.
'*V.* I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost.
'*R.* O save Thy servant, for I do not forget Thy commandments.
'*V.* Blessed are they, O LORD, that dwell in Thy house.
'*R.* They shall be praising Thee for ever and ever.
'*V.* O stablish my steps according to Thy law.
'*R.* That my feet may not be moved.
'*V.* I cried unto Thee, O GOD, for Thou shalt hear me.
'*R.* Incline Thine ear unto me, and hearken unto my words.
'*V.* From such as resist Thy right hand, O LORD, keep us as the apple of an eye.
'*R.* Protect us under the shadow of Thy wings. Alleluia. Alleluia.'

In the Mozarabic Breviary, the Preces appear under several different forms. Thus, the Matutinarium, the Lauda, and the Sono, have all of them something of the same character; occupying, as it were, a midway position between the Preces and the short Responses of the usual Roman Hours. Here is the Sono for the Third Sunday in Advent:—

'Alleluia. Ye that make mention of the LORD, keep not silence, and take no rest, till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem

'*R.* A praise upon the earth.

'*V.* For as the earth produceth her flowers, and as a garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth: thus the LORD will cause righteousness to spring forth,

'*R.* A praise upon the earth.

'*V.* O Thou that evangelisest to Zion, get thee up upon the high mountain; say to the cities of Judah,

'*R.* Behold, the LORD GOD will come with a strong hand.

'*V.* The LORD, even the most mighty GOD, hath spoken, and called the earth.

'*R.* Behold, the LORD GOD will come with a strong hand.'

Here is an example of the Lauda for Easter Eve:—

'*V.* Alleluia. I am the first and I am the last, and I was dead,

'*R.* And, behold, I am alive again, for ever and ever. Alleluia.

'*V.* Thou art worthy, O LORD, to receive the book, and to loose its seals, for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to GOD by Thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue.

'*R.* And, behold, I am alive again for ever and ever. Alleluia.

'*V.* Alleluia. The Angel of the LORD descended from heaven.

'*R.* And he came and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre. Alleluia, Alleluia.

'*V.* The stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the head of the corner.

'*R.* And he came, and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre.

'*V.* His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow.

'*R.* And He said unto the women, Fear not ye!

'*V.* O give thanks unto the LORD; for He is gracious: for His mercy endureth for ever.

'*R.* And he came and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it.

'*V.* This is the True Bread of GOD, which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world: whosoever eateth of this shall live for ever. And the Bread which I will give, is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

'*R.* He that believeth in Me shall never hunger nor thirst. All. All.

'*V.* Behold, I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me: that ye may eat and drink at My table, in My kingdom.

'*R.* He that believeth in Me shall never hunger nor thirst. All. All.

'*V.* Glory and honour to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

'*R.* He that believeth in Me shall never hunger nor thirst. All. All.'

One of the most remarkable series of Preces, however, occurs in the same ritual, at the reception of the penitents, on Good Friday:—

'Silence. Penitents, pray. Bend your knees to GOD. Let us beseech our LORD GOD, that He would vouchsafe to give us indulgence of our crimes, and remission of our sins.

'Rise. Pray: bend your knees to GOD. Let us beseech the LORD GOD that of His clemency He will stretch forth His hand to the fallen, and bestow the safeguard which is requested of Him. Rise: Pray: bend your knees to GOD. Let us beseech our LORD GOD, that we, remembering the transgressions that we have committed, may henceforth avoid the snares of the enemy: that those whom the allurements of the devil had caused to

leave the Altar of GOD, plenteousness of tears, their patrons with Him, may recall. Rise: our prayer is finished. Let us all, with one voice, ask indulgence from the LORD.

'*We fall on our faces for prayer.*

'O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O.—*three hundred times.*
'*R.* Thou, O Good Shepherd, dost give Thy life for the sheep—*three times.*

'*Now the Archdeacon saith:—*
'*V.* We pray Thee, LORD, for—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let there proceed from the Most High—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let us, wretched sinners, be assisted by—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let all sins be pardoned by—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let there be given to the penitents—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it be the patron of—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it correct those that err in the faith—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it raise from sin those that are fallen—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* We pray Thee, O GOD, for—*R.* Indulgence.'

Then follows a long and beautiful prayer for pardon: and thus ends the 'First Indulgence.' The 'Second Indulgence' is of precisely the same nature, except that here the O, O, O, O, are only said two hundred times. The Preces here are:—

'*V.* We pray Thee, O LORD, for—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let us be reconciled to the FATHER by—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it confirm us in the grace of CHRIST—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it conform us to the HOLY GHOST—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it purge away famine and pestilence—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it give healing to the sick—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it restore captives to their country—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* Let it temper the changes of the atmosphere—*R.* Indulgence.
'*V.* We beseech Thee, O LORD, for—*R.* Indulgence.'

The 'Third Indulgence' is of the same character, the O, O, O, O, being said only one hundred times.

These Preces are among the most curious that any ritual can show; and, as such, it may not be displeasing to the reader to have had them presented to him.

But we hasten to a more important subject, that of Benedictions; and here we have chiefly to speak of those in the Mozarabic Offices. In the Liturgy of that Church, every separate mass has its benediction, varying with the occasion, divided into three clauses, as symbolical of the Blessed Trinity. Thus, for example, on Maundy Thursday:—

'CHRIST, the LORD, Who vouchsafed to be betrayed for the salvation of all, Himself[1] enrich you with the gift of His grace.—*R.* Amen. And He, Who by the morsel of bread betrayed His betrayer, cause you to be well pleasing to Him by the participation of this bread.—Amen. And He, Who vouchsafed to-day to wash the feet of the disciples, cleanse you from all

[1] The peculiar use of *Ipse* in the Mozarabic prayers, in places where it has only in a very modified sense its original force, reminds one of the similar employment of αὐτὸς in the Greek Liturgies; where it can hardly be translated.

iniquity, and give you a portion among His saints.—Amen. Through Thy mercy, O LORD GOD, Who livest and reignest, world without end.'

Or take another example, that on Easter Day:—

'The LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, after dying for the salvation of the world, rose again from the dead on this day, mortify you by His resurrection from all guilt.—*R.* Amen. And He Who by the tree of the Cross destroyed the dominion of death, give you an inheritance in life eternal.—*R.* Amen. That ye who celebrate in the present world the day of His resurrection with great joy, may merit the companionship of the saints in the heavenly region. Through Thy mercy,' &c.

Or again, take the Ascension Benediction:—

'JESUS CHRIST, the LORD, Who, when about to return to heaven, bequeathed peace to His disciples, preserve that peace whole and undefiled in you.—*R.* Amen. And give to you to be your guard, the holy angels whom He chose to be His own escort.—*R.* Amen. That He being your guide, ye may thither ascend by faith, where ye hope to be carried for your eternal rest.—*R.* Amen. Through Thy mercy,' &c.

There are examples, however, in which the Benediction consists of five, instead of three members. Such is the following for Easter Monday:—

'Let GOD arise amidst you, and let all your enemies be scattered.—*R.* Amen. And that ye, putting off the garment of the old man by the putting away your crimes, may put on newness of spirit with beauty of virtues.—*R.* Amen. And He Who conquered death by His own death, defend you from the power of the second death.—*R.* Amen. And He Who by His resurrection gave life to the world, deliver you from present and from future evil.—*R.* Amen. That ye who have received the hope of resurrection by CHRIST, the Victor, may also inherit, through the gift of the same, an eternity of beatitude.—*R.* Amen. Through Thy mercy,' &c.

The Benedictions in the Mozarabic *Breviary* are of the same form. Take, for example, this,—on Wednesday in the first week of Advent:—

'*V.* Our Redeemer and LORD, Who, by being born in the flesh, took away from us the yoke of the law, accomplish in us the benefits of His goodness.—*R.* Amen.

'*V.* And He Who took from us that which might agree with His own Divinity, give us, of His own, that which He may reward in us.—*R.* Amen.

'*V.* That we all, who welcome these joys of His former advent with happy devotion, may, in the time of His second advent, rejoice with all His saints.—*R.* Amen.

'Through Thy mercy,' &c.

And now, before we conclude, let us classify the varying Collects of the Roman, Mozarabic, Ambrosian, and Gallican Liturgies, so far as they are capable of being parallelised with each other. With these we may as well take the other

changeable portions of the Service, so as to make our table the more complete.

Roman.	Ambrosian.	Mozarabic.	Gallican.
Introitus	Ingressa	Ad Missam	Antiphona.
Collect	Oratio super populum	Oratio	Prefatio.
	Prophecy	Prophecy	Prophecy.
	Psalmellus	Psallendo	Psalmus Responsorius.
The Epistle	The Epistle	The Epistle	The Epistle.
Gradual	Alleluia, or Cantus		
The Gospel	The Gospel	The Gospel	The Gospel.
	Antiphona post Evangelium		
	Oratio Super sindonem.		
	Offertory.		
Nicene Creed	Nicene Creed.		
Offertory	Oratio super Oblata	Sacrificium.	
		Missa.	
		Alia Oratio.	
			Ante Nomina.
Secreta		Post Nomina.	Post Nomina.
		Ad Pacem.	
Preface	Preface	Illatio	Contestatio.
		Post Sanctus	Post Mysterium.
		Post Pridie.	
Communion	Confractorium		Ante Orationem Dominicam.
	Transitorium	Ad Orationem Dominicam.	
			Post Orationem Dominicam.
Post Communion	Post Communion.		
		Benediction	Benediction.
Prayer		Prayer.	

We have thus, according to the best of our ability, given a short account of the theory of Collects, and of the other prayers which form so prominent a part of Church ritual. The reader must remember in this, as in former papers on kindred subjects, that treatises, which might well take up a volume, have here to be compressed into the limits of a short paper. The briefest possible notice has to be taken of details which, if pursued at length, would be far more interesting, as well as far more instructive. In fact, we wish rather to point out to the reader what is worth his own study, than profess to lay before him the results of ours.

We are bound to acknowledge the great assistance which in this and previous papers we have derived from the invaluable library of the Rev. W. J. Blew; without which it had been impossible for us to study many of the rare books which in the course of our investigations it has been necessary for us to quote. The value of the library itself can only be exceeded by the courtesy with which its contents are placed at the disposal of scholars.

ART. III.—1. *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions.* By the Rev. R. CALDWELL, LL.D. London: Bell & Daldy. 1857.

2. *Colonial Church Chronicle.* June, 1858. London: Rivingtons.

3. *Documents Relative to the Erection and Endowment of Additional Bishoprics in the Colonies,* 1841—1855. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1855.

4. *Memorial of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on the Extension of the Episcopate in India, &c.* London: Bell & Daldy. 1857.

5. *The Extension of the Episcopate viewed in relation to the Missions of Southern India.* By the Rev. A. R. SYMONDS, M.A. London: (For private circulation).

6. *Three Sermons on the Death of the late Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.* By the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of WINCHESTER, the Rev. HENRY VENN, B.D., the Rev. JOHN HAMBLETON, M.A. London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday. 1858.

THERE is no result of the great religious movement which commenced just a quarter of a century back in the Church of England, to be compared, in the dimensions to which it has attained, the blessings which it has secured, and the ulterior effects which we may forecast from its adoption, with the extension of the Episcopate in the foreign possessions and dependencies of Great Britain, which we have witnessed during the last seventeen years. Within that period, twenty-two new sees have been erected and planted in every zone of the earth. Not merely have the funds (scanty, indeed, but accepted as sufficient) been provided for the chief pastors of the infant Churches among colonists and among heathen; but, what is far more, men, of several of whom no other section of Christendom could produce the like in their several posts, have been raised up to undertake the task of laying the foundations of fresh Churches, and to sacrifice themselves in extending the kingdom of Christ. Sanguine as were the hopes that were fostered by a return to this apostolical method of extending the Gospel of our Redeemer, the effects that have actually followed have far outstripped the fondest anticipations. We have seen Christian life rekindled amongst almost unchristianized communities, and in feebly-sustained missions. Emigrants, as in

South Africa for instance, have felt an old sentiment of attachment to the Church, which had almost died out, revive within them. At the invitation of the chief pastor, fresh clergy and missionaries have flocked around him; so that within a very few years the number of clergy in several dioceses has been doubled, trebled, quadrupled. As if endued with that singular power of reproduction which belongs to a particular class of animal organism, and by which they multiply themselves through subdivision, as soon as a new diocese has been formed, a demand has been made for its partition; it has separated itself into two, three, or four parts, as in New Zealand, or Australia, or the Cape, and straightway each separate portion, as it is cut off, has become at once a distinct and perfectly organized body. We need not speak of the vast energy of the clergy that has resulted from close personal supervision and encouragement, nor of the schools and churches that have been built, nor of the collegiate institutions that have been founded for rearing, eventually, a native ministry; but we cannot but notice how, almost before they were themselves settled, some of the newly-formed dioceses, looking beyond themselves and their own wants, have become centres of new missionary enterprise, showing themselves ready to impart even as they have received. A Board of Missions in behalf of the still heathen islands of Melanesia was formed a few years back at Sydney; and the late Bishop of Calcutta, with a true instinct derived from his position, designed to make his cathedral a centre of missionary action, and raised a fund for the endowment of missionary canons; although, from some circumstance or other, probably through increasing infirmity, he failed to mature the scheme, and has made over the large sum he had collected to the Church Missionary Society.[1] And we cannot but believe, looking to the future, that other blessings besides those enumerated are in store to bear their witness to the greatness and wisdom of this movement. The perpetuity of the Church of Christ in its Apostolic form is secured in those numerous communities, the powerful nations of future times, in which it has been planted. The Churches thus founded will be able to multiply themselves; they will exist as witnesses for the primitive rule and faith against the infinite subdivisions, and the various and lax doctrines of Christian sects on the one hand, and

[1] It is not surprising that the late venerable Bishop, considering his time of life, should have felt himself unequal to organize a scheme demanding so much energy and labour. Nor is it surprising, from his known predilection, that he should have transferred the funds to the Church Missionary Society. But the Committee of this Society make a not very ingenuous use of this circumstance, when they draw from it the inference, that 'every modern attempt to establish missions in any other way (than by voluntary Missionary Societies at home) has failed.'—*See Statement to accompany Memorial of the Church Missionary Society.*

against the corruptions and despotism of the Papal monarchy on the other. And, in ages to come, they will fairly bring to the test whether the Apostolic polity of confederate yet independent Episcopates, or the centralized despotism of a single head, is the better able to maintain and propagate the Church of Christ over the face of the whole world.

It was impossible that a thought of what had been thus exhibited in other parts of the world should not have vividly presented itself to the minds of those interested in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, on the recent disastrous outbreak in our Indian possessions. What deep thoughts and stirrings of heart, what momentous problems demanding solution, have been awakened by that melancholy tale of terror and of crime, are abundantly witnessed in the discussions, suggestions, earnest pleadings, and conflicts of opinion, that are yet rife in our public assemblies and journals, and are as far as ever from being settled. It seems as if the depths of society in that fated land had been suddenly broken up, and the foundations of the earth had been laid bare; and men, as they looked down, were appalled to see upon how frail, how rotten a basis our boasted empire had rested. All the innate wickedness of the human unregenerate heart, all the demoralizing, demoniacal influence of heathen idolatries, were found seething in the hearts, and under the fair exterior of the native population. Our hold upon them has been literally nothing; all has been wholly superficial. We have retained them neither by force nor love,—simply by opinion. The one great principle which underlies all individual character, and upon which human societies are built,—religion,—this has been kept quite out of sight and ignored; among a people, too, whose whole mind, habits, and life are saturated with the religious idea and sentiment. We treated the natives as we do children, —tolerating and flattering their superstitions as harmless levities, while we undisguisedly contemned them; yet at the same time we repudiated, or nearly so, any religion of our own, and were contemned as well as hated in return. What wonder if Christian politicians, nay, all men of any deep Christian convictions, saw and felt that an amalgamation between these heathen multitudes and ourselves was an impossibility, while the very principles of all our life—social, political, and individual—were at variance; that human craft and policy were all unequal to the task of making one people out of Christians and pagans? What wonder if it should been felt that in this perilous outbreak,—threatening our whole empire in the East and our security at home, and pointing as with visible finger to the one damning spot, the πρῶτον ψεῦδος which has brought forth this portentous disaster,—there was an evident Divine warning as

there was a providential opportunity to make fresh efforts for Christianizing that heathen land, and healing the deep-seated ulcer that affects it? And what wonder, we will repeat, if the directors of our Christian missions earnestly set their minds to consider how they could best open out fresh missionary enterprises, how they could strengthen and consolidate their existing missions, how give unity and force and expansive power to them,—and if, in so doing, they turned instinctively to that principle of Church polity, an Apostolic Episcopate, which had been found so fruitful, so full of evangelic blessing in other lands, and in all ages, and which had hitherto been only so very partially applied in our missionary conflict with the superstitions of the East?

The consequence was, as our readers will remember, that one of our great missionary societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under the presidency and with the co-operation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, held two meetings at the close of 1857, for the extension of their Indian missions, at which meetings the desirableness of dividing the present enormous dioceses, and of making the Episcopate a living, effective reality, was urged by more than one speaker, especially by the Bishop of Oxford in strains of unusual fervour, and was cordially accepted by the hearers. But this was only in continuation of more specific steps, that had been previously, and indeed at many different times, taken by the Society in this direction, and which it is necessary now to relate.

It appears that in 1853 the Society addressed a memorial to Lord Aberdeen, then First Lord of the Treasury, praying 'that 'advantage might be taken of the legislation then necessary for 'the government of India, to extend the Episcopate in that 'country.' Again, in 1856, 'the urgent necessity which existed 'for creating additional sees in India, was brought under the 'consideration of the President of the Board of Control,' by the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by other Peers. Shortly after this, in the same year, a committee was especially appointed to consider the subject more in detail; and it was before this committee that a carefully-prepared paper was read by the Rev. A. R. Symonds, Secretary of the Madras Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which seems to have acted on the Church Missionary Society somewhat as the greased cartridges did on the smouldering spirit of disaffection among the sepoys. It was the object of this paper to urge, as it does with considerable force and point, the strong claims and great need of Tinnevelly to be made a separate see, and to have a resident bishop, for the better organization of the numerous bodies of converts, and for extending missionary operations in that fruitful province. With steady and unwearied constancy

the subject was pressed forward in the following year; and in 1857, the same Society formally, and by an act of the corporate body, prepared a Memorial to the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Control, and the Directors of the East India Company, setting forth the unwieldy extent of the Indian dioceses, referring to the thousands of native Christians in the province of Tinnevelly, and praying that they would be pleased to advise her Majesty to erect three new Episcopal Sees in India.

We have stated these facts simply to show that this act of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was no sudden impulsive movement, hastily conceived or executed, but that it formed a part of that consistent policy which it has steadily pursued, since the memorable Declaration of the Bishops in 1841. The admirable results of this system, the good produced, beyond what the most sanguine anticipated, have been manifest to all the world; and so have also the simple good faith and zeal with which the Society has acted, without reference to any party predilections or narrow prejudice. A large mass of evidence and argument, comprised in a Statement appended to the Memorial of the Society, confirms what we say, showing that for years the increase of the Episcopate in India, especially in Southern India, has been pressed on the authorities of the State by persons of every position and every shade of religious sentiment. We shall be excused if we refer to these documents for a moment, in order to show the utter inadequacy of the present Episcopal staff to the extent of country nominally under its rule.

The diocese of Calcutta we find, then, extends in length nearly 3,000 miles, with an area of 1,089,000 square miles, including a population of 136,000,000 souls, and having some 200 stations of small bodies of Christians.

The diocese of Bombay is stated to be 800 miles in length, from north to south, comprising an area of 84,000 square miles, equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland, and having a population of 16,000,000. Madras, yet larger than this, stretches over 1,100 miles in length, with an area of 208,000 square miles, and including a population of 27,000,000. We need but a glance at such facts as these to perceive that the Episcopate of India at present, as a means of practical administration, is little more than a name and shadow; and that the Bishop, for the most part, can be regarded only as an officer of state. Indeed, for the last thirteen years, the late Bishop of Calcutta was unable, through his advanced age, to visit any portion of his diocese north of Allahabad; while, in the diocese of Madras, 'supposing the Bishop to be on his visitation during all those

'portions of the year in which it is practicable to travel,' it would take him three years to visit all the stations which ought to be visited, leaving him not more than three months in each year to reside at Madras;—this, too, in the diocese in which the great body of the converts to the Reformed Church exists, and where the missions are in a state requiring constant supervision and direction. Hence we find the Bishop of Calcutta, ever since 1844, pleading for a subdivision of his diocese, and also for a bishop to preside over the infant Church in Tinnevelly.

'Unquestionably' (he writes in June, 1852) 'a new see at Agra for the north-west provinces and the Punjaub is indispensable, and ought to have been erected from the moment the separate government was established, years since. A second see, for the Christian population at Tinnevelly, would also be desirable; but as the diocese of Madras (now Ceylon is cut off) is vastly less extensive than that of Calcutta, the pressure is not so great.'

So, likewise, the Bishop of Madras, addressing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the same year:—

'The necessity of the extension of the Episcopate, no man who knows India can dare to deny. A Bishopric for the presidency of Agra, with the Punjaub now annexed, is indispensable... I believe, too, that the erection of bishoprics for those parts of the country where our native converts have become so numerous that we count them by thousands, and where the attention of the Bishop should be exclusively directed to them, would be of incalculable benefit to the Missions.'

In the same tone both the late and the present Bishops of Bombay bear their testimony to the expediency of the measure; the latter, and above twenty clerical and lay residents in Bombay, expressing their 'earnest desire' to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 'that the increase of the Episcopate in India may be forthwith accomplished.'

Again, an address of a most remarkable character, to the same effect, has been sent to the Standing Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from officers and residents at Lahore, Peshawur, Simla, Banda, Agra, Delhi, and other important stations, the number of signatures amounting to nearly eight hundred; and in this prayer several of the Missionaries connected with the Church Missionary Society concurred, whose names are contained in the list published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

These, then, were facts, which, backed by so remarkable a *consensus* of opinion from all quarters in favour of an increase in the Indian Episcopate generally, and by recommendations from the Bishops of Madras and Calcutta in favour of a Bishop for Tinnevelly in particular, the Society felt it could not dis-

regard. Acting, therefore, not so much as a Society, as an organ of the Church, with the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it pursued its course as we have stated.

But in the midst of these proceedings, the Church Missionary Society showed signs of a dissatisfied and hostile spirit. We presume that it was in consequence of the representation of the Archbishop of Canterbury early in 1856, on the part of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that the Church Missionary Society, in April of the same year, drew up a Memorial addressed to the 'proper authorities' (on which term we shall have to comment hereafter), acknowledging generally the necessity of an increase of the Episcopate in India; but, after a few remarks on the want of a better regulated Church system in India, ending with the prayer (bearing all the speciality of a lady's postscript)—'The Committee would, therefore, humbly 'submit to the authorities who have the control of Indian affairs, 'an earnest request that this subject may be taken into consider-'ation, and that measures may be adopted for better defining 'the episcopal powers, and the relative ecclesiastical position of 'the clergy and laity, previously to the establishment of any new 'Bishoprics in India.'

Nothing followed upon this demonstration; indeed, we may say that it fell dead, and was virtually unknown beyond the walls of the committee-room within which it took its origin. At any rate (for we have thought it right to make inquiry), it was unknown to the managers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who, in 1857, proceeded in their course, and addressed their Memorial to the Prime Minister, &c., as already stated, specifying Lahore, Agra, and Tinnevelly, as the points where they thought it expedient fresh dioceses should be erected. Upon this, the Church Missionary Society took a more directly antagonistic step to thwart, if not the whole, at least a part of the desired measure. The proposal for a Bishop in Tinnevelly (for it is no use hiding that this is *the* sore point) awoke its slumbering hostility to the scheme. The pamphlet of Mr. Symonds, though addressed to the friends of both Missionary Societies, was seized on as containing suggestions which, if carried out, threatened to interfere with the control of the Society over its Missionaries, and was used as an occasion for drawing up, in 1857, an elaborate 'Statement' (to be appended to the former Memorial of the Church Missionary Society, but going far beyond in its scope),—vague indeed, and disguised even to inconsistency in its form, but very unmistakeable in its aim, —adducing reasons (which, if valid in one case, are equally so in all) against any increase of the Episcopate at the present time, and especially repudiating the appointment of any Bishop

to superintend Missions among the heathen; in other words, denouncing altogether what are more specifically called Missionary Bishops.[1]

This document we shall have to consider; and we do not hesitate to pronounce it one of the most mischievous, ill-advised papers ever issued by any society in connexion with the Church. Nor can we acquit the Committee of disingenuousness in the way they have sought to justify its publication. In the 'Minute,' forming the third paper in the series, and published this year, they venture to speak of themselves as *surprised*, as if they had been taken off their guard, by the Memorial of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1857. Yet they had themselves addressed a Memorial on the same subject in 1856, which is in itself a clear confession that they were perfectly cognisant of the contemplated measure; and moreover, so far back as 1852, a joint conference had been actually held of members from the Church Missionary Society and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *among whom was the Secretary of the former Society*, 'to 'take measures for the promotion of the Church and the interests 'of religion in India,'—on which occasion the very first resolution unanimously passed was, '*To press for an increase of the Episcopate in India.*' This was followed, as we have stated, by Memorials, in 1853 and 1856, from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; yet, when urged again in 1857, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society express *surprise* at the movement.

But looking at the general tenor of the 'Statement,' we perceive in it a tone of narrow jealousy, which, however natural in *sects*, is wholly unbecoming any organization within the Church. Whatever the language may be, the whole drift of this paper is to assert for the Church Missionary Society, essentially at least, an authority in the field of its mission co-ordinate with, if not independent of, that of the Episcopate; and, until this is guaranteed, to resist the erection of fresh sees, and the perfect development of the Church's polity, in our Indian dependencies. And, in so doing, we hesitate not to say, it puts the Committee in direct opposition to the Church and its authorities at home. If any principle has received the sanction of the Church in late

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[1] The papers put out by the Church Missionary Society on this subject are three in number:—1. The 'Memorial' to the 'proper authorities,' praying for the adoption of some fresh ecclesiastical regulations, before any extension of the Indian Episcopate should take place: dated April 14, 1856. 2. A Statement of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, to accompany the above Memorial, and setting forth the Committee's views on the general subject: dated April 13, 1857. 3. A Minute of the same Committee, explanatory, and designed to be exculpatory, of the above document: dated March 30, 1858. It is said that a fourth paper has appeared, or is to appear; we presume, in consequence of the severe animadversions from its friends that the Committee has incurred.

years, it has been that embodied in the Declaration of the Bishops in 1841, which asserted the expediency of an extension of the Episcopate in all our dependencies where bodies of Christians are gathered, and specified particularly Northern and *Southern* India. Moreover, we must remember that the Memorial of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1857 was adopted, not by a Committee merely, but by the Incorporated Society itself, by the Board, usually presided over by the Archbishop, and attended by other Bishops, and speaking in the name of the whole body of Bishops, all of whom are members of the Society. The measure thus adopted, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society deliberately repudiate, and adduce three reasons for so doing. It will be said, no doubt, that the same Bishops are members of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society. We are aware that it is so; but this, in truth, only aggravates the evil; and we appeal to the prelates so situated to consider the position in which they are thus placed. The policy for which they are responsible in one Society is now opposed by the other; and we respectfully ask, *which* they intend to abide by? We beg them to consider their position, and ascertain how it is (by whose instrumentality and rashness) they are placed in conflict with themselves. We beg respectfully to inquire, whether their position as Vice-Presidents of at least one Society is more than a name; and whether they are willing to delegate the authority of their rank and position to its acting managers, and to accept such views of ecclesiastical or missionary polity as these may please to put forth. They are surely bound to examine the matter, and to assert (if they claim it) a voice in so important a question as the fair, legitimate, and necessary extension of the Apostolic office in the evangelization of the world, which, we hesitate not to say, is deliberately repudiated by the Church Missionary Society, in their name, and under their authority, as members of the Committee.

We are quite aware of the answer which will be made to this. We are aware of the professions of attachment which, from time to time, the organs of the Society have proffered to Episcopacy. Even in the 'Statement' here referred to, the Committee deprecate any inference of their aversion to episcopal authority or superintendence; and as this general answer is deemed, as it seems, sufficient to silence the allegations urged against the sentiments contained therein, we will deal with it *in limine*.

'The Society,' say they, 'has always sought this superintendence for its missions. It was mainly through its exertions that the Episcopate was established in India, in New Zealand, in

'Rupert's Land, and in Sierra Leone.' If this profession could be accepted in its full, unreserved sense; if it really meant that the Committee, speaking for the Society, did feel the importance of having, not simply the 'superintendence,' but the presence and control of Bishops in their missions; of having not merely a Bishop of this or that way of thinking, or in this or that relation to itself, but a Bishop *as such*, as a Divine ordinance, and as the legitimate ruler and director of the missionary action of the Church within his diocese,—we confess that the answer would be satisfactory and complete. We should, indeed, have to remark the strange inconsistency of opposing the extension in India of this apostolic office, so appreciated in Rupert's Land, Sierra Leone, and New Zealand; and we might have asked for an explanation of it. But in truth, had it been thus, neither the 'Statement' nor the opposition would ever have existed. We know well, and the Committee know well, that they do not mean this. They are not anxious for a Bishop's *control*, whatever they may feel about his general *superintendence;* they do not desire his *presence*, however they may boast of and parade his *patronage*. The general principle is acknowledged; but it is neutralized and got rid of in the application. It is an Episcopacy of their own fashion that they desire, and no more; one that will leave the action of their Committee, both abroad and at home, intact, and will recognise their own assumed, novel, and, we must add, anomalous authority. But, as every one knows, it is not over the *major* premiss that people dispute, but over the *minor;* and these general admissions are of little worth. Under this vague profession of venerating the episcopal polity of the Church of England, we cannot but fear there lies cloaked a deep objection to any such specific application, or extension of it, as would introduce its working into their own spheres of operation. If this seem an ungenerous opinion, we must appeal to the 'Statement,' and to the past history of the Society, in its confirmation.

The Church Missionary Society has now been in existence for above half a century; and we willingly acknowledge the zeal and devotion with which it has worked, and the benefits it has diffused in many parts of the world,—in New Zealand, Sierra Leone, and India. But it has existed long enough to have its traditions, to have impressed upon it habits, a mode of action, complexion, character, and general tone of its own. And this temper, so real yet so intangible, does certainly not favour episcopal control and supervision. It is scarcely to be expected that it should do so; for this Society was no offspring of the ecclesiastical authorities—it had a lay and Presbyterian origin. For years it struggled, and struggled well, under the shade of epi-

scopal discountenance and suspicion, and it cast the frame of its action in another mould than that of the Church. In grouping its associations, it is not the diocesan, but the civil division of the country that it follows; counties, districts, divisions of counties, not dioceses or archdeaconries. A layman is, and always has been, its President;[1] and so little was the contingency of the Archbishop ever being a member of the Society provided for, that when the event did take place in 1840, a new office,—that of Vice-Patron,—was created to meet the unlooked-for emergency. In the presence, certainly of high, if not the highest dignitaries, a layman still presides over the committees; and if we examine the reports, it would assuredly be difficult to find symptoms of the Missions lying under any episcopal jurisdiction whatever. In regard to these also, the division of the fields of operation does not follow that of the dioceses; but we read of the 'West Africa Mission,' the 'Ceylon Mission,' the 'North-west America Mission'—though each of these districts has its bishop—of Sierra Leone, Colombo, and Rupert's Land. And the control of these prelates must indeed be very moderate, since, in looking at the reports, we find hardly the slightest reference to the duties or the benefits of the bishop—no correspondence from him; and indeed, in the report of last year, on a cursory glance at the accounts from the Missions, we can scarcely descry that such a person as a bishop exists, for in more than one he is literally not mentioned. This can hardly be accidental—it is the tone of the Society; for, throughout the reports, *its* duties, the Committee's appointments, arrangements, and regulations, appear in every page; indeed, how absorbing its interests and importance are, we may see in this characteristic extract, from a letter of a Missionary at Cotta, who, referring to the blessings attendant on the instructions of the institution in that place, observes:—

'The great majority of the day-scholars are the sons of influential natives, in the different villages in the Cotta district. Not a few of the parents are heathen; but probably very few of these sons of heathen parents will leave the institution with any attachment to Buddhism, and almost all of them with a strong attachment to' (not the Christian faith, as we might expect, but) 'the Church Missionary Society.'[2]

We do not desire to overstrain these symptoms, nor the inference they suggest; but in the presence of them, the profession of strong attachment to episcopal government sounds, to say the least, unreal; and the suspicions thus excited are confirmed still more when we look at the 'Statement' on the Indian Episcopate under consideration. We there learn that, whatever may be thought of

[1] In the laws and regulations originally drawn up (and followed, we believe, up to 1840), there was literally no mention of a Bishop at all.

[2] Report, 1856-7, p. 152.

Episcopacy in the abstract, Episcopacy at a distance—submissive and patronising—it is not Episcopacy in the fulness of its Divine office, in active working contiguity with themselves, that the Committee desire. No room for doubt is left here. They tell us what they approve and what they do not approve. A Bishop such as exists at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—some 800 or 1000 miles from their scene of action—who, from time to time, say once in three years, may pay a passing visit to the missions managed by the Society; this is well. 'There are great 'advantages,' say the Committee, 'in the periodical visits of a 'Bishop having a recognised connexion with the Government, and 'who is treated with more respect, from his visits being occasional. 'The seasons for confirmation, and for the ordination of native 'ministers, occurring at intervals of three years, have proved a 'great benefit to the mission.' This they approve; and certainly it is not a burdensome superintendence. But a Bishop 'resident,' one who may 'personally take a part in the work' of a mission, especially 'in its early stages,' above all, a 'Missionary Bishop,' [1] *i. e.* a Bishop to preside over a diocese where missions to the heathen exist, and to superintend, direct, and take part in them as chief Pastor—*this* they repudiate *totis viribus*. They protest against what they venture to call a 'new form of Episcopate' (as if there were more than one form of Episcopate as of Priesthood); *this* they beg that, whatever other societies may choose to do, *they* may be free from—separation even being better than subjection to the application of Church government to themselves.

We are, then, authorized in saying that it is only Episcopacy '*under conditions*,' as theologians write, that the Church Missionary Society approves or will tolerate. And had the Committee stopped here, or said this plainly—had they announced what they in reality intend—'We are a Missionary Society, with our own 'traditions, views, and powers; we will conduct our own missions 'among the heathen; we hold the purse-strings, and we will 'control and direct our missionaries for ourselves; we are willing 'to acknowledge Bishops in a certain way, to accept their 'patronage and *prestige* and support; we will use them for our 'confirmations and ordinations, which are their proper work, but

[1] As a Missionary Bishop excites the greatest repugnance in the minds of the Committee, we have endeavoured to ascertain the exact idea they attach to such a term. We conclude that they cannot reckon the Bishop of Sierra Leone or Rupert's Land to be such, since they take credit for aiding in establishing those Sees; yet *these* we should have conceived to be strictly Missionary Bishops. On the other hand, the late Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, is designated by the Bishop of Winchester (Three Sermons, p. 39), a 'Missionary Bishop,' which, to our mind, he certainly was not. And Mr. Venn, in his Sermon, speaks of the same Bishop's office as a 'Missionary Episcopate' (p. 62).

'we do not want them to be set over our operations, nor to place 'ourselves under their authority and direction; in a word, a 'Bishop of Tinnevelly—*this* we will oppose.' Had they spoken thus, they would have said what is their real meaning; and whatever we might have thought of their allegiance and fidelity to the Church, we should have understood them.[1] But the Committee have not so acted; they have elaborated a theory to underprop their own authority and the supremacy of the purse-strings; and with these arguments—deceptive, untrue, and at variance with Church doctrine as we believe them to be—we must deal as freely as we have done with the movement altogether.

The most prominent position urged by the Committee in support of its pretensions is to be found in the following extract, which we give at length:—

'It is sometimes assumed that Bishops should have the chief part in the commencement of Missions, and that their presence is needed even in the early stages of the work; but the Committee regard this theory as incompatible with the agency of voluntary Missionary Societies at home. . . .

'The question, therefore, which lies at the root of the present inquiry, in its bearing upon the evangelization of India, turns upon the supposed "Missionary Bishop," and "*the action of Missionary Societies at home*." The Church Missionary Society has had long and large experience of Missions in different fields of labour, and under a great variety of circumstances, in respect of episcopal superintendence. It has conducted Missions in countries where there has been no Bishop; where there have been Bishops friendly and unfriendly to its constitution; where the Bishop has been strongly imbued with the notion of assimilating missionary operations to the requirements of the Church in England, and where the Bishop has allowed a large discretion to the Missionaries; and they give the result of their experience as conductors of the most extensive Missions of the Church of England. Viewing the case from this vantage-ground, the Committee are brought to the conclusion, that it is practically undesirable for all parties, for a Bishop to take a leading part in missionary operations in their earlier stages.'

'The office of the Evangelist necessarily precedes the Episcopate. The commencement of a Mission involves a large amount of secular work and lay agency. A Mission is mainly carried on by catechists, readers, and schoolmasters, who must be under the immediate control of the Missionaries, with an ultimate reference to the Committee which *supplies the funds*.

[1] The Committee appear to have adopted, in regard to Bishops *in partibus infidelium*, the view which, as is reported, has been enunciated by one of our recently appointed Bishops, in regard to Bishops at home. It is positively startling to find a Prelate defend the unmanageable extent of his diocese, on the very ground that he cannot exercise personal oversight; cannot make himself one with the Clergy in their separate parishes,—and is thus compelled to restrict his episcopal functions to merely official routine, and a perfunctory administration of the law. It really comes to this. This theory of Episcopacy, and the conclusion it, in fact, points to, are contained in the old couplet—

'It is so great because it is so small;
It would be greater were it none at all.'

We will only say, that it is not the enemies of the Church alone who will begin to think whether Episcopacy *of this kind* is worth the keeping.

A Bishop's visitation, to confirm and ordain converts, and to encourage and superintend the ordained Missionaries in their spiritual office, is most advantageous to a mission.[1] But if a "Missionary Bishop" should be sent out and expected to take part in the work, his *episcopal* functions must be for the most part laid aside: he must join the Mission as a fellow-evangelist, and place himself under the general control of the managing Committee. This is a position at variance with the present constitution of the Episcopacy of the United Church of England and Ireland.'

It is necessary here to disentangle two objections, dexterously entwined together, against the creation of Bishops in the early stages of missions to the heathen,—the second being the one really felt, and the first a theory thrust forward to cloak it. The first assertion is, that in the early stages of the work of evangelization, the active intervention of Bishops is not needed, that the work of evangelizing precedes and is distinct from the office of a Bishop, and is incompatible with the exercise of his episcopal functions; the second is, that the presence and supervision of a Missionary Bishop is irreconcilable with the agency of voluntary societies at home.

Never was there a position more untenable, more at variance with Scripture, sound principle, reason, and experience, than is the first of these. The ground of it lies in the distinction the writer is pleased to make between a Bishop after his own ideal, and that 'new form of Episcopate,' a Missionary Bishop; the services of the former he thinks but little, if at all, needed in early missions—the latter he will not have. His idea of a Bishop appears to be that of a man of influence, wealth, and high secular position, with the slow movements of a great official, conferring rare visits, exercising a general patronising supervision, but disclaiming all attention to the details of management. Such a one, we are almost inclined to agree with him, would be misplaced among the primitive roughnesses of a newly-broken mission-ground. Such as this, is what we have hitherto alone produced in India; such alone can we have while the dioceses remain of their present extent. Our Bishops there have executed their office as best they could; and those among them who have attempted to rise higher than the conventional standard, and fulfil in some measure the ideal of an Indian Bishop, have sunk exhausted under the task. But we turn from this nineteenth-century type to one of a more primitive and apostolic order, such as many of our colonial dioceses can now exhibit, but which the Committee of the Church Missionary Society is pleased to disown. We turn to Scripture, and there

[1] 'Ecclesiastical questions are purposely avoided in this statement, or it might be urged that Timothy and Titus were only occasionally resident in Ephesus and Crete.'—*Memorial*, p. 9.

find that the chief Pastors of the Church, men endowed with the episcopal functions, did take part in the early work of missions to the heathen, nay, stood in the very fore-front of them, directed and organized them; for they at least felt that the 'apostolic office' was by its very term the 'missionary office.' How shall we account for the repudiation of such a simple fact as this by men who profess, and we doubt not honestly desire, to follow Scripture in all their religion? Is it not that they have been warped by that modern self-flattering notion that the evangelization of the heathen is the work of societies, not the work of the Church? They have abandoned the true idea of the Church in this respect, and have transferred its office to these self-appointed associations. Societies may exist without Bishops—but the Church, in its perfect organization, cannot. If the work of evangelization belongs to the Church in its corporate character, then Bishops are necessarily at the head of missions; and as this has been lost sight of, so has the position, the authority, and the permanency of missions failed. But this, societies and combinations of individuals find unpalatable to them. Just in proportion as they desire independence and self-action, they set aside the true ecclesiastical authority. This, in truth, lies at the bottom of the whole matter. But these principles will not bear the test of Scripture. Three things the Committee seem to assert, and lay down as a kind of missionary canon. 1st. That a Bishop is not the person to appear first, or even in the early stages of a mission to the heathen. 2nd. That even where an infant Church has been already formed, a 'resident' Bishop is to be disowned; and, 3dly, That a Bishop ought to take no direct part in evangelizing, *i.e.* preaching the Gospel to unbelievers. But how was all this in the primitive times? Who first went everywhere preaching the kingdom of God? Who laid the very first foundation of Churches among the unbelieving world? Were they not apostles? Paul, Peter, and the rest of that apostolic company? and were not *presbyters* the *after*-appointment to carry on their work at the local points where converts had been gained? Or, to take the cases of Titus and Timothy. The Committee, in a small foot-note, refer to these first Bishops, and fall into a strange dilemma; for in their anxiety to make out that neither Timothy nor Titus *resided* where they had been placed by S. Paul to *preside*, they remark that they 'were only occasionally resident in Ephesus and Crete.' Well, suppose it so for a moment; what, then, were they doing? They must have been imitating S. Paul, and moving about evangelizing: the very thing which the Committee say ought not to be done by Bishops; and that Timothy and Titus were Bishops, their note allows. They either 'resided,' *i.e.* ruled over the infant Church

in one spot, or they evangelized, or they did both. The truth undoubtedly is, that they did both, just as a Bishop sent to preside over a partially Christianized country should do, and as (thanks be to God) we see those Missionary Bishops of our own communion do, of whom the Church may well be proud; and of some of whom, by a strange inconsistency, the Committee seem to approve. We do not deny that Titus and Timothy did probably visit S. Paul as he desired, nor that they moved about visiting converts; still they each had a local jurisdiction within which they exercised the office committed to them,—in Ephesus with its surrounding country, and in Crete,—not vast continents, nor even provinces, but neither of them larger than Tinnevelly—each, too, with its infant Church in the midst of a heathen population. Then again, while resident locally as far as was necessary, they yet joined in the work of conversion; for such was S. Paul's injunction to Timothy, *κήρυξον τὸν λόγον*, which phrase every scholar will recognise as having the special meaning of 'proclaiming the Word to unbelievers;'[1] such, even more precisely, in the words, 'do the work of an evangelist,' which the Committee must venture to think ill-advised counsel, according to their canon of missionary duties.

And if such were the scriptural apostolic rule, it needs no disquisition to prove that it was that followed in the succeeding ages. As regards the affairs of infant Churches being directed by rulers of apostolic rank, we conclude the instances of the seven Asiatic Churches, and the Epistles of Ignatius (however much the text may be curtailed), furnish sufficient evidence. We have indeed but scanty notice of direct missionary operations in the first two centuries; still all the glimpses that we have look one way, to evangelists gaining converts, and these converts, as soon as ever an infant Church could be formed, at a much earlier stage of its progress than that which Tinnevelly has reached, being presided over by a Bishop, usually the very evangelist or presbyter who had been their father in the faith. Frequently, when a band of missionaries went out, they were placed under the presidency of one of their number, who was entrusted at the time with apostolic authority; anyhow, he was afterwards invested with it, to direct, and enlarge, and support the mission, or to consolidate it into a Church. It is needless to instance Ulphilas, Augustine, Boniface, Anschar; almost every great missionary enterprise corroborates the position. We certainly read nothing of large missions being under the care of associated Christians at a distance; nothing of committees

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 2, 5. This force of *κηρύττω* is confirmed by the titles by which S. Paul describes his special office towards the heathen, *εἰς ὃ ἐτέθην ἐγὼ κήρυξ καὶ ἀπόστολος.*

claiming to rule by the purse-strings, and looking with jealousy upon having a Bishop 'forced' upon their missions.

It is true that among ourselves (to pass at once over a long period of time) this method seems to have been greatly lost sight of; it passed into desuetude during that long period of missionary torpor which set in, like a deep slumber, on the English Church after the Reformation, and was almost repudiated during the secularity of the Church, and the political servility of its prelates, under the first reigns of the Hanoverian dynasty. With the revival of greater missionary zeal at the beginning of this century, another system took its place. Voluntary societies acted in the room of the Church in its corporate capacity, and Committees undertook many of the administrative functions of Bishops. We do not complain of their doing this, we do not say that at the time anything else could have been done. But when it is broadly asserted by the advocates of missionary Committees, to the disparagement of missionary Bishops, that the ancient Scriptural method is not needed, that it is an encumbrance, an anomaly, we venture to remind the advocates of this system, that all the 'new forms of Episcopacy,' all the anomalous assumption of authority, is on their side; that the action of such societies can only be regarded as a transitory expedient; and that if ever our missions are to grow and to multiply, and develop into native self-regulating Churches among the heathen, these societies must give way to that divinely ordered polity without which we feel assured those distant Churches can attain neither order nor permanency, nor a sound faith.

Indeed, if we look at the reason of the thing, we cannot conclude otherwise. We need not recite all the special duties which have to be executed in the direction of an early mission, and of scattered congregations of converted heathen. These duties are very peculiar and very arduous; great observation of character, and discretion and resource in dealing with peculiarities of race, or nature, or of heathen prejudices, are required. The presbyters need especially to be directed, that unity of action may be secured among them. While *these* are stationary, there is need of some one to watch where fresh openings can be made, or seized for expansion,—to provide fresh labourers, and assign them their proper station and work,—to check rising evils, and settle unavoidable doubts or misunderstandings,—to adapt to special circumstances the discipline of the Church,—to sanction special services,—to 'rebuke and exhort with all authority.' Of course it may be said that a committee can do all this; but to such a reply we would make a twofold rejoinder—one of probability, the other of fact. Omitting

for a moment that the Church is provided with a special authority for these things, which authority committees have not,—what we wish to ask is, Whether for the directing a mission with promptitude and effect, a man of judgment and energy and sanctity, specially appointed for the work, with the responsibility (we say nothing now of any special Divine gift or blessing) of his office upon him,—*a man on the spot*, and conversant with the details of fact and character,—whether such a one as this, or a committee of clergy and laity, residing some thousands of miles away, seeing with the eyes of others, invested with no individual responsibility, occupied with other affairs, is fitter for the work? In secular matters there could be no doubt. It is idle to urge that the Bishop may be a man contrary to what we have described; for so may the committee; we assume the two equal in fitness as regards character. Neither may it be urged that the committee at home is aided by a sub-committee in the country where the missions lie, though some two or three hundred miles from the actual spot; for the Bishop may also have a council of advice. We will answer such a suggestion in the words of Bishop Wilson, in his Charge for the year 1838:—

'I consider the dignity, peace of mind, and usefulness of the clergy in our missions to be involved in their being preserved, as much as possible, independent of all control in their spiritual functions, except that which springs from their own ordination vows, the order of the Church, and the paternal superintendence of the Bishop. I speak of spiritual regimen only. With temporal matters, and whatever may come under the head of lay-patronage—I repeat what I stated in my primary charge—I never in any way interfere.

'I may be wrong, but I consider some of the best interests of my reverend brethren as especially dependent on my fidelity in this question. I regard the topic as one of the grand principles which constitute the distinction between an episcopal and a non-episcopal polity. That I should lay so much weight upon it may, perhaps, seem strange to those who are unversed in ecclesiastical proceedings; but to those who are in the least acquainted with them, it will appear at once in its true magnitude—everything, in fact, turns upon it, as I think. I have always understood—and long observation confirms me in the opinion—that lay government in spiritual matters tends ultimately to hamper ministers in the discharge of their duties, to lower their doctrine and spirit, and insensibly to make them the creatures of the people. I have no fears on these subjects at present. But I look forward, and I confess I can scarcely conceive of a greater evil, in the long lapse of time, than for ordained presbyters in our Church to be placed in circumstances to lead them to court the changing pleasures, prejudices, and cast of religious sentiment of a number of lay gentlemen who happen to have obtained a majority of voices in the committee which hold *the funds* of their sacred cause.'[1]

And there is yet a further reason, which we must not overlook.

[1] Charge, pp. 46, 47.

In several missionary districts, such as Tinnevelly, there are clergy supported by *different societies*. Are these and their converts to be brought into one, or to be kept separate? Is there to be a church, or only a number of separate missions? If the former, there must be a Bishop, under whom *all* will range themselves, who will take cognizance of *all*, so that they may grow up into one body. Committees regard only the specific missions with which each is connected; a Bishop the missions of the Church. And without a Bishop local, resident, and influential, union cannot be solidly effected.

So much for our answer as regards the probability of the thing. Let us now turn to facts; and, for our facts, turn to this very mission of Tinnevelly. What occurred in the early period of that mission, the period claimed by the Society as exhibiting the beneficial results of the paternal management of committees? It is on record, that frightful disorganization prevailed. Through the idiosyncrasies (such as the committee reserve for Bishops alone) of a Lutheran minister employed by the Church Missionary Society, Mr. Rhenius, not only great irregularities of practice, but a formal schism was caused. The whole mission was in disorder. We need not enter into details; but when the Bishop of Calcutta went to visit it in 1834, he had to report—

'I discovered a system at work in the extreme south (*i.e.* the province of Tinnevelly, where I supposed the mission of the Church Missionary Society, though the senior was a Lutheran, were continuing to follow our general doctrine and discipline) in direct opposition to our Protestant Episcopal Church, by the members of which they were sent out; a system so ruinous, in my judgment, to the holiness and peace of the new converts, as to threaten a subversion of Christianity itself among them.'[1]

Besides this, he found the prevalence in some missions of heathen practices connected with caste, so monstrous as almost to nullify their professed Christianity. He enumerated fifty instances of these corruptions, and only with great risk was able to check them. It is quite true that the Church Missionary Society on becoming acquainted with Mr. Rhenius' doings, dismissed him; but it was after the evil was done and a schism had been caused. What we adduce the circumstances for, is only to mark how ineffectual distant management must necessarily be. Here were missions of some standing and growth under the direction and management of committees;—for thirteen or fourteen years the Church Missionary Society had had a footing in Tinnevelly, and yet these monstrous evils had grown to a head unchecked. We must suppose the Committee were ignorant of them; but anyhow, it is quite clear that their management had failed to check

[1] Dedication prefixed to Charges for 1834 and 1835, p. viii.

the sowing and the growth of the tares with the wheat in the mission-fields. And if we maintain, that with the presence of a Bishop such evils would have been prevented, nay, that their existence would have been almost impossible; we are not urging our own conclusion, but that of Bishop Wilson himself, who deliberately observed, in his Charge delivered some three years afterwards:—

'Had the eminent Missionaries I have named in Southern India been succeeded immediately, and not after an interval of thirty or forty years, by others of a like spirit, and a chief pastor and bishop been resident among them, we should probably not have had to lament the decay I have referred to.[1] It was in the first propagation of the Gospel that the divinely instituted polity of Christ's Church was expanded and applied; nor can the second propagation, for which we are now looking and praying, be expected to be so safely carried on as under the same discipline.'[2]

We see here in one instance—and instances might be multiplied—what has been the result of the absence of active episcopal superintendence over young missions. Let us now turn to observe what recent experience exhibits of the effects of the presence, active vigilance, and real oversight (the Committee will perhaps call it *interference*) of Bishops, not among our colonists only, but among the heathen. We will not instance New Zealand, though this is now furnishing an example of apostolic work to which after ages will look back with veneration; we will refer only to Southern Africa, where, before a Bishop was appointed eleven years since, there were but fourteen clergy, but where we have now three Bishops, and eighty-four clergy. We desire to call the attention of the Committee and all our readers to what a Missionary Bishop can be, and can do, by referring to each of these prelates. Bishop Gray finds it necessary to found a College for the sons of native chiefs, so largely has the work grown on his hands; and recently the Governor has committed to him forty such youths for education. He is now come among us to plead for missions to the Hottentots; for under his influence the work is 'becoming, more 'and more each year, a pure mission work among Hottentot and 'other native races.' Bishop Cotterill, in the first year of his Episcopate, traverses his diocese, and sees and confers with several heathen chiefs, strengthens his missions, organizes a Kafir relief fund, and, more than all, draws up a simple code of missionary rules, likely to give unity, strength, and guidance to the missionary work. The Bishop of Natal is busied in establishing

[1] 'In like manner, the presence of a Bishop at Tinnevelly would have probably prevented, as a means, the very commencement of those irregularities, from which such divisions and scandals at length arose.'—*Note*, p. 34.

[2] Charge, p. 34.—The following note is added: 'The American Church has, I rejoice to learn, begun to send out Missionary Bishops.'

throughout his diocese, and projecting beyond it, fresh missions for the Zulus, overseeing all, neglecting nothing, supplying his want of ministerial aid by training godly laymen.

Why is all this work going on in what was recently but one colony, and where mission work was asleep, but because overseers worthy of the name, *i. e.* Missionary Bishops, have been placed there,—because not triennial visitations, but active, every-day labour, and co-operation, and encouragement, and counsel, have marked their action, and because the dioceses are in some way manageable, and do not paralyse effort by their extent, and afford the convenient plea for a merely official supervision?

And why should not all this take place in Tinnevelly? Here is a province especially suited for a distinct diocese. It forms a separate Zillah, or collectorate, and so its limits would coincide with those of the civil organization. There is not more than one—perhaps not one—chaplain of the East India Company within its area; so that no collision of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities could ensue. In extent, it measures 120 miles long by 75 broad, and contains 1,269,216 inhabitants, exceeding most of our English dioceses. It has a body of native Christians dispersed throughout it, in communion with the Church of England, numbering 52,000 souls. Most of the congregations are now settled down and organized, so that they can scarcely fall under the description of the Committee, as 'Missions in their early stages.' They are, in fact, parishes requiring the constant supervision of a resident ministry; and besides these, there is an immense opening for the extension of the Church in every direction. The number of ordained missionaries amounts only to twenty-nine, to superintend 52,000 converts, not collected together, but scattered among 684 villages, so that each district resembles a rural deanery rather than a parish; in fact, they are called *stations*, and hundreds of catechists are placed under the direction of the Missionaries, who are thus invested with a small spiritual jurisdiction.

Undoubtedly here is a manageable compact field of intense missionary interest and hope, and, under the Divine blessing, waiting only for a vigorous apostolic organization to be indefinitely extended, and to teem with a harvest of evangelical success. Yet what is the nature of the ecclesiastical supervision provided for this promising field? First, there is a presbytery of the missionaries themselves; then, two corresponding committees, consisting of clergy and laity, at Madras,—probably some 400 or 500 miles distant; then, the general committees (of the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for both have their missions there), of the same mixed

character in London, who direct their corresponding committees; and somewhere, afar off, in dim distance looms indistinctly the Bishop of Madras, who may perhaps visit the province once in three years; but if he does so, finds all the supervision previously exercised by these corresponding committees. Whatever this administration may be, it certainly is not episcopal; and we fully believe a commensurate check is imposed upon the efficacy of the missions. Mr. Symonds enumerates many of the evils arising from this want of personal supervision,—this distracted, dispersed, ill-defined authority, practically residing at last in the elected Committee in London. He instances the prejudicial effects of this species of management, in the want of unity, the absence of real superintendence, the isolation and too extended authority of the small body of Missionaries,—and the deficiency of separate evangelistic movement on the spot for gathering fresh districts into the field; in a word, in the absence of a head, present and vigilant, to direct and combine; such a head as the Church system provides, and which has upon it the blessing of a Divine institution.

The past history of Tinnevelly shows, as we have seen, how, for want of such supervision, disastrous evils have ensued, and the development of the Mission, as we believe, has been hindered. For though it has undoubtedly grown, it has shown no such vigorous outshoot as we have observed in the Cape Missions. Without regarding the two cases as altogether parallel, there is sufficient similarity to justify our comparing them; and, taking the increase of the ministry as a test of the growth of the Church, we find that, whereas in the latter case this has multiplied sixfold—from fourteen to eighty-four clergy—in the course of the last decenniad, the increase in Tinnevelly is only from nineteen to twenty-nine during the same period; the increase of congregations in both cases corresponding in ratio to that of the clergy. And yet it is against the proposal to impart to Tinnevelly the same spiritual rule and apostolic organization as has proved so beneficial elsewhere, that the Committee of the Church Missionary Society resolutely opposes itself, and declares:—

'Many present advantages would therefore be sacrificed, while risk would be incurred to the well-being of that rising Native Church, by the appointment under present circumstances of a "resident Missionary Bishop";' and they 'trust that such Bishops will never be found upon a Mission contrary to the convictions and experience of the Society which has founded and nursed the Native Church, and is still contributing largely to the support and management of its institutions, and aiding its extension.'

But we pass now to the second objection, which has already been referred to, which runs through the whole of the 'Statement' of the Church Missionary Society, and which lies at the root of the antipathy manifested to the extension of the Indian

Episcopate. It consists of an asserted incompatibility of such an extension with 'the agency of Missionary Societies at home.' In what this incompatibility is conceived to exist, may be gathered from the following passage in the 'Statement:'—

> 'It is impossible not to apprehend occasional contrariety of judgment, on practical questions, between a Bishop personally taking part in the work, and the Missionaries long engaged in it, or the Committee with whom the funds are entrusted; and that partialities will exist for particular systems of operation. Such contrarieties or partialities in a settled Church create little trouble, because all parties have their prescribed departments of labour; but in missionary operations, nothing is yet defined. When such contrarieties of judgment therefore have arisen, they have interfered with the whole work of a Mission; everything has been checked and thrown into confusion by the idiosyncrasies of a spiritual ruler. The Committee abstain from citing the instances; but they plead for the avoidance of the risk, and for the adoption of measures which may prevent its occurrence in India.'

In the same tone they refer, in other portions of the same document, to 'Bishops with undefined power,' and to 'an undefined and so far arbitrary Episcopate.'

Now, setting aside the manifest spirit of these remarks, which is wholly at variance with the profession, so ostentatiously made and repeated, of the Society always seeking episcopal superintendence for its missions, we must protest at once against the invidious application of such terms as 'undefined power,' and 'arbitrariness,' as inherent in such an Episcopate as is desired for the Church's missions in India. Whatever is 'undefined,' whatever is likely to be 'arbitrary,' is wholly, and has been exhibited too on the side of such societies as the Church Missionary Society, a growth of modern times, and with a constitution that harmonizes but ill with episcopal authority. The Episcopate is *under law*, it has its place known and recognised in Christ's Church; its general powers in spiritual matters have been long since defined; its rights, and responsibilities, and duties, in regard to the other order of the ministry, are well ascertained. It is not for any associated body of Churchmen, lay or clerical, that brings itself into collision with, and that disputes these rights and duties, to charge the Episcopate with undefined powers, or arbitrary authority. Equally invidious, and mixed with some effrontery, is the implied charge against Bishops, as such, of being swayed by their partialities, prejudices, and idiosyncrasies. We take leave to ask, Have Societies,—has the Church Missionary Society,—have the Managing Committee, no partialities and idiosyncrasies? Is not the whole of their 'Statement' coloured by a jealous impatience of interference, which, indeed, lies at the bottom of all the antipathy to an extended Episcopate, a Missionary Episcopate, in India? A Bishop is bound, even by his position, and his solemn charge and duty, to take

oversight of the *whole Church* committed to him, and to discard with a sense of stern duty, any 'idiosyncrasies,' and at any rate not to act in obedience to them; while even this document is sufficient to prove that societies at least are not bound by any such sense of obligation and of responsibility.

But the framers of the 'Statement' urge, that such collisions as they refer to, differences of judgment, and something more too, between Committees and Bishops, have occurred; though they 'abstain from citing the instances.' We cannot imitate their forbearance; because, before we consent to any curtailment of episcopal control, or modification of its well-understood authority in any of its essential properties, we must ascertain first, by whose fault it has been that these collisions have occurred. It is a matter of notoriety, that the Church Missionary Society *has*, on several occasions, been in conflict, or disagreement, with episcopal authority in foreign lands. Indeed, we believe we are right in stating, that in each of those dioceses in which its chief missions lie, the Committee have been at variance, almost chronic variance, with the Bishop. We must instance what we mean, in order to appreciate the force of this objection urged by the Committee. In Calcutta, then, scarcely had the late Bishop Wilson entered upon his office, when he found the Committee of the Society exercising a control over the clergy, and over the Missions, wholly incompatible with his own office. Among his other qualities, as his friend the Bishop of Winchester remarks, he was a man of 'settled determination of purpose,' and he reprobated the assumption of authority by the Committee in no measured language. His first charge was full of it, maintaining his own authority against the usurpation of the Society. And the latter had to give way; they incorporated in one of their documents the Bishop's requisitions;[1] and so the matter rested. We regret to observe a disposition in the Committee to open some of these questions again, at least to treat them as if they were not already settled; but, we confidently ask, on which side this instance of collision originated? Shortly after this, another, and a far more reprehensible collision, occurred in the contiguous diocese of Madras, the prelate of which was not of quite the same mettle as his brother of Calcutta. The circumstances were these. One of the Missionaries in connexion with the Society, Mr. Humphreys, stationed at Mayaveram, designed to build a church in his mission, the plan of which, together with an explanatory statement, he laid before the Madras committee of the Society. The church was framed on the plan, well known in antiquity, of separating the baptized from the catechumens, and

[1] Appendix II. to Thirty-ninth Report.

from the heathen; and in his statement he expressed his disapproval of a 'too lavish dispersion of the Word of God, without a 'teacher at hand to explain it;' an opinion this, in which many earnest friends of missions have long expressed their concurrence, owing to the scandal, both to the heathen and some Christian churches, which has been given by the Bible, either in whole or in part, being indiscriminately scattered among the crowds of scorners who gather round a missionary. He was charged, also, with maintaining, in the same letter, that a reserve should be practised in declaring the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; this charge, however, he disclaimed, and it was withdrawn. The whole front of his offending we, therefore, see. The Madras Committee, hereupon, with a promptitude which gained for it the lively approbation of the Parent Committee at home, sat in judgment on the missionary, and pronounced, in seven days after the arrival of his proposal, that 'the maintenance of such prin-'ciples necessarily disqualifies any person from labouring in 'connexion with a missionary society of the Church of England.' This decision, with the accompanying documents, is sent home to the Parent Committee; and Mr. Humphreys appeals to the Bishop, to whom, indeed, he had previously made known his wishes and his plan. We now have to observe the Committee at home in action. Ignorant, indeed, of Mr. Humphreys having appealed, but at the same time entirely overlooking the Bishop and passing him by, the Committee, immediately on receiving this communication from its suffragan committee, also sit in judgment on Mr. Humphreys, express their satisfaction at the promptitude of their Madras subordinates, concur in the opinion that Mr. Humphreys' principles 'necessarily disqualify him from labouring in 'connexion with that Society;' and declare that such a person as he is cannot continue in connexion with it. They announced this to the Bishop of Madras, informing him more positively, that they 'cannot continue to employ his (Mr. Humphreys') agency.' In short, he is dismissed, as far as their decision goes. The Bishop of Madras meanwhile interposes, and not unnaturally complains to the Home Committee of the violent steps taken by the Madras Committee, informing them of his approval of the 'general tenor' of Mr. Humphreys' views and plans, and asks the pertinent question, 'Has any committee of a society, which claims 'to be considered as a society of the members of the Church of 'England, any power to pass a sentence, which virtually 'amounts to a deprivation from his cure, on any clergyman 'without reference to his Bishop?' and desires that the case may be referred, under the law xxxii. of the Society, to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church. That law provides that 'all questions relating to matters of ecclesiastical order or

'discipline, respecting which a difference shall arise between any 'Colonial Bishop and any Committee of the Society, shall 'be referred,' as just stated. It is scarcely credible, but the Committee at first demurred to the reference being made. They maintained, that no question affecting ecclesiastical order or discipline had been raised in Mr. Humphreys' case, basing this assertion on the ground that they did not declare Mr. Humphreys to be unsuitable for the ministry of the Church generally, but only of a particular society, and therefore that they did not touch an ecclesiastical question. Such quibbling, had it been recorded of a Jesuit society, would have been promptly and worthily denounced in its proper terms; for the assertion really amounted to this, that as they dealt with Mr. Humphreys merely as a missionary of their own, and not as a minister of the Church, he was, as it were, independent of, outside of, all questions of ecclesiastical order or discipline. Happily an honester state of mind prevailed at the end, and it was agreed to forward the reference. During the progress of the proceedings, however, Mr. Humphreys received an appointment as an Indian chaplain, and the whole matter was allowed to drop.

We do not, any more than those to whom the reference was made, wish to decide now the specific points raised in this unseemly condemnation of a missionary. But we do ask, since the Committee complain of differences with Bishops, which of the two parties here gave cause of offence to the other? We need scarcely ask, indeed; because the Committee were obliged, at last, to offer, though grudgingly and ungraciously, 'the fullest apology in their power for the apparent want of respect' towards the Bishop. The Committee now speak tauntingly of the 'arbitrary power' of a Bishop; but here, when a reference under their own laws, against their decision, is demanded, they claim to determine what is, or is not, a case of ecclesiastical order. They do determine, by a pitiful evasion, that the particular case ought not to be referred, because it would interfere with their right, upon which they fall back, to '*hold the purse-strings.*' No Pope, under the plea of spiritual jurisdiction, could claim temporal power, more than the Committee herein assumed ecclesiastical authority, under the plea of paying salaries. Again, the Committee are suspicious of 'idiosyncrasies' and 'partialities' in a Bishop; and yet here they exhibit the narrowest and most sectarian prejudice, and at once threaten to deprive a missionary for differing from themselves in a matter of free liberty of judgment. Further, they are pressing now to have a Bishop's inherent power of granting or withdrawing a licence restrained; but they maintain their demand of having the unlimited right virtually to deprive a missionary by withdrawing his salary.

For ourselves, we will freely say, that if the question lies between such a Committee and a Bishop, we think the power of determining whether a clergyman is, or is not, qualified to minister as a missionary, is safer in the hands of the latter, who acts with reference to the Church at large and its laws, and under the weight of individual responsibility, than in those of a body acting in the narrow interests and views of a society, and showing so little scruple and so much readiness in hastily, and without formal inquiry, starving a clergyman into compliance with its own views, or else dismissing him altogether. Once more; we have received the following fact, of a very recent date, on such unquestionable authority that we entertain no doubt of its substantial accuracy. It occurred to one of our prelates in the East. Hearing of some charges which were brought against one of the missionaries supported by the Church Missionary Society, in his diocese, he set himself, in virtue of his authority, to inquire fully into them. The issue was, that he found them to be groundless; and he wrote to the Society announcing this grateful result. The Committee, however—it is idle to speak of the Society acting—set aside the Bishop's report, and sent a commissioner from England, at an expense of some five hundred pounds, to inquire into the case. He, however, came to the same conclusion as the Bishop had before. Upon this, naturally enough, the Bishop remonstrated against the want of confidence, the slight thus evinced, and against such a wanton waste of money; and the reply returned to him was, a request that he would '*confine his correspondence for the future to official information.*' We suppose this is to be regarded as an instance of the way in which the Society 'has always sought episcopal superintendence for its missions.'

Such are some of the cases, which the Committee forbear, but which we feel bound, to particularize, ungrateful, very ungrateful, as the task is. We do so, because the Committee imply that such collisions are unavoidable. 'It is impossible,' they seem to say, 'but that offences will come;'—we could wish that the remainder of the sentence had been present to the Committee's mind. Whether or not collisions must arise with a Committee entertaining such views, we will not decide; but we are very anxious to assert that it is *not* necessary for any such differences, conflicts, misunderstandings even, to exist between societies of the very freest voluntary type, and episcopal authority. The Committee appeal to facts within their own experience in proof of *their* assertion. We appeal also to facts. And we beg pointedly to state, that whatever the experience the Church Missionary Society may have, whatever 'vantage-ground' which it so vauntingly claims to itself, it may hold,—there is

another Society, a sister Society, holding an equally elevated and a broader vantage-ground, and having a wider experience; and of this Society,—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,—we are able to assert, that it finds such unseemly contests by no means unavoidable; it demands no 'adjusting' of episcopal authority as needful to bring its operations into harmony with the Episcopate. For a hundred years before the Church Missionary Society existed, *it* had been plying its beneficent work. Loyally taking up, and acting upon the recommendation of the Prelates in 1841, for an extended Episcopate in our foreign possessions, it has been brought into close contact and constant correspondence with all our Bishops abroad. Private partialities or idiosyncrasies it neither has itself, nor suspects or fears in others. It acts as the handmaid of the Church, and on its broad platform; dispensing faithfully and dutifully the funds entrusted to its administration, in submission to the recognised rule of the Church. It therefore seeks no new adjustment of episcopal control in India or the colonies; asserts no rights of its own, as against the existing law of the Church; does not stay its hand in endeavouring to give full organization and efficiency to our missions to the heathen, until fresh canons are made; and works harmoniously and at peace. Why is this? Not because it is not a voluntary Society, for that it is equally with the Church Missionary Society. And if the cause of this contrast is to be found in the *different spirit* in which the Society is conducted, it only, at least, accounts for the expressed opinion of the late Bishop of Calcutta, who, in the very Charge in which he had to complain of the Church Missionary Society, added, in a note, 'It would be ungrateful in me not to state here, that in 'the Committee of the Calcutta Diocesan Society for the Pro-'pagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I have met with 'nothing, since I have been in India, but cordial and zealous 'co-operation.'[1]

There is yet a third objection to the proposed measure, which needs to be, though it can be readily, answered; it is, that before any increase of the Episcopate is adopted, 'the preparation 'of missionary canons or regulations,' a 'due regulation of the 'episcopal office, and the adoption of more certain arrangements 'than now exist for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline,' should be provided, and sanctioned by the 'proper authorities.' That various points in the ecclesiastical affairs of our missions, as of all newly-founded Churches, need to be ordered and settled, we are not disposed to question. The Committee need not have referred to 'the demands for Colonial Church legislation, which 'have been of late frequently discussed in Parliament,' in

[1] Charge for 1838, p. 47.

proof of this position. But having made the reference, it is a pity they did not go on to state, how utterly abortive and futile any such appeal to the secular power to interfere in these ecclesiastical affairs proved; how the Colonial Churches were thrown back upon themselves; how, until Colonial Bishops were appointed, no attempt to supply this pressing want was made; and how now, in North America, in Australia, and at the Cape, that want is being, or has been supplied, through the activity, wisdom, and influence of the several Bishops, in conjunction with the clergy and laity under them. The answer, therefore, to the demand of the Committee is ready and clear. In order to obtain a re-adjustment, a construction of suitable ecclesiastical canons and regulations in infant Churches, let these first be perfectly organized, with a Bishop at their head, as one of the body. Without this the measure will be—and we believe the Committee know it—indefinitely deferred. But in truth we can hardly bring ourselves to regard this demand as made at all in sincerity. We regret to charge the Committee with disingenuousness; but the demand really seems to us to wear all the appearance of a pretext to cover their real object, and, by prescribing an impossible pre-requisite, to thwart the measure they dread. It was in 1856 that the Memorial praying for such a missionary code was presented, a time at which the Committee or its friends were considered to have rare and peculiar influence with the Government. And we take leave to ask whether they made any real effort to obtain their professed wish, whether any step has been taken by them subsequently to secure the object they profess so much to desire? It appears to us that they are not even looking for, not desiring, any such completion of their wishes, since we see them, or some one in their name (for the initials of the Secretary are appended to the document), drawing up an elaborate canon respecting the marriage of polygamist converts,[1] a subject which one might suppose would most properly be referred to an authoritatively-framed code of

[1] This appears in the form of an Appendix to the Report for 1856-57, p. 207. It is highly unsatisfactory to find the Committee, simply on its own authority, adopting and announcing to its Missionaries a decision upon so important a question as the 'baptism of polygamist converts.' The Society, and through it, in some degree, the Church, is committed by such a step, although it owes its origin merely to a single individual. Pending any authoritative decision, such a question, involving, as it does, Christian morals, and prudence, and ecclesiastical discipline, should be left to the determination of each foreign Bishop in his diocese, which, however, as usual, is wholly overlooked by the Committee in the matter. The circumstance of the Bishop of Natal, seconded by the Archbishop of Dublin, and the late Bishop of Norwich, having expressed an opinion contrary to that asserted by the Committee, ought at least to have caused them to hesitate. As it is, should a Missionary of the Society be in the Bishop of Natal's diocese, whose judgment is he to follow?

missionary regulations. Nor can we help perceiving a like want of earnestness and sincerity of purpose, when we remember *the quarter* to which they address themselves for the supply of this want. We have referred frequently to their use of the expression 'proper authorities' in regard to this topic, and were curious to learn who might be designated by that title. There seemed a vagueness in the term which rendered it almost mysterious, and seemed to point to some secret power which might not be named. We find, however, on examining the documents, that it is upon the 'Government of India,' the Board of Control, and the Directors, that the office of 'adopting measures for the better 'defining episcopal power,' and for the 'determining the appli-'cation of canons, statutes, and rubrics, to missionaries and 'native Churches,' is proposed to be conferred.

A proposition so monstrous we can scarcely conceive. No religious body exists—Church, Wesleyan, or Congregationalist—who would for a moment listen to it. If there is one subject which demands acquaintance with ecclesiastical law and history, one work which belongs to the Church rather than to the secular power, it is assuredly that of framing or re-adapting rules and canons for the ministerial and missionary offices of Christian communities. Indeed, this principle seems, by implication, recognised by the Society itself; for among its own rules and regulations, the following statement occurs, in which Convocation is pointed at as the proper authority to decree and regulate missionary operations:—

'And here it may be observed that nothing less than a duly assembled convocation can more fully identify the acts of any Missionary Society within the Church of England, with the Church. *Without such sanction*, all associations of Churchmen must stand in the same position. Still further, not to notice the present abeyance of convocation, it may be asserted, that even if the Church were to assemble in her provincial convocations, and to *decree and to regulate missionary operations*, such proceedings could not essentially add to, or alter, those important particulars which, under the present circumstances, entitle the operations of the Church Missionary Society to be regarded as missionary operations of the United Church of England and Ireland.'

But it so happens that Convocation is not now that dead letter it was when the rules of the Society were framed. Can it be that for this reason the Committee have shifted their ground, and sought some fresh authority to which they may appeal with the hope of finding a response more congenial to their own peculiar views than Convocation would be likely to make? Yet even if they look with dislike and suspicion on Convocation, it is scarcely credible that any society of men professing themselves Churchmen, should have ventured to offer such a deliberate insult, not merely to the clergy and prelates of the

Church, but to the Sovereign whom the law has placed at its head;—and should so repudiate ecclesiastical authority altogether, and set at nought the fundamental principles of Church action, as to appeal to the civil governors of a portion of Her Majesty's dominions, not merely to regulate matters of temporal concern, but to adapt or provide canons for the regulation of the clergy in their missionary labours, to solve the peculiar questions of ecclesiastical polity in our infant Churches, which we are quite aware need solution,—and thus to place the relations of the bishops, the missionaries, and the several voluntary societies at home on a new footing; in a word, to reorganize the missionary operations of the Church. We are not, we believe, overstating the case; for amongst the measures which the Committee think the Government of India has the power of adopting, the following occur; the terms of which are wide enough to comprehend within their scope a whole scheme of ecclesiastical polity:—

'(3.) An authoritative declaration respecting the Canon Law, the Acts of Uniformity, and the Rubrics, in reference to their applicability, or otherwise, to missionary operations, and to the organization of the native Church in India.

'(4.) Some provision for the association of the laity in Church affairs, analogous to the influence which exists in the Church at home of churchwardens, of vestries, of ecclesiastical courts with an appeal to the Queen in Council, and of the voice of Parliament in Church questions.

'(5.) The adjustment of an Episcopate to the peculiar circumstances of Missions, as explained in the concluding paragraphs of the foregoing statement.'

It would, indeed, be curious to ascertain the sincerity with which such a demand is made, by seeing it brought to the test. Let us suppose, for a moment, that the Committee were taken at their word; would they themselves be willing to abide by the decision of such a tribunal? Let us suppose Mr. Vernon Smith, Mr. Mangles, and the Directors,—men conversant with finance, opium-growing, zemindars, and ryots,—sitting in council to amend the ecclesiastical polity of our missions, to limit or re-adjust the episcopal functions, to organize the constitution of the native Churches, and to consider the proposal to prescribe to a home committee—almost self-elected, unlimited in number, of which every subscribing clergyman is a self-constituted member—its share of administrative functions and authority in the country, subject to their political sway. Let us suppose also, what might chance, that the decision should be adverse to the claims of the said Committee; that it should be determined, that the old organization of the Church be left unaltered, that clergy should be subject to the Bishop, that his licence should give mission, and that except by the withdrawal of this licence

the ministrations of the clergyman could not be suspended, or his salary withdrawn; that in ecclesiastical matters, subject to the Archbishop, the Bishop's decision should be final,—that the administration of funds does not endow a chance self-elected committee, or any number of aggregated individuals, with even indirect ecclesiastical rights or jurisdiction;—let us suppose such to have been the decision of the Directors, and we confess we should have felt some interest in seeing whether the spirit of self-abnegation was sufficiently strong for this committee to succumb, and 'eat its leek' in patience,—nor should we have felt much surprise if it had rejected the authority of this tribunal, though of its own choosing, and if Exeter Hall had rung with an assertion of the power—not of 'the keys,' but—of the 'purse-strings,' and with defiance *à l'outrance* to all who would question the self-asserted rights of the Society.

But the subject is too serious for us to indulge in any vein of pleasantry. We discover in the quarter to which the Committee addressed themselves, only a proof of the insincerity which, we regret to say, pervades the whole proposal. They could not expect, we cannot think that they wished, to have the subject taken into consideration by the civil government of India. The proposal can only be regarded as a pretext to defer, and, if possible, to avert a measure they were resolved to oppose; and at least furnishes one more instance of the desire of the Committee to keep their Society free from ecclesiastical rule and control.

Now in all that we have said we are anxious not to be misunderstood. We are not speaking in condemnation or even disparagement of societies *as such*. They are a recognised agency in our Church: they represent and give an outlet to that personal individual conviction and zeal to which it is a part of our very principle to appeal; for a hundred and sixty years, in the absence of any organized corporate action of the Church, its most successful and valued enterprises in promoting and propagating Christian knowledge have been maintained by them. Nor, again, do we place ourselves in hostility to the Church Missionary Society. That, too, has its position in the Church, which we willingly recognise. We recognise the zeal for extending the Gospel which it has embodied, and the 'entering in' among the heathen which it has so successfully obtained; and we honour it for its work's sake. But at the same time we do look with great apprehension upon any such society when it threatens to assume undue power to itself, and to encroach upon and arrogate to itself a share of the ancient ecclesiastical authority of the Church, to which it is but a handmaid. It is quite impossible but that a Society administering some 130,000*l.* per

annum,—numbering amongst its members some three or four thousand clergy, and a still larger body among their flocks,—holding them together by a disciplined organization and by popular allurements of every kind;—it is impossible, we say, but that such a society should possess great power, great weight of public opinion, which might readily be used dangerously and very injuriously unless kept in some check by the legitimate authority of the Church at large. Especially is this power likely to be more dangerous when the exercise of it is vested in an almost self-elected Committee, who, on their part, have the consciousness of their importance as the organs of others, and are yet free from the responsibilities attaching to authority ordained by law. More dangerous still, when the power thus exercised by a committee is virtually wielded by two or three who, from long experience, superior knowledge, and constant presence, can override the judgment of the rest. The history of several cases in the commercial world, of recent and disgraceful notoriety, illustrates exactly the natural tendency of a directorate controlled by managing secretaries. Let a few persons of pertinacious will, strong views, enterprising or speculative mind, or, still more, of ambitious temper, be so situated, and imminent danger besets the body they represent. Great power is exerted, apt to be exerted recklessly, and the result may be foreseen. And we regret to say that we are not without symptoms of this usurpation of authority in the acting organs of that Society whose proceedings we have been reviewing. We find the Committee, in the 'Statement' so often referred to, speaking of *themselves* as 'supplying the funds,'—forgetful of the simple fact that it is not *their* funds they are dealing with, but those of multitudes of subscribers, entrusted to them to administer in accordance with the rule of that Church of which they are members. Then, again, where a specific demand is made for certain measures in their favour, they urge the '*rights of the Society* contributing 'the funds to the support of the Missionary as perpetual patrons.' We are really at a loss to understand what *rights* these are. Power, which money undoubtedly possesses, does not imply *right*. Water cannot raise itself above the level of its source. And if the contribution of ten shillings in the year does not invest the donor with any right, or any ecclesiastical authority, we do not see how any aggregate number of such contributors can have such rights as the Committee claim. Again, the Committee speak of 'the convictions of the Society,' in regard to an increased Episcopate. It is easy, it is imposing, to plead the opinions of a multitude. But what we want seriously to ask is, Whether the Committee, before they thus spoke, did consult the members of the Society whose servants they are? Were they

authorized to use their name? Did they take any steps to canvass the judgment and sentiments of the multitude of contributors to their funds? or was it an assumed authority that they took on themselves, an arbitrary, capricious exercise of their own will, to which they chose to commit their friends? Or, if they could not do what we have suggested, did they, we ask again, summon *the Committee*—for at least the Committee are compromised in the views enunciated—to express a clear opinion of what was done in their name? Were the three thousand clergy consulted at all? Was any one, beyond those who chanced to be present at the Church Missionary House on April 13th, 1857, asked a question on the matter? Were the Bishops consulted? Was the Archbishop? Or, since the Committee propose to deal with the authority of our foreign prelates, and to 'adjust' their powers,—were these, was any one apprised of the circumstance, and his counsel or co-operation sought?

We trow not; and, if so, we are right, not in apprehending merely, but in reprobating an exercise of power—arrogantly assumed power—as arbitrary as ever was exerted by a body which had only force and numbers on its side, and consulted only its own passions. And it is this thought which leads us to anticipate a further danger from any such assumed and *unregulated* power. It is that of its becoming the organ and centre of party in other matters and for other purposes than those for which the Society was originally formed. It is the danger of its becoming an organized centre of party at home, which we cannot but deeply deprecate. Should it unhappily be reserved for us, that the rent of the Church is to be further widened by her missions to the heathen—which ought rather to heal those wounds, and be a bond of union—it is at least a comfort to know that it will not be through the missionaries themselves, nor in the mission-field. *They* at least are at peace. We hear of no strife, no jealousy among them, save the godly jealousy of striving to be more abundant in Gospel blessing. Every one testifies to this; in the face of the common enemy there is no room for party strife or narrow shibboleths. But at home the danger is to be feared; it is to be feared from such a partisan spirit as it grieves us to witness in the managers of such a Society as the Church Missionary. How heedless they seem to be of the evils of disunion, how jealous a love of power they retain, even at the risk of schism, is evidenced by the preposterous suggestion made by them, that, if it be thought desirable for *some* missionaries to have a more active episcopal guidance and control, then a coadjutor Bishop should be appointed *for those missionaries alone*, their own being exempt from such authority; much in the

same way as monastic houses claimed a similar exemption in former days—for the device is in reality of Popish growth—much as if, at the present time, while half of the clergy in Cornwall were under the sway of its Bishop, the other half, independent of his authority, were to be subject immediately to the management of local or London committees, with a sort of general distant supervision to be exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The spirit of independence and disunion that is breathed in such a proposal would be mighty in mischief should a strong temptation be presented to the Society, with its well-disciplined organization, to become the centre, organ, and guide of a large party. It is, indeed, the temptation to which all self-formed powerful bodies are exposed, to set themselves above the system out of which they sprung. Even now we cannot but fear —nay, we see slight indications of the tendency—that if this ill-advised demonstration of the Committee should be met, as it ought to be met, by a protest from members of the Society, it will be immediately constituted a party question; opponents will be denounced as Tractarians, and the Committee be elevated to the rank of Confessors for the liberty of the Gospel and Protestant freedom of conscience. Still, notwithstanding this—and this is the real practical point—we do think that it is the duty of, at least, the members of the Committee, those clergy who are such by their office, to give this subject candid and deliberate attention; to form and to express their opinion whether they intend to adopt the view promulgated in their name, that in the early stages of missions episcopal authority, present and active in them, is to be dispensed with; that no additional diocese is to be erected in heathen lands till 'the proper authorities' sanction a code of rules and canons, by which a new polity for the ordering of Bishops and Missionaries is to be provided; and so these missions be reduced virtually to a department of State action and machinery. We are bold to say that such is not their view, not their determination; we believe that others have abused their confidence, and spoken in their name without their concurrence—that they have been betrayed; and therefore we venture to submit to them whether it is not incumbent on them to free themselves from the imputation thus recklessly cast upon them. More especially, we deem it the duty of the Prelates, who are Vice-Presidents of the Society, and prominent members of the Committee, to declare and to clear themselves in this matter. They are greatly compromised by this manifesto, and placed in a most discreditable contradiction to themselves. The very position and value of their own order in one of the most important, nay, in the *apostolic* functions of the Church, is called in question and repudiated. Their inherent rights are challenged in their

brethren. For it is not merely the question whether or not an addition to the Episcopate in India—and especially a Bishop in Tinnevelly—is needed, that is raised; but whether a portion of their spiritual authority is not to be curtailed, and surrendered to the new rights claimed by committees and societies in virtue of their acting as almoners in the supply of funds.[1] Of course, the Committee would eagerly assert that they wish these new canons and rules to apply only to missionary operations in heathen lands, and not to touch the polity of the Church at home. But the question cannot be so restricted; what is good and just for a society supporting clergy or catechists in their ministry abroad, is equally good and just for a society maintaining clergy and readers, or other agencies, in the very same kind of ministry at home. And if our spiritual rulers are content to see their authority encroached upon abroad, they must be prepared to see a similar inroad upon it made at home. They must expect that a like demand—and we do not see how they can oppose the demand once conceded to one Society—will be made in behalf of the Church Pastoral-Aid, or the Additional Curates' Society, who are engaged among our paganized populations at home, as the Church Missionary Society is engaged among the pagan populations in India. They must expect committees to urge the 'rights' of the societies who supply the funds, and of themselves in particular, who 'hold the purse-strings.' They must look for a protest that the 'clergy of the Society' are not to be treated as merely stipendiary—mere licensed—curates. They must prepare to hear of the 'undefined,' 'arbitrary' power of Bishops, and their 'idiosyncrasies' and 'partialities,' and the trouble they have given rise to. And should they innocently and blandly interfere in some case involving the character of the 'Society's clergy,' they must abide to be cavalierly and laconically requested by the secretary to 'confine themselves to official information'! We doubt whether they are yet prepared for this; but if they would avert it, they must interpose now: for their authority is invaded. We are not amongst those who make an idol of Episcopacy. As Catholic Christians, we are something more than mere Episcopalians. Still, we do feel this; that the assertion and maintenance of our episcopal polity, besides proving a special

[1] While, however, we would vindicate the rightful authority of the Bishop, we are far from calling in question the special duty which belongs to every Society as trustee of charitable funds, of the disposal of which it must give full and strict account. Every Missionary Society is bound, in fidelity to its contributors, to satisfy itself that proper agents are chosen to engage in the work. When chosen, they are under the Bishop's jurisdiction: but the Society is still bound to ascertain, by communications from themselves, that they are engaged in work of the character contemplated by the Society, and to inform itself of the results of such work.

blessing inherent in its ministry, has been and is our great protection against tyranny, whether of one or of a multitude. The first stroke of a rising, encroaching tyranny in the Church has ever been to depress the Episcopate; and this act has been the prelude of great subsequent disorder. It indicates the presence of some corrupt or anomalous growth in the system. The Pope depressed the Bishops in order to strengthen his own power; the mendicant friars and monastic houses then claimed exemption from episcopal control; and the end of all this, in England at least, we all know. The Jesuits, again—submissive at first, and professing, as the Committee of the Church Missionary Society profess, the sense of the great value of episcopal supervision—when they grew strong, asserted a proud independence; they would not be interfered with; and in Paraguay and India they were engaged in most unseemly and disastrous conflicts with Prelates first, and then with the Pope, which threw the whole Church into disorder.

It is no ingenuity in tracing mischief that leads us to note the working of the same spirit of self-aggrandizement and of faction, the same disloyalty to authority, recourse to all secular means to support its influence, and a disingenuous evasiveness, in the proceedings of a body so eminently Protestant as that which is under review. Nor will less evil arise from this dissocializing temper. An irregular power can only be strong when the legitimate is weak. And should the conflict, which so many signs seem to portend, draw on, such a spirit must inevitably be found in opposition to the Episcopate; and it will hasten on and infinitely aggravate the danger of that crisis in which the organization of the Church, and its existence as an establishment, will be at stake. We have long learnt, in the midst of many sad forebodings at home, to cast our eyes abroad, and to be gladdened at the sight of so many daughter Churches springing up in due symmetry, with their legitimate authority rightly developed, and perpetuating unimpaired the apostolic inheritance of truth and order, which we have received from our forefathers, in lands which they knew not of. No less a boon we desire for some of our missions in the East; and most earnestly do we hope that those who have hitherto laboured, with such consistency of aim, to consolidate and enlarge our young communities of Christians in the south of India, will continue to urge their righteous purpose. We do fervently desire to see these missions grow into a Church,—to witness the twenty-nine clergy among their 52,000 converts multiplied two, or three, or four fold, as they undoubtedly would be, under the paternal rule of a man of apostolic spirit,—some of those numerous catechists received into the diaconate,—the feeble pliant temper of the converts strengthened by their being

incorporated into one body,—a spirit of evangelization go forth from them to gather in multitudes of the surrounding, and not ill-disposed, heathen; and the whole of that southern promontory formed into a distinct principality in Christ's kingdom. We believe, at the present moment, it would be fraught with an effect which we can hardly venture to conceive on the Christianity of India. It would be a citadel of light, and a tower of strength, from which the strongholds of darkness stretching northward might be assailed. It would exhibit our Christian polity as it is, and in the form most suited to the native mind. It would tend more than the most skilfully devised scheme of secular government to bind those various races to our rule, our laws, our civilisation, and ourselves. It would give an impulse to the missionary spirit at home, and realize what many Christian hearts have longed to witness, what was foremost among the forecastings of Heber, and the aspirations of his earnest successor, just taken to his rest.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life and Institute of the Jesuits.* By the Rev. Father DE RAVIGNAN. Translated by CHARLES SEAGER, &c. London: Charles Dolman. 1844.
2. *Rules of the Society of S. Vincent-de-Paul.* Published by the Provincial Council of England. 1857.
3. *Rules of the Catholic Young Men's Society.* Manchester: Dolman.
4. *Character: an Address to the Students in the Wesleyan Training Institution, Westminster.* By the Rev. JOHN SCOTT. London: John Mason. 1858.
5. *Plea for Class Meetings.* By JOHN HARTLEY. London: John Mason. 1858.
6. *What is the 'Young Men's Christian Association?'* London: 1856.

THE whole Church is one great Society, and the Communion of Saints is an article of its creed. The images used by our Lord and the Apostles, to represent the mutual dependence of all members of the Church one upon another, with the sympathy that unites all under one Divine head, are specially adapted to bring out, as a characteristic of the Church, a strong social element. Nor have Christians been at any time unmindful of this. An isolated solitary religion—though it has its nominal advocates, who may talk of the heart's deep communion with God only, or use other expressions that convey a one-sided view of religion, and omit the power of human sympathy—is practically acknowledged, by all who call themselves Christians, to be wholly inconsistent with the teaching of the Bible, or the religious instincts which nature suggests. Men lean one upon another in everything which affects character. Each one makes his own place in the world, and, in so doing, looks much to the praise or blame of others, is stirred up by emulation, and repulsed by indifference or dislike. Having made his place, having assumed his shape and form, he is kept firm and steady in it by the pressure of those around him, by the very difficulty and awkwardness of assuming before his neighbours and friends another character. Man, therefore, is a social animal; and the Church is a social institution, whose theory and principles are thoroughly adapted to cultivate and develop his nature. But the Church, in its large organization, its vast system of unity, its necessity of looking first to the great laws of its government and the stability of its institutions, has the same tendency to leave such details as personal sympathies

to the management of individuals, which is common to all governments. There is sufficient human weakness, even in the most perfect form of ecclesiastical organization, to make it impossible that central management, that good statutes and laws, and a methodical system for personal good influence among Christians, one upon another, shall be equally attainable. Even if funds exist for the widest pastoral superintendence, so many abuses are inherent in any system which embraces many minds and hearts, that the machinery for developing the gentle and more tender influence of soul upon soul, is apt to lose much of its pliability, to become stiffened and formal in its operation, to degenerate into perfunctory offices. The harmony of external government with inward sympathies is a state of perfection that belongs only to heaven: that is the only place where each soul yields a willing and happy obedience to One Sovereign Almighty Will. On earth we can only approximate to such perfection; and in so doing, it is not good policy to stake all on one centralizing system of rules, or to check individual freedom and private liberty of action. It thus happens that any large or comprehensive theory of the Church's spiritual dominion and personal direction of souls must yield, in many of its details, before the absolute impossibility of carrying out such a theory in practice. Take two illustrations to explain what we mean—Convocation is rightly desired by many for the English Church; but do its warmest advocates suppose that, in any way, it could absorb into its active functions the work now done by the infinite number of voluntary societies, which, under the present system, labour on with all their imperfections, all their discordant elements, all their waste of strength, yet represent much zeal and interest in our Church? In theory it ought to do so; if there were unity in the Chuuch it would; yet we retain the form of unity, the framework of ecclesiastical government, and are content with practical works that proceed from public feeling with its characteristics of weakness and discord. We do not wish central government to be abolished, because its power is incomplete. Again, take the parochial system:—the pastor of each parish or district claims in theory a very large degree of spiritual direction over all the inhabitants locally situated within his charge. Yet this is *physically* impossible in some cases, *morally* in others. One mind, however gifted for the purpose, cannot direct the consciences of several thousands, or supply sympathy out of his own soul for a whole multitude; and also in the most contracted spheres, there is often so much doubt or contrariety of sentiment about the fitness or capacity of the parochial clergyman to exercise any close personal influence, as to prohibit any universal seeking for his pastoral counsels. Yet

willingly do we maintain the parochial system, though conscious that its deficiencies must be otherwise supplied.

It is, indeed, obviously unreasonable to expect that the external Church, as a public institution, with its fixed laws, and the unpliant regulations which naturally belong to a large system, can, by its *direct* power and machinery, supply all the yearnings of our moral nature. One great effort has been made to carry out such an idea; to combine the highest supremacy of spiritual dominion with the closest direction of each heart; but our own Church disavows, in an emphatic manner, both developments which that ideal has given rise to—that of the Papal Supremacy, and the Confessional, in the common acceptation of the word. Yet, though some of the remarks we have made may appear to be mere truisms, we believe that many unnecessary impediments have been thrown in the way of good and useful works by those who, in so doing, have fancied they are fighting the battles of the Church. There is too much unwillingness, among some honest but mistaken friends of the Church, to allow *others* to do what yet they fully acknowledge their own inability to accomplish. Men will cling to a theory even when it is plainly ineffective, and for an imagined consistency sacrifice many practical opportunities of good. They cannot see any mean between depending wholly upon the single-handed exertions of each clergyman within his district, and the utter destruction of the parochial system; and thus it happens that voluntary societies, and associations for the improvement of the working-classes, have met with too little encouragement from the parochial clergy. There is always some fear expressed about an heretical or dissenting tendency, about radical or infidel notions, which is thought a sufficient reason for discouraging the effort altogether, instead of attempting to guide and regulate it. Yet, societies for all public objects are the great feature of the day, and the influence of the parochial clergy has not suffered in consequence. We wish their operation could be extended further down in the social scale, and their functions, understood to be more in accordance with the name, partake more of the *social* element; be a means, among the humblest classes, of carrying out that view of Christianity described by S. Paul, 'Comfort yourselves together, and edify one another.'

Voluntary associations, rather than the exercise of central power, are the great source of all English enterprise. Public works, by their means, have been carried out which otherwise would have been impossible. And wherein lies their strength? Men's sympathies, energies, and liberality are enlisted in any secular cause just in proportion to the self-importance which is to be gained from it. We are all fond of exercising our own

judgment, managing our own affairs, and will risk a great deal if any speculation has the charm of being entirely our own private affair. If it were not for this, where would our railroads, our shipping companies, our colonies, and in fact our commerce, be? Whether things answer or not in the end, there is always a preparatory stage of exciting responsibility and of active self-management, which is agreeable in itself, and tempts men on to contribute both their exertions and their substance. Now, this self-government, together with the genial effects of sympathy and the encouragement of others, is the foundation of that vast system of *companies*, which transacts so much of our public business in the present day. We dislike the dictation of minor government officials, and take matters into our own hands or leave them alone. The general direction of government itself is willingly and cheerfully submitted to by the commercial world, and the great officers of state receive full honour at its hands, but freedom from all petty or searching interferences is absolutely requisite.

And may we not trace the same spirit exercising an allowable influence in spiritual matters; or rather must we not feel sure that it will do so, in proportion as spiritual interests engage the attention of the great masses of our fellow-countrymen? Passive submission and blind recognition of an existing system are not always the signs of life and activity; and we think it must be felt that the people of this country have too little voice in the spiritual system under which they live, and consequently have too little social feeling on religious points. The Church would stand on a far better foundation if there were more elasticity within her for the employment of the mutual independent exertion of her lay members, and if she did not keep so fast hold of the clerical character as the only agent to be trusted.

What has been the result of the unwillingness on the part of the Church, to throw herself on the mutual support of her independent members in the great work of extending the principles of religion among the poor and working classes? One result has certainly been to drive into dissent those inquiring sort of minds which have received religious impressions, and have felt that craving for companionship and sympathy, together with that allowable degree of self-importance, which we have described as essential ingredients in all human powers of active work. The ordinary working of the parochial system has no field for the development of the close sympathies we find to be the invariable desire of new spiritual life. It is a very pretty type to talk of the pastor feeding and comforting his flock The public offices of religion and private ministration do indeed give a clergyman many most valuable opportunities of fulfilling this high office,

and such is the idea on which all our services are framed; but there is a want of mutual encouragement among the people which he can never touch, and which it would be politic for him to promote by the work of others, rather than by vain attempts to overstretch his own powers, and do what manifestly is impossible. But another result of this disposition to overtax the parochial system is that of appointing inferior substitutes, men under the power and in the pay of the clergy, but in no way calculated to raise the Church in public estimation. We should be sorry to undervalue the services of many good and useful men who have devoted themselves to the cause of religion as Scripture readers, or have obtained orders as literates and remain in the diaconate. These are arrangements in many cases most necessary, but we dread any great extension of the system; and the example also of other religious bodies, with the success that has attended them, would not teach us to adopt this principle. It might be thought that the Roman-Catholic system, with its recent activity and desire to proselytize, would have made extensive use of minor orders, but they are practically extinct, and in their place we find Societies, *i. e.* bodies of men bound together by independent rules for certain defined objects. Again, if we look to the Wesleyan Methodists, we find their strength among the poor consists in class meetings, and in the encouragement they give to mutual sympathy and the free management of their own affairs.

Men of all kinds, high and low, if their hearts are to be engaged in any work, want something to do, some active and personal responsibility, some opportunity, if we choose to call it so, of self-display, some field for emulation and some chance of exciting praise. Secondary motives are a necessary part of this world even in religion. The clergy at any rate are influenced by them, and it is therefore pharisaical to forbid their indulgence among the laity. If we were asked what was the great secret of good parochial management, we should answer,—The power of using others, of giving each man and woman his or her task, and creating a sense of responsibility by the consciousness of being trusted to perform some work for the good of the Church or his neighbour. And this power of using others must never be expected from *direct* influences only, on the part of one mind over many. Occasionally there may be an instance of a parish priest with an extraordinary aptitude for persuasion, who commands or awes or fascinates all the young men of his parish; but this is very rare, and wholly to be omitted from our calculation in talking about any general means of influencing young men, especially when we recall the entire system of preferment in our Church, and its small thought of

special gifts for the ministry. The surest mode of effecting general and permanent good is by *indirect* influence; that is, by setting men and women to benefit each other, to edify one another. There are special reasons in favour of this instruction by mutual sympathy, with regard to young men, which practical persons acquainted with the disposition of this class must clearly see. Intelligent young men, with a little and somewhat partial education, have one very common quality about them which repels too direct clerical influence. They are affected with rough, honest, mental independence, which assumes the garb of, and cannot easily be distinguished from, self-conceit; in fact, it may often be justly called so. Now this kind of half-educated self-conceit, full of positive assertions and wayward opinions, apt, almost from preference, to rebel against any common-place clerical counsels, is specially offensive to the good taste and the more trained intellects of a well-educated clergy. The young man who is condescendingly addressed by a clergyman fresh from the university, is either stolid at the time of the conversation and remains so afterward, or makes one or two smart answers, which probably leads to a little sparring. This, if not managed with great tact, produces a subsequent reserve, if not estrangement. Now if any good is to be done among this class of young men, their self-conceit must be boldly faced and endured with perfect composure; but to suppose that this can ever be done by the mass of our clergy is to be in ignorance of the extreme difficulty of the case. Self-conceit, as displayed by young men, is commonly set down as the most repulsive, discouraging feature of the character; but we are disposed from experience to look upon it in quite a contrary light. That manner and habit of mind, which assumes to a highly educated scholar the appearance of intolerable conceit, is in most cases the result of a justifiable independence, and is the sign of moral rectitude. The humble, submissive, teachable youth is often one who has lost his independence of mind by the consciousness of some moral fall. It is natural to the human mind, when it is conscious of having fallen, to feel that the world has a power over it, to which it must succumb. It is hence a melancholy fact that the more manageable characters for subordinate positions in life, are those who are kept in awe by the consciousness of their own defects; while about an honest man, with a strong mind and resolute moral purpose, there is often an intractable obstinate manner which makes him a difficult subject to manage. Yet it is part of our religious idea, and one seemingly encouraged by the Gospel, to prefer a self-condemning, humble mind to any manifestation of conceit; and it is, therefore, a clerical instinct to seek for humility and almost give a preference to such characters

as have given themselves most cause for humility. Words and parables, meant only to teach what is a preferable state of mind on the supposition that moral antecedents are the same, are made to claim, on behalf of self-condemnation, an absolute preference independent of facts and causes. The prodigal son is naturally the clergyman's pet, while the other brother is the surly, independent, grumbling fellow. Scripture, however, does not mean to shut out another view of the case: and in aiming ourselves, in the present age, at a moral reform of our labouring population, we cannot afford to lose the sympathy of those, whose unwelcome complaints, and apparently sharp snappish remarks, we can yet answer, by saying with truth, 'Son, thou art ever with me.'

In thus, however, setting forth, as it seems to us, the difficulties that exist in the way of direct influence over young men on the part of our own clergy, educated and appointed as they are, we do not mean to discourage any efforts, or undervalue results. We only express our sentiments, that direct personal influence is at all times so precarious in its nature, as to suggest to any true moral philosopher the great need of encouraging, in every possible way, societies and self-regulating institutions for mutual instruction and mutual improvement. We feel sure that what our large towns want, is not an unlimited increase of the clergy, or an army of paid Scripture readers and city missionaries; but we want to establish, among working men themselves, willing missionaries in every workshop, in every court and alley; not only men who can talk, but men who are known to be committed in some public way to a religious or moral life, and who can therefore lead others, in moments of sorrow or thoughtfulness, to some refuge of safety, some place of mutual comfort. The personal influence of the clergy will never suffer by this institution; and societies that in any way teach men to abandon dissolute life, and to improve their moral natures, will, in the end, be feeders to the Church: though, alas! there is too often a disposition to rest content with any amount of absolute indifference, so long as interest is not excited by any other means than what are directly supplied in the parochial system.

We have been led to these remarks in some measure by way of caution to those Churchmen whose sentiments, with regard to societies and associations, not directly connected with the parochial clergy, may have become somewhat rigid and unconciliatory; as a natural consequence, in their own minds, of taking larger and higher views than formerly of the office and functions of the Church, looking upon her as the only centre of Christian unity. We ask one question:—Have not clubs and associations of old standing among labouring men met with discouragement,

without others taking their place of a sufficiently popular character? Again, we would ask a much larger class of religious or social reformers, if on the ground of alleged extravagance, or occasional intemperance, labouring men's clubs have not been wholly abolished and cried down, without attempting to substitute any social gatherings whatever in their place? The onslaught against public-houses has been one of war to the knife, not of reform or better regulation; and all clubs which made use of these very natural places of public resort have been stigmatized as the instruments of Satan. The question of public amusements is quite different from the one now before us, but we cannot help expressing a regret that in their general discouragement (except perhaps an annual school-feast, whose climax of hilarity is a may-pole or a donkey race) much good social feeling has been destroyed, and thereby opportunities lost of mutual edification. It is on such occasions, when men are brought together, that superior intelligence or character have an opportunity of exerting their natural mastery over others, and thus extending their wholesome influence. The fear of trusting an Englishman of the working class into any sphere of social companionship, lest the vice of drunkenness should overcome all other results, has too solid a foundation to be lightly despised; yet if our labourers are to be ever taught the pleasures of society without the accompaniment of drunkenness, we feel sure that the influence of clubs, imparting a sense of responsibility, and having formal rules enforcing sobriety, will have had much to do with such a result. Men will associate together, and it is intended by Providence that they should. This being the case, it is far better that they should associate with those among whom they are known, especially under certain laws and rules, than among strangers or mere chance acquaintance, with whom they have no character to support, or any need for consistency of moral behaviour.

It is nothing new we strive to inculcate; our views are rather from experience than theory. We think that working men's clubs have done immense good; that much of the sterling character of our old labourers is due to their influence; and that, in spite of some evil results which have often brought them into disfavour, a younger generation will deteriorate in moral and social qualities unless the *principle* of clubs is retained among them. The old village clubs were not what they ought to have been: they were often badly, or even dishonestly managed, and wanted much regulation. By all means let them have this, but do not let them be swept away, and the solitary hoarding of a savings bank be left as their only representative. Savings banks are invaluable institutions—we have nothing whatever to say against them, but they do not supply any *social* craving, they do

not pretend to be gregarious, and do not provide men with society. Let them have their province, but let not their advocates decry all social gatherings as necessarily tending to sinful extravagance and drunkenness, and thus to everything that is bad.

We appeal to clubs as they have existed throughout England for many years, and commend the social character which they have engendered. The very eccentricities of these clubs, their wild fantastic arrangements, and extraordinary departure from common habits which they encourage during the few hours of their annual festivals, are the strongest proof that they spring from some deep-set instinct of the human heart, which will have its vent one way or another. Have our readers ever watched the process of such a festival, whether that of an ordinary benefit club; with no other object than that of providing against sickness; or of a Freemasons', an Oddfellows', a Foresters' lodge, or of any other mysteries which may be adopted as the tutelary deities of the place: for all these mean but one and the same thing, and we are not inspired with terror at any of their secrets? We believe, in our hearts, that no gatherings of our fellow-subjects, from a Cabinet Council to a meeting of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews with a noble chairman, are more harmless, more natural, more wholesome than these. Watch the whole ceremony on a hot summer's day in the country. We have nothing to do with habitual drunkards or improvident characters; such men have never enrolled themselves as members, or been long ago expelled for some breach of the rules of the society. The more steady and industrious labourers for several miles round bestir themselves early to reach the central place of meeting: their working dresses are laid on one side,—the clay-stained garments that mark the agriculturist, or dark slaty costume that derives its colour from the depths of a coal-pit;—and after a careful ablution, clean shirts are produced, boots cleaned, and the day is stamped as a festival. The English labourer seldom, except in early youth, gives way to any marked cheerfulness of manner. A solemn gravity hangs over him, and whatever he does is the result of a deep instinct, or of routine, rather than of the bright flash of any sudden fancy. He walks forth on his club-day with his trousers turned up, his coat over his arm, his handkerchief in his hand, ever ready to wipe away that sweat of his brow so inalienably linked with his condition, and steadily directs his steps to the scene of action. When there, he meets old friends seen but once a year, and whose affections he thus retains, though with an amazing economy of words. The associations of a life, the great events of social existence, about which poets write, and which newspapers describe for the benefit of the whole world, are made to

be no more than the occasion of the briefest and almost cynical remarks. We are not a demonstrative people, and social feelings require to be brought out in odd ways, and with accompaniments that have a somewhat indirect bearing on the real instinct which prompts the assemblage. These grave solemn men are indeed varied by a smart young shopkeeper or honest apprentice, and the self-important secretary or officials of the club; and under their management at the appointed hour some little business is supposed to be transacted, the result of which is entirely satisfactory. Then begins the ceremonial of the day. Each man puts on the insignia of his club, his ribbons and bows, and all form a procession, with a band of music at their head, and flags waving in the air, suggestive of sentiments at least above those of the ordinary level life of the clubbists; strange contrast to an English labourer's daily life!

In most cases they go to church and listen to a sermon preached at their request. That such should be the spontaneous wish of the majority of country clubs is a fact of the greatest importance, and tells more strongly in their favour than many clergy are willing to acknowledge, who raise objections to some minor details of management or conduct. The service ended, the club forms again in procession. The band gives way to the relaxation of light and popular music. A few principal houses are serenaded, and they return to the inn to inaugurate the great principle of substantial hospitality. Few words have hitherto been exchanged, and we look now for the loosing of tongues. We have hitherto been surprised at the little conversation, and expect that the restraint will now be removed, that words will fly—jokes and hilarity prevail. This is far from being the case. The clergyman is asked to dine, which means to stand up and carve huge masses of beef into separate portions—small only by comparison. He begins with an effort to sustain conversation, but his labours are too great in another capacity, and he soon finds that his attempts produce awkwardness, and are not responded to, except with brevity. He also finds that any loquacious tendencies on the part of lively young members are set down as disorderly conduct; and we heard once an influential member of such a club remark, with the painful tone of one who is regretting the bygone glories of the past, 'There usen't to be this talking at dinner when I was young.' And when does talking begin? It requires many hours to ooze out. The cloth is removed, and even then it is common—in small rural places, not yet trained into the habits of more enlightened public dinners—for the whole company apparently to dissolve and remain scattered about for half-an-hour; one by one they drop in again, order their drink and pipes, settle down to hear a speech or two, and then

gradually to become convivial among themselves. We think it due to such gatherings to say of them, that there is remarkably little intemperance connected with them, and that the moral influence of the respectable elder members, their control over the younger, and the high standard of propriety and natural politeness adopted by them, together with a general anxiety on the part of all that the club shall maintain a good character, are most strong evidences, not only in favour of dealing very gently with any imperfections or errors in those now existing, but in favour also of the great good which may result from self-managed clubs and societies among the humbler classes of this country.

And if we turn to higher and more educated classes, we find the same principle at work, and that in a much more powerful and omnipresent manner. Indeed, the very great moral influence which societies of all kinds possess in these classes, and the great amount of all moral results which may be traced to this principle among those classes which really are kept somewhat in order, and held as civilized, is of itself a very great argument for the extension of such a powerful agent into the *masses*. The more cultivated form of human life carries out this principle in a spontaneous manner, whereas the humbler and rougher spheres of mankind need some extraneous help; and this we take to be the chief difference between them on the subject of the mutual intercourse desirable among Christian people. Among the poor the instinct *exists*—as plainly seen in what we have already said of its partial and often eccentric development—but requires help to bring it out; while, among the higher classes, it is found that this is the very principle at the foundation of all moral training and civilization.

Take the highest class of all, the House of Peers. This is a society of men bound together by many inducements to a high standard of honour, with common rules and laws, and exposed to public observation. It may be thought that the moral tone required of them is not sufficiently high; but, on the other hand, be it remembered, that they are men, generally speaking, of great wealth and power, with extraordinary opportunities of indulging every wayward passion, and exposed to temptations far greater than a class of men whose daily subsistence both requires the subduing influence of constant or laborious occupation, and the maintenance also of a respectable character. If we look, therefore, on the Peers of this country, as a number of individuals turned loose on the world from early life, with almost unbounded personal freedom, we think it cannot be denied that their mutual bond, as constituting the upper House of Parliament, as being in this way a society, the several members of which are concerned in the honourable behaviour of the whole, has very

great influence in keeping down eccentricities, or checking the manifestation of disgraceful vices, though flagrant exceptions may occur to this rule.

The same is the case with country gentlemen, who form in each county a society of their own, as magistrates, as members of Parliament, as landowners, and leaders in social life. Indeed the laws and rules of what is conventionally called *society*, are an influence of this kind. Men are kept in decent and respectable behaviour, by the mutual obligation which they owe one to another, as members of the same class, exposed to the observation and criticism of other classes. It may be said that the moral standard in these cases is not very high, nor the self-discipline required very severe; but to judge accurately of what is really effected by this means, we should inquire whether there are not very many who break loose from this restraint, such as it is, and forfeit the privileges which their natural position might have given them. If we examine the history of all the great families of this country, we shall find that there are very many which afford instances in point, which have their domestic troubles; histories of near relatives, brothers and sisters too, who have lost caste, who have rebelled against the code of their family connexions, and have sunk in the world, as a penalty of their indiscretion. We do not say that instances of this kind are universal, or overwhelming in number, for this would not prove the point we are trying to establish, which is, that the discipline of *society* is a real and operating one, actually controls men and keeps them in order: the exceptions to this rule simply point out the existence of such an agency, without calling in question its success.

If we descend to the professional classes, we shall find that the influence of membership with different societies is more direct and powerful still. Each profession, whether the Church, the Army, the Navy, the Bar, and the varied branches of legal and medical practice, is an independent society, with rules to which every member is subject, under pain of professional loss of character. It were needless to particularize the omnipresence of this rule in the classes we allude to; the whole life of a professional man is made up of membership with societies, from school or the university, to the law-court, the circuit, the bench, the college of physicians, or the parochial system of a diocese. Liberty of action is effectually checked, in all these positions of life, by the desire which each one has to be respected within his sphere or profession. If you want to see wildness, unrestrained passion, or eccentricity, in its full swing, see the conduct of a man who is alone in the world, who has exiled himself from his rightful position, or has become, for one reason or another, a

practical misanthrope. Man is so constituted that the influence of his fellow-creatures, in some close and perceptible, not only ideal, bond of unity, is absolutely necessary in order to give him shape and place in the world around him.

There has been one great instance of combination for a special moral object which requires our notice while on the present subject—we mean the Temperance movement. With all its features we do not agree; but that is not our point. The principle of combination, under the influence of mutual vows on a question of personal conduct, has received in this movement a popular endorsement. Objections at one time were raised against it, on the ground that these special promises seemed to disparage our common vows taken as baptized Christians. This line of argument is quite inapplicable to great public questions; we think that special societies are of the greatest use in dealing with great special evils, and form part of the machinery to carry out, rather than supplant, our primary Christian vows. Practical questions must be dealt with in a practical way, and the chance of a public good should never yield before an ideal alarm at setting up system within system, which may perchance clash with each other. It certainly is an honourable spectacle, when all the world is complaining of the great vice of drunkenness, to see a large society established to oppose this evil; to see its members vow personal obedience to their rules of abstinence, and also promise to extend the cause of temperance. That excesses occur in such a movement, that temperance is made by some the whole substance of religion, or that nonsense is talked about alcohol—which seems almost to imply that Satan is dissolved, and has assumed a fluid personality—that arbitrary and somewhat tyrannical attempts should be made to enforce on others the regulations of their society; all this is only a natural result of human zeal. The general movement has been beneficial; the public have abundant means of protecting themselves against the eccentricities of the enthusiastic; and the principle of special associations, with reference to improved moral life, has been established as a popular influence of the day.

We now come to the subject of existing societies that have a definite religious object. By the word 'society,' as we now use it, we do not mean only the common machinery of a committee, secretary, and subscribers, who distribute certain funds, and have no other bond of union; but we mean to imply a corporation—a number of individuals who assist each other and promote their common object not only by donations of money, but by personal sympathy and personal character. That is a hard and dry way of belonging to a *society*, by simply handing over a guinea and taking no more thought about it. Money is very useful, and we

do not deny even its necessity; but religious works will never thrive on this alone; they require the living spirit of man's united zeal and care. It is indeed remarkable, with regard to all our great societies, that their recent increase both in funds, in general importance, and actual work accomplished, has been immediately connected with a much greater sense, than formerly, of a personal and friendly link between their incorporated members. Whatever societies, in any age, have been the true honest growth of the heart, have exhibited this social aspect. If we look to the few last generations, and the noble institutions we inherit from them in the way of hospitals and asylums, we find also that the social element has been carefully preserved in a way very congenial with the temper of the age that gave them birth—we mean, by an annual dinner. If we look, also, for an illustration of the same spirit in a more recent development, we cannot have a better instance than the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. A few years ago, when the Society had a very limited income, it was only known as the recipient of annual guineas, portioned out to certain missionaries by a monthly board, who were indeed trusted as an abstract body, but of whose sessions and details no one troubled himself to inquire. The present position, however, of the Society is very different from this. It is a great centre of all missionary zeal; its meetings of various kinds are the occasion of bringing together a vast number of sympathising hearts, which stir each other up to the great work before them. It is a corporation in the real sense of the word, and we may easily trace its progressive usefulness to the greater appreciation of this corporate personal idea of the Society. Its board and committee meetings are now largely attended, and are the scene of most animated discussions; its public meetings pass on this personal interest in the work of missions to the main body of subscribers; while the Society has this year adopted the Anglican characteristic of the social as well as deliberative board; it even effloresces into occasional soirées, with such an admixture of the social proprieties, as an impartial review of the great usefulness of the Church's sisterhood to the maintenance of the Society's funds makes imperative, on the one hand, and the Committee think consistent with the dignity and propriety of the Society, on the other.

But there is much to be learned, on the subject of religious association, from other facts and thoughts beside the self-congratulation in which we may be allowed to indulge in reflecting upon the recent progress of our Church societies. We will not say here that it is right to be taught by enemies, for we will not call any religious body, whose example may afford us instruction, by so harsh a name; but we have certainly to learn much

practical wisdom from sects and parties which do not agree with ourselves, or even endeavour to undermine the influence of our own Church.

No Church or religious body has made more use of *Societies* than the Church of Rome, though the last to yield any particle of central authority. Whatever may be said of the Roman Church, it certainly possesses energy and perseverance. Its general organizations and allowable adjuncts are of a practical and working kind. How were the lawless tyranny, the universal ignorance, the barbaric manners of Mediæval Europe, conquered and subdued? By societies or monastic orders scattered over the country, to accomplish, by the force of combination and mutual sympathy, what a scattered parochial clergy would have no chance of doing in the midst of such constant disorder. Again, how was trade encouraged and our commercial system first planted; how was security first given to the industry of our forefathers? It was by the system of guilds, by forming each trade into a religious company. But pass on to another stage in the history of that Church, one of corruption and indulgence, of abuses and declension of all kinds. What is wanted at such times? An exciting spur, some foreign material to act as leaven, something to raise a commotion and heave up the mass into activity and briskness. It was this province which seems to have been undertaken by the Society of Jesus. This Society has ever preserved its independence, whether sanctioned or not by the powers of the day; and has been one of the wonders of the world on account of the determined unwearied nature of its exertions. We only think of it now as an instance of the power of religious association, and therefore may safely and without suspicion talk freely of what seem to be its practical characteristics. There is undoubtedly some very strong link in the Jesuit system, which binds men's souls together. They have (as Father De Ravignan says, on the Life and Institute of the Jesuits, translated by Seager) *an end and a mean.* The end is the glory of God and the salvation of souls; the mean is obedience. Is the natural heart of man so warm, so spiritual, so persevering, that we have but to propose these two ideas in order at once to fire up his best energies for generation after generation? The force and strength of the Jesuits do not rest on so general an appreciation of what is good and holy. There is a *secret* about what is so simply called the mean, and so characteristically interpreted *obedience;* and in that secret lays the moral power of the Jesuits. It is this which Richelieu discerned, when he called the Constitution of the Company of Jesus, the *chef-d'œuvre* of genius. Under the simple word obedience there is concealed the most vigorous, and, to our

moderate views even on the subject now before us, extravagant development of social influence. For what is all that long severe training, that stern subjection to rule? It is well described in several passages from the above-mentioned quarter. Speaking of the first entrance into the Company, we see in every word, that, under the idea of bringing the soul into direct communion with God, the enormous influence of *man* is in reality the engine most trusted.

'What strikes him from the time of his entrance, is the profound peace which reigns in the religious abode. The aspect of those silent walls, the collected gait of those who inhabit them, the sound of the steps which make a noise as in a desert, the order, the poverty, which is every where met with, the kind reception and the obliging manner of the good brother who introduces, the gentle gravity of the father who receives, a certain sweet and pure air which one breathes, a presence of God more intimate, as it seems, and more familiar,—everything in this abode, when for the first time one enters it as a stranger coming from far and beaten by the storms, everything there makes one feel an impression which one can hardly define, but which must be named the impression of God. An unknown principle, a beneficent spirit, solaces one's pains, repairs one's forces, and gives the foretaste of a new and happy life. In fine, one has around one nothing but open and pious hearts, serene brows; the conversation which rarely interrupts a long silence, is ever simple and fraternal, the mutual relations free, joyous, easy.'—*On the Life and Institute of the Jesuits*, p. 29.

The power of bringing one soul under the dominion of others is worked into an elaborate and exquisite science. There is an alternation of study, and again of profound retreat where all study is forbidden. Freedom and liberty are most temptingly held forth as the pride of the noviciate's condition, but prolonged internal meditations are at the same time required as the surest means of uprooting all former ideas of existence, and of bending an independent judgment. This is called 'being torn from the illusions of the world.' The following passage is, however, well worthy of being quoted on the subject:—

'The work of the noviciate is glorious: the noviciate is that labour regenerative of the mind, which delivers as much as possible to the divine grace the entire possession of the faculties, forces, and habits of the soul. It is a sort of creation, a powerful transformation which must emancipate the religious liberty from the innumerable shackles with which it was embarrassed by the interests, views, affections, and passions of nature. It is the forge in which the iron is softened in order to take again a new existence; it is the file which clears away the rougher parts, which takes away the rust, which prepares the instrument, and delivers it useful into the hands of the workman. At that time is impressed a direction which replaces in the man all the merely human directions, by the sole ambition of the divine glory and of the eternal salvation of all.'—*Ibid.* p. 32.

This whole method of effecting the *mean* of *obedience* is thus summed up; and who can read it without perceiving, in this harsh and violent excess of its use, a most admirable testimony

to the power which a society can exercise over the mind of an individual?—

'The man whom he destines for the apostolic ministry has passed as a novice two years of recollection and silence; since that, have followed nine years of study and five or six of teaching; he has just been ordained priest, and he has not yet fulfilled the functions of the priesthood; most usually he is thirty-three years of age; fifteen or sixteen years of the religious life have been passed by him: the religious, the priest, re-enters the noviciate.

'He is about to renounce again, for a whole year, all study and every external relation. Great pains have been taken to cultivate his intellect; he must now, as a last proof and last preparation, exercise himself, according to the remarkable expression of the Constitutions, in the school of the heart, *in scholâ affectûs*. The expression is difficult to comprehend; I needed in order to penetrate its sense the revolution of the year; and I pretend not here to explain it.'—*Ibid.* pp. 35, 36.

But have we been defeating our own argument in presenting an undesirable instance of the power of mutual intercourse in religious societies? There is an all-important distinction between societies which exercise their control by actual bodily possession, such as that we have just described, and those which aim at the much freer and milder influence of voluntary associations among persons who, at the same time, are pursuing their ordinary duties in the world. It is, indeed, our preference for the latter which leads us to place more confidence in those schemes of moral reformation in the masses of our fellow-countrymen, which seem to engraft the people themselves as coadjutors in the work by societies and associations, than in such as press for very numerous and at the same time less educated assistants of a purely clerical kind. Indeed, the present working of the Romish Church practically owns to the same opinion. The Society of Jesus, whatever its power now is, or its future history may be, is not the growth of this age, nor in accordance with its taste and feelings. We have before us the rules of two other societies in the same Church, which show signs in their whole organization of that power of adapting its system to the taste of the age, which the Romish Church seems to possess more than our own. The Society of S. Vincent-de-Paul is an admirable idea, in every way applicable to any Church. It has not for its object any dogmatic teaching, and it only requires a general obedience to superiors and to the teaching of its own Church. Its special work is personal influence over the erring and ungodly. It is composed of young men with no claims to teach, who yet agree to give a practical lesson in their lives and actions of Christian love and Christian holiness. We know not what the success of this Society is; it is hard to know the amount of good which plans of this kind accomplish, even with the minutest inquiries; but from the favourable notice which it has already received from most impartial quarters, we conclude that it is in active working

order in this country as well as in France. Their organization is complete, while the phraseology in which it is described is common-place and unaffected. They have conferences in each town, with the usual officers; councils of towns and a general council; there are also festivals, special prayers and observances binding on every member. Some short extracts from the book of rules may interest our readers.

'1.—The Society of S. Vincent-de-Paul receives as members all Catholic men who desire to unite in prayer and to co-operate in works of charity, in whatever country they may reside.

'2.—No work of charity ought to be considered as foreign to the Society, although its main work is to visit poor families at their own houses. Thus, the members may take every opportunity of affording consolation to the sick, the imprisoned, and those who are in workhouses—instruction to poor children, and religious assistance to those who need it at the hour of death.

'NOTE.—The funds of the Society, however, are never to be devoted to any work not carried on by or under the guidance of the Society.

'3.—When several young men in the same town have joined the Society, they meet together to encourage each other in the practice of doing good. This meeting is called a "*Conference*,"—the name borne by the Society at its foundation.

'4.—When several Conferences exist in the same town, they are distinguished from one another by bearing the name of the parish in which the members meet together. These Conferences are united by a special Council bearing the name of the town in which it is established.

'5.—All the Conferences of the Society are united by a General Council.' —*Rules of the Society of S. Vincent-de-Paul*, pp. 19, 20.

If such is the plain enunciation of the Society's practical object, the following is the expression of its ideal sentiment:—

'The unity of the Society of S. Vincent-de-Paul should be cited as a model of Christian friendship—of a friendship carried beyond the grave, for in our prayer before the Almighty we shall remember those of our brethren who have been taken from us.

'This sentiment of fraternal charity, this union of hearts and souls, will endear to each of us our little Brotherhood. We shall bless it for the good, however trivial, it enables us to perform. We shall love this Brotherhood with tenderness, and even with a greater affection than any other association of the kind—not because of its excellence, or from pride, but as affectionate children, who would love a tender mother, though poor and deformed, more than all other women, however they might excel by their riches or their talents.'—*Ibid.* pp. 10, 11.

The following passage bears closely on remarks we have already made, as showing the design of using lay efforts without detriment to the ecclesiastical system:—

'We should always remember that we are only laics, and for the most part young men, without any mission to teach others; we should therefore show the greatest deference to the good counsel which may be given to us by the Society and its heads; and we must, above all, observe and follow with an absolute docility the directions that our ecclesiastical superiors may think fit to give us.'—*Ibid.* p. 12.

It is a principle common to all societies, if members are to

respect their common union, that entrance into their body shall not be too easy, the door not thrown open to all. Some test, some knowledge of individual character is essential as an introduction to any society, if those who belong to it are to respect their privileges, and if others are to care for admission.

'In order to maintain effectually that unity of sentiment and to cement that Christian friendship which forms the foundation and the charm of our Society, it is requisite that we should only admit into it those candidates who are truly worthy of the affection of our brethren. Previous, therefore, to the enrolment of any friend into our ranks, we should carefully inquire whether he be calculated to draw closer those ties which bind us to each other; whether the amenity of his disposition and his Christian mildness would enhance the value of that relief which he may be commissioned to afford to the wretched; whether the firmness of his disposition authorises us to hope that he will persevere in carrying out his generous resolutions; and whether he be in a condition to contribute to the funds of the Institution.'—*Ibid.* pp. 14, 15.

The other rules before us, are those of the Catholic Young Men's Society, with an address by the Very Rev. R. B. O'Brien. Of the working of the Society we know nothing whatever, and therefore we speak only of the scheme, and that in its own words. The address begins thus:—

'We address you, in all love and hopefulness, for the purpose of impressing upon you the objects of our organization, and briefly to explain the religious principles from which it sprung.

'We have every indication of the guiding and aiding power of the Almighty in the accessions which are continually crowding into our ranks, and in the persevering virtue of the great mass, whose example and exertion stimulate this movement. We should therefore be more careful to correspond with the benign graces of Providence by becoming impressed with the obligations of the brotherhood, and by communicating to all the spirit with which we are ourselves imbued.

'The brothers must then always keep in mind that we are banded together for the simple purpose of making individually and collectively an assault upon vice and error—upon false principles and unsound morals—upon "the devil, the world, and the flesh," by every means that religion and reason sanction, until we render this country "a holy and acceptable people" in the sight of the Lord.

'We look upon it as an oblivion of plain duty and an absurdity, that Christian men should make no exertion against unchristian practices, and should rest satisfied at not being guilty of such unchristian practices themselves. The law of charity binds every man to strike a blow for his brother in his strife with evil, the promises made at the door of Christian right and privilege constitute every man the ever-waking enemy of sin and falsehood when they can be assailed with effect. We look upon vice—vice of every kind—as the offspring of Satan and our foe. We believe it to be the foe of our sanctity, our peace, our progress, our success, our hope—and we treat vice, therefore, as a public aggressor against whom we are to combine, and against whom we shall continue to combine until we overthrow, trample under foot, and destroy him.

'This we conceive is not the business exclusively of any individual or of any class. It may be the particular province of the ministry of God's Church; but it is not theirs peculiarly. They may be destined to nothing

else; but they alone are not destined to it. They "are constituted in those things which are of God," to defend the people; but this is no reason why the people should not take up arms and defend themselves. And we have taken up the sword, and, please God, we shall wield it with vigour, until we shall have fulfilled our destiny.'—*The Office, Rules, &c., of the Young Men's Society*, pp. 3—5.

In some parts of their address there is a strong Irish tinge, and we conclude that the Society's operations are chiefly in that island. But, however this may be, we commend the following passage to the consideration of all Churchmen. It is taken from the report of the origin and general rules of the Society. After speaking of great *success*, it proceeds:—

'Yet the Society had of course to contend with difficulties. The idea of assuming such a high position in charity, as to appear in open organized conflict with vice and falsehood, though most natural, was novel to some. They thought it was expecting too much from laymen, as if laymen do not make up, it may be said, the Christian world, and as if the Christian world are not deeply interested in destroying sin, and possessed not a mighty power for such a purpose. But these doubters soon became convinced of how little they appreciated the power which God's grace imparts to its children when they beheld the multitude who were saved to home and hope by the resolute perseverance of men, who met them in the labours of employment and at the corner of almost every street. Some artisans too mistook our object and spirit, and imagined that an aggregation to our Guilds was incompatible with certain legitimate "rules of trade." They, however, could not help observing that the support and propagation of faith and morality could not be opposed to any interests of a public body, and that, among us, all might unite for GOD and the CHURCH, though outside they might walk a different path in pursuit of their livelihoods. For we need not say that our system is hostile to no system which the law of God permits. A third class of difficulties sprung from men *who will not be reclaimed*, and who do not comprehend the dignity of working in hard days for the glorious CHURCH of their fathers. Let us pray that they may be converted and enlightened, and that they may yet enjoy the full shelter, happiness, and protection of the "One Sheepfold and One Shepherd."'—*Ibid.* pp. 36, 37.

In our survey for practical hints among Christian bodies not in direct communion with our own Church, we next turn to the Wesleyan Methodists. We think it truly useful to watch not only the works, but the growing ideas of various sects. We live in active and thoughtful days; and for this very reason are apt to be absorbed in our own work, our own progress, and our own advancing ideas, forgetting that other bodies are running side by side with us in the Christian race, also with progressive ideas; and if not, as we hope, equally successful among our fellow-countrymen with the Church of England, yet by no means either asleep, or wrapped up in the narrow-minded prejudices that we are apt to attribute to them from bygone associations. The Wesleyan Methodists take now their stand as an enlightened body. They no longer aim at being only rough wayside

preachers; but they study the ornaments of life. Their aim is plainly this: that while they preserve the spiritual tone of their communion, and the essentials of religious simplicity, they shall avoid the harsh grating characteristics of Puritanism. The system of class-meetings is thus re-established and encouraged on a true philosophic and also spiritual foundation. The general subject of *character—i. e.* of individual personal qualities, in contrast with their former more ranting language about sudden calls and conversion—is also brought forward to the notice of candidates for the ministry in a way both true and sensible, but at the same time calculated to excite almost a smile in those who remember, as the characteristic of Methodism, its tendency to a gloomy fanatic zeal. An address on the subject of *character*, to the students in the Wesleyan Training Institution, Westminster, by the Principal, the Rev. John Scott, delivered this year, is before us. It is a really interesting and clever disquisition on those virtues and qualities which go to make up a *good character*. The intense value of character in secular as well as spiritual affairs, and its command over the world, the utter vanity also of all efforts on the part of those who are not stamped as of *good character*, are ably discussed. Even political administrations might feel a sad reproach in some of the language of this address; and one passage would form no bad appendix to the celebrated Slough description of an earthquake, as suggestive of what deficiency that was on the part of our late government, which caused the commotion then spoken of to be so overwhelming in its effects.

'Look at life in another aspect, and you see the value of character. Storms come sweeping over society, leaving many a proud structure, reared by man's enterprise, assiduity, and success in worldly affairs, a wreck, whilst it also carries away many a humbler erection; but if, when a person's fortunes fall, his character stands,—if his honour, truth, integrity, remain unimpaired,—whether prosperity returns, and, like Job, he is able to repair his shattered fortune, so that "his latter end is more blessed than his beginning," or not, he himself may stand erect, commanding men's esteem as a monument of character preserved, amidst all the vicissitudes of human things.'—*Character*, p. 6.

On the general subject of individual character, and the influence by which it is sought to be moulded, Mr. John Scott speaks as follows:—

'As all human minds are not cast in the same mould, nor made to take the same conformation, it may be that, in the course of a general improvement, some feature of your mind, some one of your capabilities, will become prominent, which, when carefully cultivated with the rest of your powers, may give individuality to your character. But in this matter let nature take its own course: that its developments may be natural and not forced and artificial do not catch at particular indications, nor seek to excel in one thing while negligent of others; determine to attain general excellence.'—*Ibid.* p. 9.

From this acknowledgment of the value to be attached to mere human or natural qualities of an internal kind, he proceeds, as the summing up of his address, to a bold defence of external, or, as some of his predecessors in the stern school of Methodism would, we suspect, have called it, *carnal*, accomplishments and tastes:—

'Now, to all that constitutes solid worth, and insures high esteem in human character, why should you not add *grace and ornament?* The person must be vain, affected, and ridiculous, who studies ornament as a sole acquisition, and is careless whether or not he really possesses anything to adorn; but where there is real worth, why should it not be made to take the most attractive form? When a jewel is to be worn, the artist studies carefully its setting. There is ornamental knowledge,—knowledge which may not be wanted for the actual uses of life, but which elevates and refines the mind, and is a source of pleasure. By the improvement of your leisure hours, why should you not acquire such knowledge? Why should you not carefully cultivate your taste, so as to enjoy all that is beautiful in literature, in art, and in nature? There are the pleasures of taste, equal to most pleasures that are not religious,—why should you not relish them? But there is also the grace which it gives to character; why should you not possess that ornament? Why should you not cultivate graceful manners? Why should a person of intelligence and goodness be unformed, rough, or rude in behaviour? In cultivating engaging manners, which I trust you will do, I hope you will avoid all affectation,—nothing unnatural or affected can be graceful. In ornamental gardening, modern taste rejects altogether the trim forms of the square-cut, round-cut box and yew tree, so much admired by our forefathers in their gardens; the art of beauty now, is to plant trees and flowers in their right places, and carefully lop what is irregular and redundant. This may instruct you. If you avoid what is faulty, and your minds are formed to the perception of beauty, naturally your manners will become pleasing, with no other care than the diligent observation of what is engaging in society. All this accomplishment is within your reach. It is one of the great advantages of the day in which we live that education is brought within the reach of all classes,—certainly it is within yours;—and education, as it acquires completeness, cultivates all man's capabilities of whatever kind, and bids him never stop in the way of improvement.'—*Ibid.* pp. 13, 14.

The illustration here used from *ornamental gardening*, speaks volumes on the progress of liberal sentiments and appreciation of art outside, as well as in, the Church.

But although this high value for the secular advantages of a good character, and even for the graces of external manner, may seem at variance with the once stern teaching of these modern Puritans, we think it but the natural development of the great amount of practical utility and goodness that exists in the system of class-meetings; which really maintain throughout the whole body of Wesleyans the feeling of belonging to a Society, with all the privileges and responsibilities attached to such a feeling. To show the common craving in religious minds for mutual intercourse, we may point, as a curious illustration, to the different practical systems which the same texts of Scripture are made to

support. Those texts chime in with a natural instinct, and then are brought forward to support the most opposite plans by which that instinct seeks for gratification in different religious systems. The same texts which the Romanists adduce in defence of auricular confession, are the ground for class-meetings. In a letter by John Hartley, called 'A Plea for Class-Meetings,' we have the following passage, in which we think the argument is fairly stated. The texts themselves we omit, as they can be supplied:—

'CLASS-MEETINGS ARE MOST CONSONANT WITH HOLY SCRIPTURE. That they are not explicitly commanded, has been admitted; but we do affirm that they harmonize with its spirit; that they are the natural development of its principles; and that they carry out and embody many of its injunctions.

'1. Some texts enjoin *the public profession of religion.*

'2. In others, *the gathering together of God's people, and their interchange of thought and feeling, are strongly commended.*

'3. In others, again, *the mutual confession of sin, and the stirring up of holy affection by Christian conversation, are commanded.*

'4. Then there are passages, minute and incidental references, too numerous to quote, which fully bear out the assertion that "*the fellowship of the primitive disciples,* as indicated in the annals of the Acts of the Apostles, evidently included much more than merely assembling together in one common place of worship; or meeting together, as now, once a month at the Lord's table, in great part strangers to each other. The communion of the ancient Church evidently included an interchange of experience and feeling; mutual instruction, advice, exhortation; sympathy in trials, sufferings, and temptations; prayers for each other's welfare; confession of faults one to another; and help and assistance in everything relative to either this life or the life to come."

'You have read, and, I hope, reflected on, these various statements of that Divine word which you receive as the rule of your faith and practice. And now I put it to you—Do they not, especially when *taken* (as they ought to be) *all together,* recommend and enjoin something to which the normal idea of a Class-Meeting corresponds? Should we not, but for this institution, fail in some degree to embody the Scripture representation of the Church? Would not many of the duties referred to in the above passages be almost totally overlooked and neglected, if this means of grace were abolished? And how can they be properly discharged, without either this provision, or some one equivalent to it? Must we not conclude, in the light of these Bible representations, that "there must be some radical defect in a Christian who is spiritually dumb?" And how many of us would be so, but for the Class-Meeting! Can we very well mutually help each other's faith and joy, without having intercourse in some such way with our fellow-travellers to Zion? And does not this embodiment and practical realization of religious fellowship strongly commend itself to those who are resolved, even if it cost some feeling and effort, to be in all respects Christians after the scriptural model?'—*A Plea for Class-Meetings,* pp. 17—19.

This writer also quotes the words of Dr. Dixon on this subject, and there is much truth in them, which admits of very general and varied application:—

'A powerful and pressing necessity also arose, from the awakened stat

of the thousands who listened to the ministry of our fathers, for religious communion. Hence the establishment of Class-Meetings, and similar means. It was found, that a mere attendance upon the public preaching and monthly sacraments could not meet the case of those who were anxiously inquiring what they must do to be saved. Personal and direct instruction, encouragement afforded in the duty of believing in the Saviour, and express advice and sympathy on the respective subjects of experience, temptation, inward conflict, and the painful exercises of the Divine life, were not only useful, but, in keeping up the spirit of true religion, absolutely essential. Can these be abandoned? Is there not the same necessity for this assistance, stimulus, encouragement, and these guards, as ever?'—*Ibid.* p. 16.

Other sects beside the Wesleyans carry out the same idea in one way or other; indeed, the peculiar strength of Dissent consists in the sense of fellowship, which it contrives to impart to the members of each congregation. Young men in towns join Dissenting congregations, not from any doctrinal reasons, but because they meet with companions at Bible-classes and other meetings, among whom they can be perfectly at home, hampered by no restraint, kept in awe by no scholastic element, which they so much fear in the clergy of the Established Church. They have not to be mere listeners; have not to sit dumb and still, whilst a superior being dilates to them on their depravity, their ignorance, and their remote chance of amendment; in fact, they have the advantage of something more than the formal acts of worship, and the set preaching, which are common to all religious bodies—they enjoy communion with their equals, and plain speaking is the order of the day. In country villages the same idea prevails, and to this in great measure may be attributed those sad cases where Dissent has for a time appeared to absorb all the religious vitality of a place. Each little meeting-house, or open-air assembly, has formed a society as well as a congregation, has imparted a sense of religious freedom and mutual intercourse, which they have unhappily fancied is not to be found in the more formal services of our Church. But why should the dignity of the Church's ritual, and its firm maintenance, as an inheritance we have no business to tamper with, be at all inconsistent with the greatest liberty and freedom of intercourse among the most unlearned members of the Church, in societies and self-governed bodies of men, enjoying the general sanction of the clergy, without being subject to dictation in minor arrangements? We think that much harm is often unconsciously done, with the very best intentions, from vain attempts on the part of enthusiastic and laborious clergymen, to *do* and *be* everything themselves. There is often too much hesitation in trusting other people, and in allowing any schemes that have been started to walk alone without leading-strings, or to float on the wide ocean of independence exposed to the changes and chances of this

mortal world. Parochial institutions are in general too much of hot-house plants, gently tended by fair and submissive hands, but not trusted to the rough storms of a manly and perhaps an ignorant self-will; and thus they live their puny day, and take no firm hold of the soil in which they grow.

We have one more institution to notice, the rules of which are before us. This is of genuine Anglican and modern growth, *i. e.* it proceeds from what is called the unsectarian and liberal school of evangelical truth. The Young Men's Christian Association, with its centre in Queen's Square, we believe to be an honest and well-meant design to carry out some of the very ideas we are now so strongly advocating. It is a body of young men, bound together by mutual understanding to lead a religious life; before any young man is received as a member, he has several formal questions to answer on the subject of his own religious impressions and his own conversion, which of course would imply great hypocrisy if any one continued a member, and followed any irregular courses of life. It is better, however, that the Association should explain its own objects and designs; and therefore we quote two passages from a little tract issued from head-quarters, called, 'What is the Young Men's Christian Association?' With regard to this, as well as former societies under discussion, we do not entertain the question of their present working success; but we believe that it is well supported and appreciated by a considerable body of members—1,200 in the metropolis alone two years ago, the date of our tract. The abstract designs of the Association, which, with one practical mistake hereafter to be noticed, specially meet our approval, and agree with the general tone of all we have said, are thus expressed:—

'The Young Men's Christian Association consists of Christian Young Men, whose bond of union is that of Christian sympathy, and whose test of friendship is that of love to Christ.

'It does not consist of Churchmen or Dissenters, *as such*, but of Young Men united in fellowship with every section of the Christian Church, who have sought and obtained that change of heart and of life which is enjoined and imperatively required of every one by God Himself.'—*What is the Young Men's Christian Association?* pp. 1, 2.

This is the true principle, to make self-improvement the first object of membership with the Society. Second to this comes the improvement of others, well expressed as follows:—

'Its object is to press upon the acceptance of others those advantages its members have received.

'It does not assume the place of the Christian Ministry, nor is it intended to rival any institution in connexion with the Christian Church; but, sensible of the sympathy which those of equal age and station feel towards each other, and aware of the startling fact that many thousands of Young Men residing in London are away from parents and sisters, from kindred and friends, it aims to win all such to One, whose friendship is closer

than that of a brother, and whose favour can secure prosperity and peace for the present, and happiness for the future.'—*Ibid.* p. 2.

Such being the design, we next inquire of the machinery used for the purpose of carrying it out. These show real and practical knowledge as to the requirements of that class of young men whom it is wished to attract. The operations of the Association are threefold:—

'1. Meetings for the study of the Bible, attended and conducted by Young Men; at which, none assuming the place of superiority, all are invited freely to state their difficulties, give expression to their views, and to seek that knowledge of God's Word which is needful alike to faith and practice.

'At these assemblies many Young Men have had their difficulties solved, and been led by the attractive power of the Cross, unclouded by sectarian bias, to recall the early lessons of affection, and to free themselves from the temptations in which they had become entangled. Others have been won, by a right exhibition of the character and attributes of God, from the coldness of infidelity to an acknowledgment of the claims, and submission to the authority, of Him who "makes His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

'2. But in order that opportunities for prayer and mutual exhortation may be provided, the Association invites Young Men to a meeting held in each of the Metropolitan Branches in the week, when prayer is made expressly on the behalf of those who still shut themselves out from the favour of God, and practical holiness of life is enforced on the attention of those who have given themselves to the service of Christ.

'These engagements are, on alternate weeks, varied by addresses from Ministers, or by popular lectures addressed especially to Young Men. At these, as well as the other Meetings of the Association, many, drawn by curiosity or other motives, have felt the desire to swell its ranks, and eventually to unite their efforts on behalf of others.

'3. But, thirdly, the more public efforts of the Association need scarcely be referred to. Many of those into whose hands this paper will fall, have attended its Winter Lectures, and social and public meetings, at Exeter Hall and elsewhere, and listened with attentive interest while subjects of deep and permanent importance have been dilated upon by some of the most talented and laborious Ministers of the Church of Christ.'—*Ibid.* pp. 2—4.

But if so far we can approve, we have also to suggest that, in one point of view, the Association's practical system counteracts its theory. Its principle is to encourage social meetings in connexion with religion; but this object will surely be defeated if, by its unsectarian cry, so prominently put forward, it simply draws young men from the interests naturally attached to their own places of worship, to an external body, viz. itself. It is a common rule of success, that one thing must be done at once; but this Association has two distinct aims—to bring men together, and also to make them unsectarian. Now, the social idea and the sectarian are obviously somewhat akin; the latter being only a perversion or excess of the other. If the social idea is aimed at as the principal object, which we believe here to be the case, there is certainly the danger of dissolving other alliances of a religious kind, by inviting men from their religious bodies, and

generally disseminating the idea that sects and parties are things to be despised. The Association so far encourages this idea, that it has almost a distinct creed of its own, in a somewhat harsh and exclusive statement of the Vicarial Sacrifice, and an equally repulsive mode of appealing to the horrors of eternal punishment apart from the analogy of the faith. It thus becomes rather a gloomy religion of itself, instead of an helpmate to any other. There must indeed be very great risk in establishing any society with religious aims, on a wider basis than that of any one Church or denomination, lest the social principle of the one should clash with the social principle of the other. This may seem to contract our efforts; but such is undoubtedly one of the difficulties which are entailed upon social reformers by the discord which unhappily exists in the religious world, and which it is the object of the Church to calm down, on the sound and true principle of her own ancient faith, and her strong Catholic claims.

Of existing societies in our own Church we have little more to say than what already we have incidentally brought in, during the course of our remarks. We seem to have been approaching and hovering about this great idea as a means of encountering the many pressing evils of the day, but as yet we have hardly grasped it, beyond that use of societies which consists in receiving contributions and distributing money to appointed officers. The social vices that now claim so much attention have their Church Penitentiary Association; and various bodies of men exist under the name of societies or guilds for special objects; but at present we feel somewhat doubtful as to whether the authorities of our Church, with their fear of novelty, their dread of offending any prejudice or party, and above all their official habits and associations, have given sufficient encouragement, or opened their eyes to the existing need of the Church to possess some such motive-power, for the principle to have had any fair start, or to have been seriously entertained by the mass of sensible Churchmen.

The sense of Christian fellowship has indeed very much increased of late years in a way which it is most refreshing to contemplate, especially among the educated class, and also in rural districts. It has grown up on the simple and pure foundation of Church membership. As the claim of the Church upon the affection of her members, as the social and charitable duties of religion have been more and more appreciated, so has there arisen a greater notion of fellow-feeling among individual Churchmen, who happen to be associated together in the same parish, in the same church, or in promoting the same Christian works. The parochial tie is more felt than it was even in London, *and* congregations are everywhere springing up who look to their

clergy, not only as mechanical readers and teachers, but as the centre of a Christian socialism within the limits of the district. The abundance of parochial institutions, which an active clergyman gets around him, are a great means of fostering a good social understanding among those who are the administrators of charity as well as those who are the recipients: indeed, there are very many who, in this way, are more blessed in the giving than in the receiving.

But the more we become acquainted with what has been done, and the more we appreciate its value, the more we see a great mass of work before us, which our existing machinery is unable to meet. The world, we feel sure, is gradually coming round to the conviction that the parochial system by itself, admirable and successful as its fruits are where it can have full play, is wholly unable to touch the evils before it, in large towns, without a fresh army of recruits from the *masses* themselves, banded together in some special manner, to help in reforming their neighbours. The building of churches, which we may take as a fair index of the confidence reposed in the extension of the parochial system to meet the wants of the day, is suffering now from a decided check. The London Diocesan Church Building Society, at its late meeting, had only to report the consecration of one church in that vast diocese during the past twelve months, while no one can say that this arises solely from religious apathy. Energy has been expended in other channels, and plans proposed, we may also say triumphantly carried out, which have a direct tendency not to oppose, but to work independently of and in addition to the parochial system—we mean, of course, the Westminster Abbey services, and many other services and preachings called *special*, to distinguish them from the ordinary parochial type. The fact is, that our parochial type is so hopelessly overlaid with an exclusive system, is so connected with a *class*, on which indeed its *income* often depends, that its ideal must be content to encounter some rough reverses in these remorseless days. Not that we apprehend any actual diminution of its influence, or even anything but a steady increase; but it must not be jealous of other agents, or expect to do all of its own single strength.

Nor is there any occasion to look upon self-governed and independent associations or clubs, with more or less of a religious object, as at all a substitute for, or likely to supplant, any Church or parochial sympathies of a higher kind. We have already stated that, with regard to the more educated classes, this associating principle has full play in an endless variety of ways, and among them we find that the parochial system has its firmest supporters. It is among the poorer, the million, the masses, or

by whatever name we call them, especially—though not only—those in towns, that we miss the wholesome effects of this most necessary moral principle. The forces of example, of shame, of emulation, of ambition and reproach, seem to have no sufficient play in the great crowd of our labouring and mechanic population. It is a strong sense of this deficiency, and the difficulties also which beset the parochial clergy in endeavouring to meet it, that have suggested our present remarks. We fully believe that the clergy have laboured, and are willing to labour more, to accomplish this end; but it is time the laity be strongly and earnestly exhorted to establish more social institutions among the working classes than now exist. At one time, labour itself was regulated by guilds and societies which accomplished this very end, at the same time that they governed the manufacturing world, such as it was; at one time the London apprentices were a compact, solid, and often noisy set; but now all labour has its market price and no more; and in so vast a community as this country, it is absolutely impossible that it should be otherwise. We have drifted into it with the same ungovernable force that involves small and once manageable streams of water into a great tidal river. How the social element thus lost is to be regained, we know not; except that every man, according to his influence and position, should exercise both his ingenuity, his good sense, and his hearty love of mankind, to promote the welfare of those around him. The laity also should remember the many facilities they possess, from which the clergy are debarred. They possess liberty and freewill: whereas, it is not too much to say that the clergy of this country live under a system of routine and a depressing subjection to public opinion. The life of an English clergyman is very comfortable so long as he keeps down any original plans for promoting the public good; but once let loose these unhappy instincts, once give play to originality and ingenuity, and he is exposed to all manner of suspicions, and bids farewell to peace. A layman, on the other hand, can do what he likes, and is always respected for any boldness of character he may exhibit. One concluding remark, however, we must make to the clergy. If the laity are expected to do things from the force of energy and with a manly heart, if they are asked to form combinations among working men, to set up clubs and associations, and to restore to that class, in any way which may occur to them, their lost social character, it must not be expected that the incumbent of each parish or district shall be the centre or governing power of every such institution, as a necessary conditions of any religious influence to be attributed to it. It is a universal rule of all real work and energy, that freedom, and a certain show of self-will, must have its way.

ART. V.—1. *Lenten Sermons, preached at Oxford. With Preface by* BISHOP OF OXFORD. London: J. H. Parker, Strand.

2. *The Destiny of the Creature. Sermons.* By Rev. C. J. ELLICOTT. London: J. W. Parker & Son, West Strand.

3. *Memoir of Rev. George Wagner.* Cambridge: Macmillan & Co.

THE inevitable march of civilisation and intellect, amidst all the changes which it effects in the mode of conveying thought, has brought about none more striking than that which has gradually arisen between the preacher and his hearers. The extent and character of his influence, the recognised nature of his authority, the relative amount of his knowledge and mental cultivation over theirs, with its effect on the mind of both, are all affected by the slow lapse of time, have all assumed a different aspect—may we not say, have all suffered a revolution?—since the time when he was supreme and undisputed on his own ground, since that golden age when, we are told by the worshippers of the past, the voice which announced the word of God was listened to as something different from a human voice, and the authority of each preacher clad in the sacred vestments was the same; since a saint sought to inculcate in others his own veneration for the preacher's office, by the saying, that if he should meet a priest and an angel descended from heaven, he would first kiss the hand of the priest, and then pay his reverence to the angel; since the Reformed Church was admonished, 'Judge not the preacher, for he is thy judge;' or even later, when it was still thought an indecorum to pass any sort of comment on either the matter or the manner of the discourse just listened to, which it was a point of sacred politeness and good manners to treat as perfect and unquestionable. A licence has come over the world since those days. Public opinion asserts itself, everywhere sets itself up in judgment on the judge. The criticism which, if formerly indulged in,—for, after all, when was it not in the secret recesses of thought?—was yet felt an illicit indulgence, is now open and self-justified; the sermon is discussed, not only with a view to extract its full edification, but to ascertain how far it is edifying at all; the habit of undoubted deference to the preacher's dictum is confined to a few worthy old-fashioned people, to some thorough-going partisans, and to the complimentary conventionalisms of

the press, which linger still in the corners and outskirts of those journals whose heart and centre lead on and encourage, to a height unknown before, the gradual revolution we are describing.

The change, as thus stated, seems plainly for the worse: but if it is not well to sigh over the inevitable; if—though it is our duty to amend what is amiss—it is certain that the past never can come back again, and that nothing can ever be restored to what it was before; we may learn to reconcile ourselves in a degree to the present, as at least a feature of our times, and so to be restrained and modified, not to be merely set down as all pure evil. And, in the first place, it is quite certain that the preacher has throughout done his part in effecting the change; so that a state of public feeling which sounds to us so desirable, did not apparently satisfy him. Ever since the preacher, to gain his immediate end, appealed to private judgment—which has probably been the case in its degree on all sides ever since there was a private judgment to appeal to—the discrepancy between theory and practice set in. The theory of submission and obedience is so innate in most religious minds, that even now it holds where there is nothing present to the senses to shake it; but the shocks it receives are so rude and constant, that few can stand out against them. In fact, deference to office is not enough; the teacher craves for individual sympathy and personal influence. Each man has, beyond his faith in the great fundamental doctrines of religion and morality, views and opinions on both peculiarly dear to himself, as falling in with his own idiosyncrasy: these his office has always placed him in a position to inculcate and enforce. The temptation was irresistible. We do not say that he ought to have resisted it; but so soon as controversy, and, following slowly in its train, secular interests, became matter for the pulpit, the preacher had already sapped his own foundation, had sacrificed the undisputed authority of his order to individual success—to the inculcation of the particular over the general, the views that influence him as being himself, above those great primary verities which hold and influence all alike.

The wider and more various the range of subjects submitted to the hearer, the slighter must be the *claim* on his implicit acquiescence. No man is authority except on his own ground; and if that ground is disputed, the edifice shakes to its centre. Thus, if from dogmatic statements on controverted religious questions, on which we know theologians differ with acrimony and to the knife, the preacher proceeds to dogmatize on science, history, or politics, we venture with the more courage to dispute his decision, however authoritatively pronounced, on foreknowledge, freewill, Churches, Fathers, and Maynooth

grants, if we find ourselves also at odds with him on the political measures of our public men, and his estimate of their characters. On such points he can pretend to no especial illumination; we all stand on precisely the same level. We may differ with as little scruple as we should from the assertions of our opponents on the hustings. Nor does the mischief end here; for if on these secular points he betrays, in our opinion, prejudice, party feeling, bitterness, or defective judgment, we learn to suspect the same deteriorating qualities to be at work in his own peculiar field of thought and inquiry, even though we cannot detect them as clearly; we think ourselves at liberty to call in our own private judgment, to be on the look-out against unfairness of statement. There ensues a contest of wits: we learn to expose with alacrity what seems a fallacy or hitch in the argument; in fact, the preacher has lost standing: from an exponent of doctrine, he sinks into a disputant; he has excited attention at the cost of permanent weight; he has acquired adherents at the expense of docile hearers. The mischief is apparently greatest amongst those of his flock in whom he has inspired dissatisfaction and cavil; but even adherents, won by similarity of views, are not like disciples; in them a sense of equality springs up, very uncongenial with the primitive pastoral image—the pure ideal of the teacher is destroyed.

And yet, while we seem to censure this state of things, we feel how impossible it is to imagine any other. In a time of great intellectual activity and stirring interests, preachers may well feel that unless they throw themselves into the questions of the day, and give them the turn which they deem in harmony with the truth, the stream of interest and intelligence will rush past them, and leave them and their cause undisputed, perhaps, but also unheeded and powerless. It is not, in fact, part of our business either to praise or blame; or to decide whether the old idea,—that idea which, even in S. Paul's day, he had to recal to the minds of pastors with some sharpness of reproof,—could by any means have been maintained under such different aspects of society; all we have to do with is, to show that if the laity are now critics of sermons, it is the clergy who have made them so, and who do all in their power to keep this habit of mind in brisk exercise—the clergy, regarded in their relation to each other, with their separate peculiarities, separate views, separate tastes and dispositions, to which each individual feels himself at liberty to give full play, however much they may trench on his brother, and this not only in our own communion, but in all churches and in all places, as it seems to us, where thought and opinion circulate rapidly.

But, passing from the historical view of the subject, we proceed to its present aspect. Granting, then, that this genius of criticism has been evoked and courted by the teacher, that he has done his best to whet and stimulate self-reliance and intellectual sharpness, it by no means follows that the results please him, or are conducive, even in his own mind, to that success in his work which must and ought to be his sustaining hope and expectation. While he appeals to it, he yet must and does often resent it. A mere vague suspicion that the spirit lurks somewhere, may do no harm; but wherever it assumes a local habitation, and an accredited weight, either in an individual, or in the assembled hearers as a community, it must become a disqualifying and paralysing element. It interferes with the inherent necessity of his office, which demands of the preacher, as such, a sense of superiority over his hearers.

In two ways this may be overcome: a man may be possessed by his subject, or he may be possessed by himself; outside of these two defences, which make men impervious, the malignant influence must be felt in greater or less degree. A wise man may indeed contend against it, face the bugbear, and defy it; he may turn it to good, using it as a monitor to chasten redundancies, to clear inaccuracies, to polish style, without suffering it to check freedom of thought and expression; but we may take for granted that few men can be defined as wise. Men may be very fit for their work, and have it in them to be eloquent, earnest, persuasive, whom we could not call wise, whose judgments may not be exactly balanced, whose self-love is sensitive, or who soon fall a prey to diffidence and mistrust; whose estimate of praise or blame is beyond what pure reason dictates, whose temper is excitable, whose apprehension of truth is liable to suffer eclipse under any present disturbing cause. Few men but have a touch of these or kindred infirmities; and upon all such the cavilling, critical spirit, developed in any excess in their hearers, will tell as a hampering, depressing restraint, and so react unfavourably on the audience itself, who the more freely and openly they indulge the spirit we indicate, the more food they will inevitably find for its exercise.

To show the blighting effect of the critical atmosphere, look at our universities, whose pulpits ought to furnish the world with examples of persuasive eloquence, of the truth enforced and adorned by every grace of style, and delivered with all the emphasis and power that conviction, strengthened and refined by learning and cultivation, should supply. But where, in fact, have sermons so little influence? where are they

so coldly listened to? Who presumes to dream of impressing university dons? What centres of satire, disparagement, contempt for the preacher's efforts, are many a common-room; what a tone of easy freedom in the expression of these sentiments is habitual; what indifference to the impression produced. It is enough to sink the heart and hopes of any young man who looks forward to a life of preaching; it accounts, in fact, for the failure of these same critics when their own turn comes; for the very root of all power is sapped, when faith in the ordinance itself is weakened. Nothing can be worse for an embryo preacher of sermons, than to hear men whom he respects and looks up to, men regular in all their religious duties, and with a certain religious reputation, talk slightingly and hopelessly as so many do of sermons, and who think they have a right to do so, from the monotonous mediocrity of the sermons they hear. *All* people alike are unduly influenced by what comes under their own immediate observation; thus, if men always hear dull sermons, they will think that all sermons are dull. And so long as members of our universities think sermons dull and unreal, it follows by a certain law, till some convulsion comes, that the sermons they hear *will*, as a rule, answer this description; for do they not create the barrenness under which they groan? Men come up, perhaps, from the country impressed with awe of their audience, feeling that they must wind themselves up out of their usual train of thought, to do themselves credit, suffering under a sense of restraint, and painfully conscious of the peculiar conditions of the place and scene. Whatever faults of style may be latent, will certainly betray themselves; a man will not show himself to advantage; if there is a grain of pomposity in him, it comes out; if an atom of conceit, it evinces itself, prompting him perhaps to conceal timidity under a bluster of doctrinal statements. Or there is the other extreme, meeting the critical, hopeless, formal congregation on their own ground: if they choose to regard the sermon as a form to be gone through, the preacher will give them the form divested of spirit. We once heard a sermon in a university Church from a man of recognised ability, and, what is more to the purpose, of deep, earnest piety; one whose works have largely benefited the Church; whose deportment, on that occasion, so widely at variance with our high-wrought youthful expectation of what we should hear there, made an indelible impression. The unchanging expression, the blundering, hesitating delivery, the lumpish stolidity of manner, the apparent indifference, most probably hopelessness, as to any effect that might be produced, were things never to be forgotten. It could not possibly be that in his own church, amongst his

own people, he could so effectually conceal the flame of faith and genius which unquestionably burnt within. There were signal exceptions then, as now, in contrast to these various methods of failure—eloquent and fearless lips, independent of place and time, and that must gain a hearing anywhere: but we are speaking of what experience shows to be the course of cause and effect, the habitual state of things which we think will not be questioned, and which convinces us that he who is to be a preacher must not linger long where his calling is held in such doubtful honour, where there is such discrepancy between its public and private estimation.

For a preacher must have no misgivings; he must believe that he wields an effectual weapon. Himself he must often mistrust, but not the work that is given him to do. He must expect results. He must believe in them, in spite of appearances. He must hope against hope. He must be indomitably sanguine. For can a man bring himself to the effort of reasoning forcibly without expecting to convince? Can he be eloquent without hoping to persuade? The most stubborn field of actual labour is a better school—stimulates hope, and calls to more energetic exercise the needed faculties—than the most careful study in a fastidious atmosphere. Who can measure the enervating effect on most minds of a surrounding tone of despondency? A man must, we are convinced, think and believe he is doing some good, to effect any; and if not too ambitious, a man may always have the encouragement of some success in the actual work of preaching. Every man can impress somebody, *if he tries;* of this we feel quite certain. It only needs earnestness and hope to find a way to some minds; but unfortunately he sets his heart on making way with the more intellectual, or, from any cause, the more influential of his flock—hard to reach, impervious from habit to ordinary influences; and if they show coldness or deadness, he thinks he fails; or, perhaps, it would not interest him to know that his words of the last Sunday have dwelt with some old woman, poor and illiterate, all the week, and taught her resignation in her troubles, or have roused some young impressive heart to *do* something, or to leave something undone, who stands too low in the social scale for his or her struggles to excite curiosity or observation. Such fruits as these, such actual living and abiding influence as this, it is, we say, in the power of every honest, zealous teacher to produce under the Divine blessing. Often have we ourselves seen and known it, as resulting from some discourse, which apparently passed deadly enough over the ears of those who were possibly more in the preacher's mind, because occupying a larger place in the world's observation. Chance alone can bring such results to the knowledge of others;

but we have known instances enough to convince us that the preacher's real sphere is often where he least thinks of it, and to perceive that many a sermon, which had made no conscious impression whatever, or an unfavourable one, on some minds, has found its way and gone straight to the heart of others, or some one other, prepared by circumstances to receive it; less discerning perhaps, taking all for granted, thinking no evil, and so turning what was good and true in it into real spiritual sustenance. And surely no man ought to complain of want of success, if words of his retain a living influence with any for good, on even one, and that the humblest and most ignorant, of God's people. But, however, such results as this are perhaps least in his way to hear, for persons genuinely impressed are not in a hurry to tell him who has wrought the work, and therefore we dwell upon them. A man knows when he is popular, but not always when he has influence, not when he has spoken a word which may bear fruit to all eternity; and the real results of preaching—those alone which are of any value, or, we should say, any existence at all—may be much more equally divided than men suppose; they may be apportioned more justly to the intention, truth, and fervour of the heart than to those gifts of mind which seem to have such powerful effect on others, and which, as being God's gifts, we would not for a moment disparage, though the interest they excite is evidently not always due to the momentous concerns in which they are exercised. As says Bishop Wilson, 'There have been many who, without 'any great learning or eloquence, yet by their communication in 'a humble and low way, have instructed and converted more 'than famous preachers. For that they have preached not themselves, but Christ Jesus, placing all their confidence in God.'

We have advised the young preacher to throw himself into his work, before he has learnt to mistrust it; but we cannot anywhere promise him an escape out of the sphere of criticism and fastidiousness. In every congregation there are more than there used to be of those whose cultivation and habits of reading give them in their own eyes, and perhaps in the esteem of others, the right to judge the preacher. We doubt, besides, whether there was ever so much impatience under forced attention as at present; whether the public nerves were ever as irritable. Our business, our pleasures are all under a system of higher pressure than formerly; the standard of activity in work and thought is raised; our impatience of any check, of tediousness in any form, is greater; men scent out dulness too with a restless alacrity unknown to their fathers. The present system of society and amusements, as compared to the past, all proves this. We know what a hampering influence the presence of these finer spirits,

as they esteem themselves, must have, one perhaps most felt where least required, that is by the more sensitive natures, whose spirits may be quelled, whose fervour tamed, and whose freedom of action may be paralysed by the consciousness of watchful, unsympathising hearers. And, unluckily for the preacher, this element of his congregation is no longer left to his fancy; he cannot be ignorant of their existence, or at least that there is a power somewhere busily creating them, if they do not exist already.

The Press is a new trial to the composer and deliverer of sermons, one to which he can really be said never before to have been subjected, and so opposed in its nature to the circumstances which have trained good preachers up to this time, as very likely to prove injurious to their actual force, as well as to their influence. For, of all orators, the preacher should not be afraid of his hearers. The Press is now the great representative critic, putting notions into all heads, from which no humility can escape; forcing upon teacher and congregation an appreciation of faults on the one hand, and difficulties on the other, and delivering itself with a point, freedom, and pungency that must command attention whether we like it or no. And yet, when we come to think of it, how unlikely it is that the clever writer who makes out, as in duty bound, his exaggerated and highly coloured case of suffering under prolixity or dulness, should resemble, in his mental or bodily circumstances, the members of an ordinary congregation; any of ourselves, for example. Let us fancy what it must be to write habitually, perhaps daily, for the Press. With a great many, in every congregation, the *sermon* is the intellectual exercise of the week; body and mind have been occupied from day to day; but now comes the greatest call to sustained thought. But in what state of mind must we picture to ourselves the critical journalist? Tired of everything, incapable of any freshness of attention, with mind relaxed, faculties jaded, with irritable nerves, and exhausted powers; so accustomed to the task of authorship, that every turn of expression seems stale; so familiar with all the modes of arresting attention, that every effort of the preacher's seems, like his own daily stimulants of self, the very same unreal artifice—and very poor artifice too—which is his daily trick, and with all, perhaps, so bodily weary, that the mere decorum of sitting still and keeping awake is felt to be a hardship. A man, thus worn in body and mind, can hardly fail to be impervious to impressions, to be cynical in spite of himself; impatient, careless, fastidious. Knowing it all intellectually, but with heart and feelings used up, as it were, professionally, he is perhaps (scarcely by his own fault, and certainly little knowing it), for

all his talents, the most unapt listener, the least fair and candid, for the time the least intelligent, as well as the least interested of the assembly. And yet it is, perhaps, when all these opposing influences are at their height, that the thought occurs of at once avenging himself, and making capital of his sufferings by detailing them to the world, and amusing the public through the means of his personal infliction; that lassitude which we fancy at the beginning of the discourse, that impatience of other people's periods, which so many authors suffer under, yields to the new stimulus of turning the trial to account; claiming the world's sympathy under it; putting it in a picturesque and ludicrous point of view; describing dulness amusingly, feebleness with force. If the sermon has been at all a long one, this comment is ready in its main features by the end of it; for which of our readers does not know how perversely easy it is to frame flowing sentences when the mind ought to be absorbed in higher interests? Now, all this from beginning to end is the opposite from the state of mind of ordinary sermon hearers; and yet it is too probable that many a reader will be so far guided by the critic's dictum as to fancy he had been possessed by feelings of which the newspaper letter or article first informed him. Probably till that moment he had modestly and truly attributed his inattention to his own fault—no wonder he should jump at a conclusion which relieves his conscience and throws the blame on another's shoulders. One fallacy, however, often brought forward, we do think every man's own conscience must point out to him: that, we mean, where the greatness of the interests in question is supposed to make it easy for every man in earnest to gain and to hold the attention of his hearers,—that he must be dull and indifferent indeed, who, having heaven and eternity for his theme, cannot secure a hearing for half an hour. Surely the most superficial must see that if these mighty interests are so influential on ordinary minds; if their relative importance over the things of time is so readily admitted by men employed with the affairs of this life, where would be the need to preach to any one a second time? The argument defeats itself; for all know, in a certain sense, the facts of the case; they can hear nothing new in church. People are not careless and inattentive because they doubt, but because other considerations have got a hold on the mind and heart, which blind the reason and stultify the judgment, and a very hard matter it is indeed to get a hearing for anything beyond. We all know this perfectly well; we wonder at ourselves, which is at least a fairer state of mind than wondering at the preacher because he cannot shake us out of our lethargy and compel us to give up a train of phantasies or grosser delusions which interpose themselves between the soul and its

eternal interests and mighty destiny. And it becomes men to consider, even if their preacher have this power for the time being, but if his power cease there; if the words which have roused us for the moment leave no echo; if the thoughts do not recur during the day and during the week; if they do not interpose in moments of temptation; if they stimulate to nothing, and withhold from nothing; whether, in fact, we care for, or really want, or are gaining anything more than a pleasant exciting half hour instead of a dull one; whether our minds are ever actually lifted out of time at all. Preaching, no doubt, is a great gift; but it is clear that few men have it, or perhaps ever had it, in any extraordinary degree. A lower standard of eloquence and power than men of the world require to keep their minds awake, and their attention alive, *must* be that designed, and thought sufficient, for the edification of the Church. Men *must* have some of the work to do themselves; they cannot expect their pastor, according to the Italian proverb, to drive them to heaven in a coach and four. He presents certain subjects to their consideration with what ability he can; but the hearer must work with him, must seek to supply deficiencies in the argument; to add power to what is weak; persuasiveness to what is formal; life and efficacy to what is dull. As education becomes more generally diffused, and the more each man knows something of the business of all men, the more will this division of labour become necessary. The preacher cannot keep ahead of his hearer in the same proportion as he used to do, as the great lights of former generations did, and even those did, whom there are still, here and there one, living to remember.

It is natural to feel regret as well as displeasure when we find things, to ourselves important, treated slightingly; and, as in this case, a great engine,—the greatest engine for religious instruction,—put on its trial, and its efficiency called in question; the whole treated as a weariness of which the world is growing out of patience. But, for our part, we can never feel any poignant alarm at the consequences of a truth being made known—of an actual fact being stated. In such cases we have always found that, looking at the thing just as it is, dispassionately and courageously, it does us no harm to know it. And, even in the case of others, for whom we fear as less perspicacious, less reasonable than ourselves, perhaps it would be better to point out to them where the real truth of the matter lies than to seek to suppress it as something shocking. The truth, then, in these complaints is, that at least the writers describe a weariness they actually *feel;* there can be no mistake here. Sermons, and the services that precede them, are long and tedious to them; nothing can be more convincing, more

graphically truthful than the irksomeness of forced attention, or, perhaps we should say, forced detention, in their case. But here, we think, the truth in its 'entirety' stops; we do not believe they represent the actual feelings of their fellow-worshippers or hearers: we give them full credit for thinking they do,—for persons possessed with a strong emotion, or sensation of any kind, believe it universal,—for thinking that thousands will respond in their inmost hearts to remonstrances which they alone have the courage to raise; but we are certain they do not represent the feelings of the masses in our congregations. If people do not feel personally aggrieved by the disrespect with which interests dear to them are treated, they will be amused by clever writing—they may even fancy they sympathise; but, in fact, the ideas and the emotions expressed are new to many, we think most, of those readers who are habitual church-goers, and awake no response in their real experience. The truth is, that professed authors are a sort of alien, they form a distinct class of themselves. We see how it must be that men whose pursuit is authorship, or literature and learning of any kind, as a profession, are not the men to profit by sermons: we should say that if society were made of such, and supposing them already instructed in the principles of religion, the ordinance of preaching might be abrogated on the double ground that they are incapacitated themselves, and that they incapacitate the preacher. But an excess of intellectual activity, over-wrought brains, nerves on the rack, morbid tendencies of any kind, are not the usual condition of our congregations. Who can affect to have much knowledge of the wearied, jaded attention so sensitively recorded? Some are glad that service is over, that they may do something else, and some few feel bodily restlessness; but as for the suffering and strain on nerve, head, and feeling attributed to them, not ten, we will engage, in the largest congregation, have any real knowledge of the journalist's sensations. We purposely except acknowledged invalids and persons in sickly health, with whom alone the writers can be classed in this particular, for such ought to have unrestricted power of ingress and egress, according to their strength and powers of endurance; this should be allowed them instead of the right to constitute themselves the general standard which some of them seem to claim. So, excepting them, we ask, is the ordinary run of men, the great class to whom Life slowly turns over her monotonous and unimpassioned pages, really so sated and worn, so impatient under the preacher's intellectual shortcomings, so keenly, jealously alive to the passage of time, so restless under the restraint of a few extra minutes, as these unhinged and disorganized temperaments show themselves to be?

To pursue the point a moment further, though conscious of the digression. In the matter of attention,—though, of course, it is injudicious and wrong to over-task it,—we consider that in ordinary minds, as it is seldom very highly strained, so its endurance is considerable. If men would honestly ask themselves whether it is really towards the close of the service that they have found their attention flag, or whether their distractions have not been pretty equally scattered throughout, and *quite* as intrusive, and often more so, early in the service than later (for with a great many a certain length of time is necessary to compose the mind to its duties), surely a great deal of this talk would be brought to an end. Our own experience is, that all expedients for shortening the service are unpopular with habitual members of a congregation, not only from the highest and best motives, from missing the sermon or some valued portion of the previous service, but also because they prefer having certain stated and considerable portions of the Sunday marked out for them. Experience shows them that they do not know how to turn to the best advantage any long intervals of what they recognise as the Lord's day; they are dissatisfied to spend hours together of it sauntering or gossipping; they do not possess the moral power to direct the course of conversation; they are not adepts at meditation, and, unquestionably, solitary reading of good books for any length of time is a greater effort of the attention than listening to a sermon, or following all the changes of our Liturgy. We speak of the course of our ordinary Sunday-services, as they are conducted throughout the country. We own that there is a certain lengthiness in the ordinary London services which often impresses ourselves with a sense of tedium. It seems a point, amongst all concerned, to make everything take as much time as possible, under the persuasion that this is solemnizing; the beadles are slow, the organ is slow, the reading is slow, the moving to and fro is slow: it seems to be assumed on all hands that a natural prompt course of action is irreverent. We have little doubt that half an hour is spent in these pompous prolixities, which to a stranger are mere drag and slowness, though the born and bred respectable Londoner would think anything else an indecorum. Of course, large and crowded congregations, which are a more common sight in London than the country, all tend to deliberation: the more impressed each actor in the scene is with the *number* before whom he plays his part, the more alive he is to the duty and importance of doing his best, and sparing no pains. And we must remember that the press, as we mainly understand it, is under these influences, and is therefore all the less the voice and exponent of the English people.

But, passing from the authoritative and wholesale critic, whose terrors we would do our best to diminish, and counselling the young divine to defy the bugbear, if for no other reason than because defiance is the only mode of gaining such suffrage —it must still be granted that every hearer is, in a certain sense, perhaps unknown to himself, a judge of a sermon; he must have an opinion, if not of the preacher or his discourse, yet of the effect upon himself. We cannot listen to a mixed party discussing a sermon—as sermons are discussed now—without seeing that the requirements vary with each individual, and are of so opposite a character that we are sometimes disposed to wonder what it is that constitutes popularity; how it is that one man can satisfy all these demands—which indeed he never does, but he overbears them, and compels his hearers for the time to accept a new ideal.

Every eloquent man can do this; and though real eloquence is something so rare that we can hardly assume that at any given time there are any who possess it, still each of us has, no doubt, heard and felt such touches of it as to know what it is, or might be; what are its effects, and by what means it gains its supreme influence. But it seems to us that these effects seldom come within the wish or design of the preacher, and scarcely in that of his hearers. Perhaps if they did, we should hear more of it.

The use and effect of all eloquence, and especially pulpit eloquence, is to make us feel our common brotherhood. Habit, fastidiousness on the one hand or drudgery on the other, the concerns of business or pleasure, exclusive occupation in any one line of work or thought, and controversy in religious matters—all tend to obscure this sentiment, and to substitute the local and particular for the general and universal. The course of the world tends to isolation, to wrap each one in himself or in the narrow range of his own particular sect and party, to assert the interests of the few over the many. Under these influences our humanity slumbers, our sympathy and connexion with mankind as a whole is a truth which loses its power, our faith in it is a dead, inoperative faith; allusions to it offend us as trite, stale, mawkish, unseasonable, impertinent; but it only slumbers in any one of us, and it is the gift of eloquence to make it start into life, to make the great and simple elements of being felt, to make the primary passions and affections assert their overwhelming power.

Every book, every orator, every preacher that takes the world by storm—we do not mean a party, however large, but the whole community—does it by this means, by touching those sensations, that moral sense, and that knowledge which belongs

to us in common with every other human being; by a power which does away with every adventitious distinction, which, for the moment, makes us all equal, which recommends a cause because it is natural, which asserts a principle because it is universal, which proves a doctrine by its appeal to the general conscience and the one heart. In the supremacy which it establishes for the moment for these larger interests, all differences of station, of time, of habit, of party, are overwhelmed; we only feel as men, as one of a vast community, as parts of a whole; a subtle influence links soul with soul; an emanation passes from each, moulding all into one likeness; the blood of all flows at the same pace, the heart of all beats to one rapid measure, the countenance of all assumes one expression; the speaker, the preacher, for the little space we lie under his spell, brings about that unity for which we all sigh, and pray, and hope; and a happiness like no other joy, a foretaste of something that is to be, visits us.

Men have been eloquent for partial interests, for party purposes, for the cause of the few against the many; but never under that conviction, never without themselves believing they were advocating the true interests of all, and making others believe so. All are open to this influence; but how few are able to awaken it! Indeed, there may be conditions of society rendering its free development and manifestation impossible; for eloquence cannot exist without the co-operation of hearers: as the French say, we all must *assist;* and if we are too resolutely split into parties, if we already feel so strongly that there is nothing to rouse, and if the points of difference are for ever uppermost and prominent in all minds, there may be no field for the exercise of that power, which, if its work is to awake sympathy, yet cannot act without it. For eloquence is intellect working in a highly sensitive organization, instinctively conscious of its effect on others. The thoughts of the eloquent man clothe themselves from their birth in words of power, and cannot be apprehended even by himself till the union of thought with speech is achieved, and by some subtle perception he witnesses their influence, and sees they are doing their work. He must be able, in fact, to obtain more of a mastery over the aggregate mind than we in our present dispositions and state of alert intelligence would be willing to allow; but which certainly was obtained in all historical instances of eloquence, and in those examples of the preacher's power, of which the record has but now shifted its ground from living memory to tradition. Perhaps this is all as it should be, and that eloquence is a gift designed for the particular work of awakening whole masses to a new perception; it may appear again amongst us when its time comes.

From whatever cause, it does not often happen to the mixed party we have imagined, to discuss or to glow over, and reproduce an eloquent sermon, and to be so absolutely of one mind as it is the province of this gift to make them. They have, on the contrary, to decide how far a preconceived idea has been carried out, and to be severe or indulgent accordingly. Most people, without knowing it, have a distinct ideal of a sermon, which must be fulfilled to satisfy them. Minds controversially inclined require a certain formula in accordance with their party. Such a listener can attend properly to nothing till certain statements have been made. He may have them so prominent in his own mind as to need no reminder, he may know them to be prominent in the preacher's mind; but they must be spoken, or a demand is not supplied. If he is a mere partisan, the sermon satisfies all his wishes which repeats the required formula. It was a good sermon; it made him attend; he watched for a particular confession of faith on a given subject; and as each point unfolded itself, a desire was gratified. He was not learning anything, it is true, nor was the intellect in any active sense employed; but the repetition seemed to strengthen his faith, and confirm his convictions; and what was of more importance still, brought before less orthodox or less instructed ears the familiar scheme of doctrine. For in those who are inexorable for an unfailing, unvarying statement of doctrine, there is generally apparent the human leaven of party spirit; and the formula, we would indicate, is the watchword of a party, rather than the form of Christian doctrine as unfolded in the creeds. This is an important class of listeners, important both as being numerous and also as possessing real faith in the ordinance of preaching. With one of them a sermon is to be the exposition of certain views; according to the clearness and uncompromising tone with which this is done, the man who delivers it is a good or bad preacher.

Another listener has heard the formula with a somewhat sated attention: when once the familiar groove is slipped into, he knows what is coming, and, with or without the owner's consent, his thoughts take a holiday, or fall to moralizing on the human tendency to prose and repetition, to be trite, flat, mechanical. It needs no individuality to preach thus, is the reflection. Why should the company of the preachers be great, each man distinct from his fellow, with a different organization, physical and mental, if they are all to say precisely the same thing, in the same way? In law courts, and at market crosses, when formal proclamations are made, the public attention is satisfied with the first sound, and turns away to its own affairs: it turns away, not because justice, or the queen's majesty, or

the solemnity of an oath, are not important and awful ideas, but because it knows it shall not hear anything new concerning them. So it is with our present hearer, who has a notion of a sermon quite distinct from his friend, who wearies of the monotony that the other feeds and lives upon; who fastidiously turns from the unvarying, even if fairly wholesome, banquet. Attention is with him an effort, and by no means a natural or easy one. If he has to listen to another at all, he would wish to regard him as an individual mind, and he would prefer to follow *its* workings, rather than the conclusions of others strung together by him. For a mind evidently at *work* interests him, a mind showing the truth from its own point of view, even though the exhibition may be partial, prejudiced, defective. It is more real to him, more impressive, more telling. So far as the preacher has uttered his own thoughts, so far as he has given us a glimpse of an active, earnest, in its degree, original mind, providing the conclusions are fairly in accordance with his own views, it has been to him a good sermon. And if the subject is well chosen, and clearly worked out, whatever the conclusion, it has been an interesting one. He is satisfied with himself for having attended; he is satisfied with the preacher for having made a duty easy. He is not willing to hold him unsound, or even indifferent on any cardinal point, because he has made no statement of the doctrine. If there have been an hiatus in the argument, he will charitably supply it; he will defend the weak points, and excuse omissions; he has sympathy for a preacher who has tried to think for himself, and to possess his hearers with the course of argument which has convinced and satisfied his own mind.

Others, deeply impressed, or desiring to be impressed and awakened to an awful sense of our own personal concern in the great truths revealed to us, and our infinite and eternal relation to them; in their hearts at least, if not by outward expression, maintain how essential it is to declare, boldly and incessantly, the terrors, threatenings, and warnings of the Law and the Gospel. To them it is a false peace where these are not made paramount; they require that the sinful and careless shall be perpetually roused, if it may be, to the imminence of their danger.

A fourth hearer has been a spectator also: the eye has scanned the awkward action, or approved the energy and grace; the ears have taken in, not merely the words, but the sound; and as manner and elocution have performed their part, the heart has been moved or repelled. There are numbers in every congregation, who must be effectually approached through the senses; whose taste is more awake than their intellect; who are irresistibly drawn by a rich voice, a pleasing countenance,

a dignified figure, a commanding or insinuating action, and robes of the right sit and pattern. A man possessed of these gifts, whatever his endowment in brains, though it be no more than just not to shame his exterior, will be an effective preacher to a great many. Nature has given him the gift of pleasing, and persons generally have not these exterior graces in perfection, without their whole being in some sort harmonizing with them. This influence is personal, but the mind shares in the winning and bland qualities of which the body is so effective an exponent. We would by no means despise these auxiliaries, people cannot be expected to give more than they possess, but a man may devote his personal advantages with a sincere heart to the service of religion, and be no more vain or conscious of his good looks, than another of his clear intellect or fine flow of words. We are pretty sure, that in every congregation there are some who will avow,—or admit by implication, if they have not courage to express the cause in so many words,—that they have derived no satisfaction, or, what they think, no edification, if the preacher has let slip provincialisms; if his voice has been harsh or husky; and if his action has been clumsy, and has led to the injudicious exposure of thick red hands. Their feelings have not been reached, and they are not willing to consider the failure all their fault.

Others enjoy and think themselves benefited by fluency. They are stirred by a rapid unbroken utterance, where the words follow each other (in fairly grammatical order) with vehemence and apparent connexion: a display of a certain sort of power is being made, the admiring listener could not do the like, or keep up that unflagging stream. Where lies the source of that stream, he does not ask himself; whether no further than the very tip of a tongue, whose action is aided by the most superficial of memories, or from the brain. Whether thought can properly be said to work at all, and the whole utterance be not rather an affair of association—a certain stream of words, flowing in a certain order, suggested by certain external combinations of pulpit, cushion, pews, friendly or opposing faces, and certain party watchwords, whose echoes linger round these appearances—is not taken into account. It often seems as if those familiar and, from association, potent stimulants, furnish impulse enough to the organs of speech, without any need whatever for research. And it is wonderful what a fermentation can be kept up; what a bustle of zeal and indignation; what an air of reality; what an imposing look of earnestness can be sustained, where we can trace no immediate fresh-drawn heart or head work whatever, where we can discern no thoughtful study of Holy Scripture, or of mankind,

for whose sake it was written, no knowledge of the past, no comprehension of the present, no power of entering into the views of others; where the fervour is bigotry, and the opinion prejudice; where the sympathy is partisanship, the feeling maudlin; where the mind has so little ballast, that the smallest incident of the hour will upset what has been designed for preparation, and whirl away the preacher into a gusty current of unforeseen declamation. We have heard discourses of this nature, styled by their admirers 'experimental'—a title we prefer simply to record rather than to explain, but which implies agreement, in those who use it, and the belief that they have been hearing the Gospel broadly stated, without the dreaded ingredient of man's wisdom.

There are some, on the other hand, on whom the graces of person and fluent delivery fall absolutely dead and ineffective, who have, in fact, a repugnance to them, for their own sake: who are convinced that the sole useful or effectual approach to human nature, is through the moral sense; who have unbounded faith in the potency of a moral statement; who think that men need only to be told their duty plainly enough, to do it; whose spirits are refreshed by hearing distinct sins and failings calmly discussed and put down. Sermons on this plan are with them essentially practical, though probably the discourse in question has been directed towards sins to which they themselves have little or no temptation, and has, therefore, forced them from the thought of themselves to the consideration of how well it fits the times, or the faults of neighbours. For it may not unfrequently happen, that the sermon which is blamed as theoretical and unpractical, does really touch the circumstances of the caviller at least. When it is objected that it had not suited the poor, or the children, or such and such a class, the thought is sometimes suggested, does it suit ourselves, and our own class.

We might multiply indefinitely examples of different classes of hearers who have each a separate ideal which the supply more or less satisfies, but our readers' own experience will easily carry on the list beyond what our space permits. One class of hearers, however, cannot be omitted—the poor. The poor are the best listeners, if preachers would but realize this, and act accordingly. The majority of poor people, it is to be regretted, do not go to church; probably because their value as hearers is not estimated as it ought to be:—but we are speaking of the comparatively few that do, and who really do often seem possessed of the mediæval spirit we have quoted, of healthful, undiscerning acquiescence. If the delivery has only been such as to win their bare hearing; if the voice has been audible and the

tone earnest; and if the ideas have not been studiously wrapped up in a dead and unintelligible phraseology; or, even if thus disguised, they are but uttered with any force, so that a lively manner shall interpret obscure matter,—it is wonderful the impression that a very ordinary discourse will make upon them, and what fulness of attention they will bestow. All their intelligence is called into play. At home their intellect is not often consciously exercised; there hard work or the care of a family allow little time for abstract thought; in church the body rests while the mind expands; they are awakened to a sense of higher powers and a purer enjoyment than the work-day world permits them. Under the combined sense of repose and mental employment on high and unaccustomed themes, the feeling 'it is good to be here' is impressed on them. They ought, perhaps, to feel remorse for neglected opportunities, for daily transgressions of known duties; the words they hear are designed to awaken alarm; people do not go to church or hear sermons ordinarily with the prospect of immediate content, but the contrast between homely vulgar troubles and these appeals to heart and understanding is so great, the elevation of subject is so transcendent, that this is the very usual effect. They have a particular facility at personal application. In conceited or morbid temperaments this sometimes shows itself most inconveniently in the assumption that they, poor things, have been actually in the preacher's eye, that they are his especial mark; but amongst the humble and reasonable there is something exquisite in the perception that their troubles and trials find a counterpart in one whom they look up to and reverence—that he seems to read their heart, in feeling his words go straight home, as though spoken to them alone; the spiritual bond thus formed is a fulfilment to them of the Gospel promise; the simple are lifted up from the dust and set among princes. All kinds of dulcet words flow from them in attempting to convey these impressions,—'How beautiful was Mr. So-and-so!' 'How pretty Mr. Such-an-one!'—'powerful,' 'cutting,' 'sweet,' 'heavenly,' are expressions not too strong for their emotion. Often the text is a guarantee for the sermon; if that is full of consolation, so must be the comment upon it.

It is not unusual for them to be able to give a very fair abstract of a sermon attentively heard, which is listened to with a sort of unction by the sitters at home, whom necessity, or, more likely, the fatal blight of custom, has reconciled to the partial neglect of public worship (we are describing, throughout, what *is*, not what ought to be); and in such reports, an unconscious tact is at work, eliminating whatever is sectarian or bitter, as though the ideas had not been taken in. In truth, amongst such hearers,

controversial points do not reach or do not make impression. And the poor and ignorant, for whose sakes so many fears are often expressed by their betters, are frequently found not to have apprehended an objectionable view, or to have interpreted it into something sound and beneficial by the exercise of pious common sense; through which simple charity, they perhaps not seldom get at the preacher's real meaning better than by a grammatical construction of indiscreet rather than deliberate words. Of course we are speaking of the more teachable spirits of their class. That there is something wanting in our preachers to attract the masses, is, we fear, not to be disputed; and yet the occasion to realize this is not when we hear the simple words of thankfulness for her privileges, from some lowly parishioner who has no wishes beyond her own pastor, who embodies, to her mind, all that is instructive, elevating, and soothing. We are not wishing to set the value of mere sentiment at more than it is worth, but we hear so much now of the desertion of the poor from the church that it is only right to state the other side of the question.

Proceeding from the matter and manner, on which the requirements of sermon-hearers differ so largely, there is yet a further question, perhaps,—in the present day, more the subject of debate amongst those interested in the matter at all than any other,—that of the mode in which the preacher should give his thoughts utterance. Whether in the deliberation of the study he shall not only arrange his thoughts, but there choose the fittest and most appropriate language in which to enforce them, or, trusting to the impulse and emergency of the moment, hope to find living words that shall carry home his thoughts and convictions to his hearers with a force, fire, and persuasion that solitude can never be expected to suggest. If we had to choose between each method in its highest success, we should simply decide by the subject. In all cases where the reason is appealed to, there is a gain surely in written words. There is a positive satisfaction that admirable and convincing arguments should not die in the utterance. Where the feelings are addressed, we know that an instant appeal from the speaker to the heart and conscience he addresses, must needs have the greater potency, for the application is more personal and immediate. We have not, however, to choose between two perfect forms. Still, if there was promise of any fair success in the universal adoption of the extempore method, the majority of the laity, at least, would not hesitate in their choice of it for the exposition of the ordinary topics discussed in our pulpits. Whenever a man can keep his argument clearly in his mind, and say what he beforehand meant to say in a self-possessed, grammatical,

and consecutive manner, trusting to the time for the choice of words, we are disposed to think he will do well to follow this mode; he is likely to be more effective than in reading a written discourse, even though more accurately and elegantly worded; he is likely to experience a warmth and glow of feeling which will infuse itself into his manner. But while we say this, confident of our readers' assent, have we not all of us heard sermons *read* with an emphasis, a weight of conviction, a force of character, which we would not have exchanged for any spontaneous effort? and been struck how genius and mind show themselves through the simplest, quietest, most unchanging deportment? There have been preachers who rarely lifted their eyes from the page, who, through a visible though suppressed energy, and a subtle, penetrating power of voice, nevertheless conveyed an effect of communion with their audience, which no *speaker* we have heard could equal. But this unintelligible influence needs a rare combination of intellect and force of character which can act in a way independent of means. In ordinary cases, a direct address, betraying none of the premeditation which must, at least *ought* to have preceded it, tells more than a written one, other things being equal. But granting this goes very little way towards settling the question for the general adoption of the system; all depends on how many people have the power to speak effectively without book. We greatly suspect that it is a gift Nature has bestowed more niggardly to Englishmen than to other nations of livelier temperaments. Who can see Frenchmen, Italians, Irishmen, without perceiving that they have their powers more at hand than we have? We have to learn what comes to them naturally; and what has been painfully acquired sometimes costs more in time and other sacrifices than it is worth. Many rules now are given to teach men to preach without book; and, no doubt, more could do so with effect than at present attempt it; but it is a mistake to suppose that mere power of holding on in a connected discourse is to do much, if the preacher's mind is all the while so occupied with his task as never to go out towards his hearers; never to realize their minds in immediate relation with his own. We would have every man who has any reasonable chance of success, not only every preacher, but every man try, make experiments in his powers of speaking, for he who can express his ideas before a multitude of men has an immeasurable advantage over his fellows. But we would have him be guided by his success, and neither in secular nor religious life spend his existence in an unavailing attempt. And we cannot but think, too, that he may pretty soon, or his friends for him, discover whether his

bent is sufficiently determined to justify a continuance of difficult, and, so far, unproductive effort. A man ought to have a fair facility to start with, something to improve upon, or he will not gain by giving up writing his thoughts. Speakers in all other departments have no other choice; they must speak without book, or not at all; and if they make an exposure, no harm is done except to their own sensitiveness; but the case is different in the pulpit. We would have every young man try; but if he finds himself forced into a manner,—if he has to take refuge in set forms of expression,—if he is known by unmeaning, inelegant, constantly-recurring phrases, and all the other awkward habits of an uncongenial occupation, let him give it up, and return to his book. Amongst others, for the following reason:—

One fact connected with extempore preaching we never see dwelt upon, and yet we believe it to be an influential one. Wherever the flow of words does not come, either by nature or practice, naturally to a man; wherever extempore means merely without a written sermon before the eyes, and not only the course of the argument and the general line of the sermon is planned beforehand, but the construction of each sentence, the memory becomes burdened; the preacher cannot fail to feel anxious; he has to wind himself up for a point; the mind and memory are kept on the stretch, and rightly, for no man deserves to be called a preacher, who does not regard his sermon as a most responsible work. But the consequence with many temperaments cannot fail to be sensitiveness to interruption, a nervous dread of having the frame of mind disturbed, a morbid fear of distraction, which, for the time, interferes with his usefulness as a parish priest, with whom interruption and disturbance is often the normal condition. We suspect celebrated preachers abroad have been always nursed up for this one calling, and no other duties put upon them. All their time is devoted to preparation; their relaxations are of their own choosing, and such as they find most soothing and refreshing; and amongst Dissenters at home it is the same, nothing seems to be expected of them but what ministers to the one paramount work. We hear often of the uneducated and comparatively illiterate Dissenting minister having his flow of ready, if not eloquent words; but he has nothing else to do. No member of his congregation ever dreams of sending for him when he is ill; he has never a child to baptize at some inconvenient hour; he need never attend a vestry meeting; he may muse over his sermon as long as he chooses, and is only the more highly esteemed; in fact, preaching is all his work; and his hours and fancies are *all studied* by those about him. But a parish priest is never

free from interruption. Nobody abstains from asking him to do something, because it is drawing near the end of the week. Many would be impatient if reminded of it, and *think*, if they did not ask, why he did not write his sermons. He must struggle on as he can against perpetual breaks. Parish business and parish difficulties pursue him to the very foot of the pulpit-stairs, and often topics forced inconsiderately upon him hang about his thoughts, and clog the play of his mind through half his discourse. His congregation think him absent, prosy, dull, when, after all, he may be deserving no little credit for sustaining any coherent flow at all. Time, the sound of his own voice, a generous bracing himself for the occasion, the interest of the subject, at length prevail; if the hour is propitious, he warms, he kindles, the last half of his sermon is effective, more rousing and stimulating than the same thoughts would have proved worked out in solitude. He is not without a reward for his labour, but neither is the gain without a drawback; and if the weekly demand on time and thought is constant and oppressive, if his ministerial usefulness and influence are interfered with to any extent by this Sunday strain on the mind, it becomes a question whether the occasional advantage is not too dearly paid for.

With regard to his disposition of time, two points ought to meet in the parish priest, which it must be admitted are rarely found together; he ought to be active, energetic, *busy*, and, at the same time, he ought in a certain sense to be a man of leisure. He should know how to be industrious, without hampering himself with work. He must, if he is worth anything, have a great deal to do, and yet he should never seem in a hurry; and, above all, he should be patient of interruption, which a man never can be who undertakes too much—who fills up his time so completely and with such a nice fit, that he must proceed without one inch of margin from one stated duty to another. We believe that half a town clergyman's influence depends on the use he makes of chance encounters, on his being *accessible* (that one word that involves so much of the lay ideal of clerical perfection), on his being able to divert his thoughts from his own proper business into some new channel. Judiciously managed, every walk through his parish strengthens the tie between him and his flock;—the mere sight of a man of whom they have had experience that he holds the more important interests of all to be his own; who is ready to listen to a tale of distress, a difficulty, a disagreement, a scruple; who may be trusted for sympathy on every occasion of joy or sorrow; who may be depended upon, first, to give his patient undivided attention to, and next, to offer candid and deliberate

advice or judgment on any case within his jurisdiction;—the mere sight of such a man, the dependence that all learn to place in him, is often in itself a cordial to the toil-worn, the anxious, the busy, the disappointed. This temper and habit *alone*, without any remarkable powers of mind, have given some we could name a wonderful influence in their generation, have imprinted on those brought in contact with them the beauty and value of the parochial system, so as to influence their whole line of thought and form their type of what a clergyman should be. The pastor in his study is well placed; pleading on the platform for some great work of evangelization, he is fulfilling his mission; in the dwellings of the poor, and at the bed-side of the sick and dying, he is carrying out one of the main purposes of his calling; but the judicious, loving, and zealous pastor is nowhere doing his part more effectually to win souls than when he is using to the utmost the opportunities offered for a word in season, by accidental meetings, casual interviews—such opportunities as are always presenting themselves to those at leisure to look out for them and conscientiously bent on improving them—as they are averted with every effort of ingenuity by the pre-occupied mind. An old woman is happier for the day if her minister has recognised her in the street; a child never forgets a well-timed word of praise or reproof; the artisan likes to be reminded of his duty by a friendly intimation that his absence from church has been noticed; the tradesman enjoys a talk on parish matters, and is thereby strengthened in his churchmanship; the schoolmaster works with more zeal, when he sees that his labours are watched and appreciated; the young are the better for the consciousness of a friendly pastoral eye upon them,—the boys subduing the insolence of youth under the good-humoured but admonitory contact of that eye; the girls feeling an uncomfortable consciousness of finery under the gentle satire of that smile, and an ingenuous longing for another sort of commendation than show and dress can win. And all and each because they believe in their pastor's individual interest and care for them, not classing them together as an aggregate of souls, as the mere preacher must always do, but knowing and caring for each individual, acquainted with their characters and histories, and no stranger to their trials, temptations and prospects. There are few people so well off in the world, so safe in position, so abounding in friends, so affluent in sympathy, as not to feel the richer for such a friend as their pastor may be to them, and to count such an one in the peculiar and double character of his connexion with them amongst their most valued blessings.

This line of usefulness, though to some it may seem easy and

pleasant enough, needs really the highest qualities, for it implies a leading mind accustomed to predominate; the power to keep the subject in his own hands, and to direct the conversation in the desired channel; an authority of manner which can suppress gossip and irrelevance, which others not being able to do, often sink into moroseness as a safeguard to dignity:—it needs a judgment always in exercise, and that rare gift, the skill to administer reproof and admonition at the moment when they come most naturally and therefore tell with the more force. With all this vigour, promptness, and resource, it implies the opposing habit of submission to circumstances, of allowing his work to be brought to him instead of systematically going to seek it, of feeling that it may be presented to him in new and unexpected ways, none of which he must shun; it implies the constant remembrance that the opportunities of doing good are not confined to certain places, certain set times, certain given occupations, but wherever one mind can influence another, not only at church or school, or by lecturing or speech-making, that is, by the direct didactic method, where the talking is all on one side, but in the intercourse of mind with mind, soul with soul. If such a pastor as we have attempted to picture, has up to this time preached written sermons, we should, we own, be sorry for him to change his mode of delivery, or try any experiments with himself. Not unlikely—for people have all their separate gifts—his discourses are a shade dry; excellent in matter we will warrant them to be, but it is possible they may lack that warmth which gives a charm to his colloquial manner and address, for the influence of the study is not as genial, not as favourable to cordiality, as the face to face encounter; but the risk would be too great for any wise person to advocate any attempt at change. We would not have that open address constrained, that ready mind pre-occupied, that genial sympathy frozen, that large patience circumscribed, that vigilant self-control unhinged, by the haunting consciousness of a train of thought to be kept unbroken till the Sunday comes round—not though it resulted in a torrent of eloquence. Eloquence is a great means to arouse the careless, to recal the erring, to awaken the spiritually dead, to convert sinners; but, every day, or every Sunday of our lives, to hear a strain of divine eloquence, is so little in accordance with the plan of Providence, that we doubt if it would be good for any one of us. The supposition is incompatible with the parochial system (which would certainly break in from the pressure from without)—that system of which the pastor we have endeavoured to describe is the crowning ornament, the proof and illustration of its excellence.

The clergy—we mean the more energetic active spirits of the

body—generally reckon too much on the power of addresses of every kind, under the idea that what people want is just certain things said to them; and a clergyman's life is so peculiar, and in many ways insulated, that he may well fall into a mistake on the subject, for he personally has hardly any experience of duty-listening at all, nor of what a trial to many people a long spell of unbroken deferential attention is. It may very well seem to him that as his business is to speak, so the business of others is to hear. We have been struck at the impatience of really intelligent as well as good men at the garrulity of the poor, the prolixity of the sick, to whom they pay pastoral visits; they leave dissatisfied if on any occasion they have not been allowed uninterrupted swing. It seems a waste visit; they might as well have been at home, for any good they have done, as hear an old woman enlarge on her ailments, or the imprisoned sufferer dilate on spiritual trials. But what these really want is sympathy; if he has failed to show this, whatever he has said goes for very little. If he has shown it, if it has been evident that he has felt with and for want and pain, his office will give a spiritual savour to the natural feeling; hearts will be cheered, discouraged souls sent on their way soothed, if not rejoicing. Each will have the impression of interchange of thought with one valued for his superiority of mind and functions, far more than an uninterrupted address would have given to persons of ordinary undisciplined temperaments, who often talk without knowing that they are talking, and, after a conversation in which they have borne the leading share, leave off with the comfortable impression that they have been the humble and teachable recipients of counsel and instruction. We are not saying that these mistakes are not trying to the patience of a vigorous, active intelligence, whose only real connexion with these people is as their spiritual teacher and head; but the clergy have this indemnification for whatever profitless and compulsory attention they are exposed to—and we would not make light of the infliction—that, as far as we can understand, they are the only class of mortals who can say whatever they please for an hour together without the remotest chance of interruption or opposition, and that not to one or two, but to churches full at a time, not now and then, but every Sunday of their lives.

But the consideration of the mutual and difficult duty of attention has carried us off from the question of, What is the preacher's best mode of securing it, and how the laity regard the two modes in dispute? Without much thought as to the amount of cost and sacrifice the custom of extempore preaching may occasionally involve, it would certainly win most favour as engaging our readiest sympathy, but that there is a counter feeling that the

result by the easier method may not be so sterling and genuine. The extempore sermon, it is admitted, attracts, or if otherwise, still holds the attention with less cost of effort; but the written one furnishes more solid matter for our spiritual support. In maintenance of this view objectors commonly take their stand on the fluent nothings, the mere verbiage that so often makes up the sermon apparently composed on the spot; enlarging on the vacuity of thought that a rapid utterance and an ordered unbroken flow of words often hide. But the question in these cases is rather, whether these fluent speakers should preach at all —if that could be practically entertained—than how they should deliver themselves. It is more than doubtful whether persons who talk what the severely logical might call nonsense, complacently, with evident enjoyment, who look back upon a feeble, rambling effusion, if rapidly spoken, as an achievement, as the exhibition of a power that others want, could ever write valuable sense. The matter might possibly be a shade fuller, though here, we suspect, the difference would be more in appearance than reality; but this might be counterbalanced with some members of the congregation by the loss of fervour, for it cannot be doubted that many simple people get benefit from the mere *sight* of earnestness. They may not follow the preacher, because there may be no line of argument to follow; texts and good words may all be scattered in broken though brilliant confusion; but the good words and the texts are uttered with heat and energy, and many listeners sit under the impression of truth enforced and brought home. It is a choice of evil: but fluent utterance being a gift, it becomes a question whether it is desirable to suppress it when it is the only one, and to substitute matter more consecutive perhaps, but also much more dull. The truth is, that persons who like ourselves maintain the importance of the sermon as part of the Sunday services, who feel (in spite of all the clever things scorners may have to say on the subject) that a material change in this respect would be a loss—a real vital loss—to those who have most right to be considered;—we, and all who have faith in the ordinance of preaching, must also believe that good will follow where something far short of the highest standard of excellence obtains. They must trust to a certain sacramental efficacy supplying deficiencies, giving force to what is feeble, blunting the point of what is erroneous,—for when we have to do with human instruments, this, too, must be taken into account,—giving meaning and personal application to what is vague and undefined. Wherever preaching is an essential part of public services it must be so; it cannot depend upon the peculiarities of one age over another. We say, often enough,

that human nature is always the same; if we believe it, we may feel sure that able, powerful, impressive preaching can never, at any time of the world's history, have been a common gift, can never have been general, can never have been within the power of mere human foresight to secure as a necessary condition and privilege of any locality, however favoured.

It is a necessary, inevitable blemish of the system, foreseen from the first, as being carried on by mortal agency. If the office were taken from the parish priesthood and given to a picked body of itinerant professors, stimulated to their utmost exertions by every expedient of emulation, the eloquent, effective, awakening preacher who commands attention, and takes forcible possession of his hearers, would still be the exception. It was never intended that the laity should be spared all trouble. There must always be a large number of preachers who, take what pains they will, will tax the patience and forbearance of their flock, and make the extracting of good—which can always be done—a strong exercise of the disciplined will, an act of piety. There are many respectable, worthy men, highly useful in performing with seriousness, punctuality, and credit, the routine of their office, who, as far as they see, act up to their knowledge conscientiously, but who, having no strength anywhere, have no force in their convictions; who see all things indistinctly, *un*emphatically, tamely. Experience and a good life will work their effect, and in time impart some weight to their style; but strength of expression is beyond their power. Who can propose to banish such men from the ministry? Who can tell them not to preach? and how could their place be supplied? We can see no end to them; while there are pulpits they will fill a large proportion of them, and we, if we are wise, shall sit patiently and listen, if they fall to our lot. Not apathetically, not without hope from time's changes, but far less regardless of the present good use that may be made of the truths, however coldly uttered by them. If such men, without the solitary gift of fluency, are seized with the ambition to preach without book; or, perhaps, perceiving the defect of their written style, fall into the notion that it would be remedied by the new method, and so inflict on the nerves of their hearers a broken, stammering, incoherent address, as we have known done; and if they further do not see their own failure—for we are not imagining acute sensibilities—or, seeing it, still think it a point of conscience to persevere, then, we think, the time is come for lay interference if there is any opportunity for it. There are bounds, there are limits to every virtue. Dull as written sermons often are, there is something worse. It is the spectacle of a good and often active and useful man, without a spark

of genius or a gift of speech, gossiping and twaddling in the most vague inanities, illustrated by the boldest and most familiar conversational talk, and very poor talk too, gossiping too for an hour, and all his gossip about everything and nothing, without beginning, middle, and end, and calling this his duty in preaching an intelligible and practical sermon. This, however, is an emergency we need not further touch on, our concern now is with the decorously dull sermon—not a painful exhibition which can be avoided—and of that we say, that the time passed under its sound, after the sacred and essential part of the service is over, is better spent by the majority in even an ineffectual attempt to keep the mind fixed on its highest interests, than the same half-hour would be if the Sunday sermon had been dispensed with altogether, in consideration of the preacher's incapacity. The influence of the place, the very sound of sacred words, keep the conscience, in some degree, alive. However often the mind wanders, it may yet have been exercised at intervals on spiritual things which might not otherwise have been suggested, and, under the circumstances, perhaps it will be granted that there may be some relaxation of the first strain of attention which the service demands, that the judgment may be allowed to exercise itself in some independent speculation, in pursuing whatever high or useful train of thought is presented, and that the listeners may paraphrase, illustrate, and enlarge the dry outline of thought which the sermon sets before them.

But while we would give to dulness an inevitable place in a great system of preaching, and accept it and allow for it as an unavoidable evil, we would by no means grant it the supremacy so many assert for it. We greatly doubt if the proportion of really dull sermons is not less now than in any former time. What body of men equals our clergy in cultivation, intelligence, and activity of mind? When did they ever take so high a stand? When was it ever so willingly granted to them? When did they make more strenuous efforts to maintain their influence? We are sometimes, indeed, disposed to lay one of the faults of our modern pulpits (which we have already hinted at), amongst other reasons, to an undue dread of this quality, a determination at all costs to engage the interest of their hearers: and thus in their choice of subjects, not to consider so much their real advantage as what is most interesting to themselves, which, in a polemical age, not unfrequently happens to be polemics, the discussion of which, with heat and fervour, will always insure a certain amount of attention, whether at the expense of a secret antagonism, or not. Perhaps it is the agreeable consciousness of making a sensation, the relief

of raising a ripple on the dead waters, which hides from preachers the inexpediency of being known for the peculiar advocacy of any one doctrine, and especially if, as we have supposed, it forms part of the current controversy of the day. We are sure they often act in ignorance of the effect upon their hearers of the perpetual reiteration of one sore disputed topic. They cannot be aware of the various (but none of them teachable, though alert) attitudes of mind at once assumed by their flock, who have this to say for themselves, that there must be some other motive than their particular edification, for the incessant repetition of one view or formula; and yet their edification should surely be his one object; he should never lose sight of their spiritual benefit. If he declares his opinions with any other design, he forgets the purpose of his calling. If he does it because there is a peculiar congeniality in the doctrine to his own temper, or from an ambition to be conspicuous for the stanchness and unalterable nature of his conviction, or to take his part in a great movement in obedience to any of even the more generous incentives to party feeling—for we are contemplating the case of sincere earnest men—he is for the time being not a preacher, but an advocate, and subject to all the temptations of that position; he is in danger of preaching himself, his own gospel. At best it is a mistaken, short-sighted zeal, which can see only the present crisis, as he thinks it; and therefore it is one of the great uses of learning to know the history of controversy, the questions that have convulsed the world by turns, and then made way for others—questions of which we cannot always see the force now, but which in their day were paramount, and occupied the whole world—to the utter exclusion and forgetfulness of his own dogma. But not to go back to history, a moderate experience may afford an illustration of pulpit polemics recalling the time when little children wrangled for free will with predestinarian nursemaids, and parlour, schoolroom, and nursery were wrought to perpetual discussion by a flood of vehement preachers, possessed with this one idea, and putting it forward as the vital question on which all religion turned. Other topics have taken the place of this one; though growing out, perhaps, of the 'Calvinism' and 'Arminianism' of our youth. It is not the point whether our convictions go on this side or that, for or against what we hear; what we would maintain is, that no one doctrine unduly dwelt on, can be presented to others in its beauty, purity, or efficacy, and will therefore always excite the reasonable jealousy of some hearers. A truth ceases to be a truth, it loses its form and consistency, when separated in the mind of the apprehender from all its fellow truths, and viewed by itself.

Let every preacher boldly declare his convictions; what he thinks important, he must set forth clearly within such limits as obedience to his ordination vows permits, but not with such pertinacity as to convey the idea of favouritism, as though some doctrines of Revelation were more to his mind than others; his hearers have a right to hear the whole counsel of God, not that selection of it which their pastor thinks more suited to the times. But it is the tendency of exclusive pursuit of any one line of thought, to shrink from the contemplation and the utterance of whatever may seem to go against it. The preacher thinks himself able to reconcile apparently opposing statements to his own satisfaction, but he dare not trust his hearers not to make an ill use of any admission he may be betrayed into. We never hear a text from his lips which is in use by his antagonists without a nervous and eager comment approaching to explaining it away. There are whole passages of Scripture which the belligerents on either side of a controversy raging at its height are *afraid* of; so much to the point, so obvious as qualifying and explaining, that they must present themselves to the listener, must run parallel in his own thoughts with the preacher's spoken arguments; must, he knows, be in the preacher's mind also, but which, he also knows, will not be once hinted at. They will be passed over in silence, because he feels his teacher dare not trust him with them for fear he should fall to drawing independent conclusions. Hence comment, discussion, question, heats, and irritations on both sides, which cannot fail to end in a loss of authority on the pastor's part. Perhaps he is betrayed into angry declamation, to the no small perplexity of his poorer and more reverential hearers, who are accustomed to think of their minister as serene and far above the human passions and tempers which perform too prominent a part in their own sphere. 'To be sure, he was warm,' they say, with a sorrowful and puzzled air, not presuming to question, not understanding the cause, but uncomfortable, disconcerted, and glad to think it not often so. For any sort of asperity or bitterness of tone is peculiarly felt by the poor. Their ignorance and want of definite religious teaching unhappily make differences on points of doctrine peculiarly unintelligible to them. Love and charity form their creed, if not their practice, and these often so lax that the most necessary severity, calmly spoken, would jar on their feelings. But nothing would be gained by stimulating their passions, by making them think ill of their neighbours without knowing why, by urging them to take a side in a controversy of the first principles of which they are ignorant; and yet this is the first thing attempted when any religious commotion is set on foot. It was, may we not say, the first impulse, the one idea of

a leading preacher, in his sermon to the poor in Exeter Hall, when that building was used by clergymen of our Church, for the alleged purpose of awakening attention to the great doctrines of the Gospel in the masses of our large towns; prompting him actually to the distribution of anti-high Church tracts amongst his ignorant hearers before they left the place—a proceeding which surely justifies the inference that he wanted them to be partisans and controversialists before they were Christians.

But not to go to these extreme lengths, from which natural good feeling generally withholds even the hottest temperaments, we repeat, that it is a mistake in a preacher to be known as the enforcer of one particular opinion with vehemence, peculiarity, and excitement. No wise man will allow himself to lie under the exclusive influence of his own day, or suffer it to regulate his whole tone of thought. He will measure the present by the past, and so estimate its true bearings. No doubt its questions will engage his earnest attention, and probably hearty energetic interference when he sees it called for. Nor will he withhold his conclusions from his people. But conclusions arrived at deliberately upon a full view of the question and weighing of difficulties, he will teach in the same temper. He will not forget that he cannot put others into his position who have not gone through his processes of thought. All knowledge, according to the old axiom, must be received in proportion to the recipient; if he *unduly* presses upon unprepared minds the truth he has arrived at, it will stand in danger of obscuring other truths; and, knowing this, he will be careful to maintain a balance. It is easy for able men, especially if arguing on a popular side, to excite strong feeling; but how fallacious this is when not backed by a real apprehension of the subject! and for want of considering this we see them intent on the one present interest, creating antipathies where they think they are planting convictions, or mere baseless prejudices where they suppose themselves mastering the reason and conscience of their hearers.

We speak from a knowledge of lay experience, aware of the force of the arguments which may be brought against us: as, that each age has its own errors which must be combated; that to revert to bygone disputes is to fight chimæras, and that what we call a controversial subject, others call a vital truth, (the mode of treating may indeed constitute the distinction,) which must at all hazards be contended for, and made the basis of all teaching. We own our opinion has been formed upon the consequences, as they have appeared to us, of this practice of each teacher having his own basis on which everything rests, and from which every sermon starts, independent of, and in addition to—we need not say—the One Foundation and basis of our common Christianity.

Of course the laity have their bases too,—truths and doctrines of deep importance to their own minds, which it pains them to hear contravened, and which, under certain very supposable and indeed very usual circumstances, they are liable to hear impugned every Sunday of their lives. For where the parochial system still holds they have no choice but to resort constantly to the same church and the same preacher. Is this really a happy or desirable state of things? is it generous in the preacher? Does not the moral obligation to attend his ministry, which both sides acknowledge, imply certain conditions on his part? Is mere reiteration likely of itself to persuade? Is there any use in saying the same things over and over again without chance of persuasion? Is there not some better arena than the pulpit (round which people must gather, whether they will or not) for the discussion of sore and vexed questions? Does it tend to edification for this basis, this starting point to be continually dilated on, and every other rival foundation to be numerically considered and duly knocked over with a like pertinacity? Is it not well for quiet people to be able to go to church in some security that, whatever sin or error shall be their appointed teacher's subject of attack and warning, it shall not be their own cherished convictions and the motives of those who uphold them? Where all are agreed, a preacher of moderate intellect and limited experience may preach effectively; but where the public polemical passions are awake and the subject is under general discussion, a person without authority of position or weight of character can do nothing to settle the question in other minds; he swells the host of disputants, but does not advance the decision one step, even though he should have pleased some of his hearers by 'speaking out,' as it is called, *i.e.* expressing strongly their already fixed sentiments.

After all, we only ask that there should be variety of topics, that the preacher should carry the whole body of his hearers along with him, as far as he conscientiously can; and that it should be possible to treat each subject as it comes, on its own merits, with the course of thought and expression which belongs to it, and which would have been appropriate and natural in any age of the Christian Church, whatever controversy was uppermost. It destroys all range of ideas, all freedom of language, all eloquence or grace of expression, where the mind is thus confined and held down, afraid of committing itself against the one leading, perhaps party, interest.

But, we may be told, we have not yet explained what we mean by a controversial sermon, or how it may be distinguished from a doctrinal statement of controverted truth, which every faithful guardian of the truth must put forth when the occasion requires.

The difference is not always easy to define; but we are much mistaken if most of our lay readers have not apt examples in their own minds where the line has been transgressed. The controversial sermon has two developments; it may either take its stand on some opinion or doctrine not necessary to be believed, but of supreme importance to the preacher; for example, Protestantism and the Millennium; or on some article of faith treated polemically. In either case the preacher not only asserts his view, but all the views of his opponents, according to his biassed and prejudiced apprehension of them, accompanied often with hard words, and general rough handling. If this is done with contempt of tone and manner, with a mention of individual and party names, with a lavish attributing of evil motives, and constant reference to Satanic influence; and if there are known to be present persons of directly opposite sentiments, whom the preacher is supposed to be covertly addressing, we think we have given a recipe for an unprofitable sermon, which the sooner all hearers forget the better, if they hope to derive any future benefit from the preacher's ministrations. We have purposely given an extreme case; such excesses of irresponsible power are rare, but our readers are fortunate if they have never—at some watering-place, perhaps, and at an excited time—listened to a sermon in which all these particulars were carried out to the letter, and with a virulence of personal rancour, and fury of denunciation, of which a mere analysis can give no idea. These men are no loss to the legitimate field they desert; but many are heated or bitter in controversy, who, apart from its influence, are gifted with qualities of heart and head which fit them eminently for their calling; who can 'preach the Word' with power, and set forth great truths with persuasive force; who, when they dispute, deprive their hearers of something better; on whom those in pressure of affliction — of whom every congregation numbers some—may reasonably depend for instruction and consolation; and be proportionably disappointed, when, having looked for bread, they receive that stone to the sorrowful spirit —a wrangle of dry arguments and refutations, far as the poles asunder from their need.

There is much in the 'Memoir of the Rev. George Wagner,' we think, to support and prove the expediency of our view. This is not the place to do more than allude to his holy and devoted life and amiable character, though some points of his practice bear on what we have already said of the watchful and 'accessible' parish priest; but the appropriateness to our own subject lies in the chapter on Sermons, in which the biographer enters at full length into his principles and method in this particular.

Mr. George Wagner belonged to the stricter evangelical school, his views on some points being enlarged by early intercourse with leading men of a more liberal party. Of remarkably strong and ardent convictions, and not, his biographer thinks it right to admit, gifted with the highest intellectual qualities, he might have been expected, following the example of others, to throw himself, in his teaching, on the prevailing points of difference and dispute, taking the pioneer's part of clearing away error before introducing the truth. In that case his sermons would have been like hundreds of others, they would have ministered to party spirit, and wherever they did this, would leave heart and conscience untouched; at best his influence would have been partial. But, happily, his high spiritual gifts were aided by the natural ally of an amiable, loving temper. He had no pugnacity or perverseness in him; he loved the truth, or what he held to be such, according to his notion of its intrinsic worth, not in proportion as it was a subject of contention. *Every word* of the Bible was precious to him, not only those passages which seemed to support his favourite dogmas; he had some idea of the fulness, the unsearchable riches, the unfathomable depths of God's revelation to man; he had no system reconciling all difficulties, by enabling him to forget them; he was a real lover of souls, and was actuated by a genuine anxiety for the eternal good of all whom it was in his power to serve; he had no specific, no easy road to this end; almost his last words were, 'It is no easy thing to get to heaven;' and it followed he had so much to tell of what he felt of absorbing interest, so much to teach that he knew to be true, he realized so vividly that he had a message to declare, a Gospel to preach, that controversy was no temptation to him, he had not time or room for it, nor yet for private opinions on non-essentials.

'Controversial subjects of every kind were entirely excluded from his public ministry—excluded by the spirit of love and humility, which filled his own heart, and out of the abundance of which his mouth ever spoke. He had an absolute horror of controversy, regarding it as sinful: and the use of his pulpit for such purposes he would have held to be utter profanation. Still, he had deeply studied all the subjects on which controversy between Christians usually turns, and had made up his own mind modestly but firmly on all points where he felt it necessary to form and hold an opinion; and some of these points must be briefly reviewed, to show the consistency of his principles.'—*Memoir of Rev. George Wagner*, p. 189.

Again:—

'Public events were seldom noticed in his sermons, except on public occasions. And when he advocated the claims of some religious or charitable institution, he was careful to connect them with the thought of some daily or permanent duty, basing all upon those Christian doctrines which alone can sustain a truly Christian motive.

'He was singularly free, moreover, from that continual bias towards

some favourite conclusion or speculation, which so often impedes the usefulness of pious and able ministers. Even when the main current of his energies was directed upon the overthrow of difficulties in the way of the Penitents' Home, no one could detect in his ministry any concentration of thought upon this subject; and on many speculative points, to whichever side his opinions leaned, his congregation, for the most part, remained ignorant of that opinion. Deeply (for instance) as he felt the fearful errors "and unhallowed practices" of the Church of Rome, and the way in which they obscure and pervert many precious doctrines of the Gospel, this was a topic which he avoided in his sermons. He would not touch upon the point unless his subject led him to it, and then he would treat the matter only in a practical way. He spoke of the Church of Rome as a fallen Church, more deeply fallen than Ephesus or Sardis; but never as the Babylon of the Revelation, never as the Man of Iniquity "which was to be revealed in his time." '—*Ibid.* p. 201.

He interpreted literally the Old Testament promises, and looked forward to the national and visible restoration of the Jews, and Christ's personal reign; and yet—

'He indulged no speculations on these matters. He hardly ever mentioned or alluded to them in his sermons. He knew that whatever shall take place upon this earth in the magnificent drama of time is as nothing compared to eternity. All these things, if indeed they are to come to pass, are preparatory still. They are not our portion. "Having begun in the spirit," we are not to be "made perfect in the flesh." We are called to enter into the mind and purposes of Him with whom "one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." We are bidden to "fix our affections on things above"—which ever will be above; the glory of which is perfected in this, that they are not only unseen but eternal.

'And surely, to no spirit was it ever given to have sublimer gleams of that beatific vision than to him. Unutterable blessedness gathered round his heart, as he thought of the sea of crystal, and the song of the redeemed, and of the unveiled presence of Him whom here he loved so faithfully. Unearthly sweetness filled his tongue, while, absorbed in the glorious subject, he strove unconsciously to anticipate the strains which no mortal lips can utter.'—*Ibid.* pp. 203, 204.

For a preacher to be an ardent Protestant, and yet keep clear of the Pope; to be a Millennarian, and be able to look beyond those thousand years; describes in an epitome all we have to say on the subject, and expresses the sum of our wishes.

These facts incline us to give credit to the biographer's testimony that he was pre-eminently a practical preacher, though this word is not always used in a sense in which we can acquiesce. It is a word, as we have already intimated, very constantly in the mouth of the laity: the demand is, with great justice, for practical sermons; but whether there is any general agreement as to the meaning of this sensible, reasonable word, is much to be doubted. Practical means leading to action: a practical sermon should lead to action of some sort in mind or body; and in this sort, a sermon that stimulates to devotion, to meditation on the Divine attributes or on God's dealings with man, that works a beneficial effect on

the mind of the hearer, which does not cease with the preacher's voice, but affects the future course of thought, making it active in some new direction, is a practical sermon. To our view, this praise does not depend so much on the subject, as the way of handling it. We are convinced there is often a fallacy involved in the commendation of plain, practical sermons. The respectable members of a congregation, whose temptations none of them lie in the direct flagrant breaches of the moral law, derive a satisfaction in hearing these dealt with in a summary method. The preacher for once has made his language as homely and bare as he can, he has confined himself to the most intelligible principles of action; no graces of style, no appeals to the sensibilities are deemed in place in this severe exposition of morality, and this is supposed to be pre-eminently practical. Now we believe, to make discourses on these indispensable subjects really so, tending to anything really influential, there needs more thought, more spiritual knowledge on the preacher's part, than in many an abstruse, directly spiritual topic. To avoid being trite on a moral theme—to give life to obvious truths, to impart sensitiveness to the respectable conscience, to connect our duty to man with spiritual religion, to go home to *every* man's heart—implies deep self-study, and, added to this, extensive observation and familiarity with the intricacies of the human mind. Whatever the subject, that is not a practical sermon which makes every man think of his neighbour, and find its point and application somewhere else than in his own heart. Therefore a preacher should be most spiritual in tone when he speaks of moral duties, and he will be so the more deeply he sees the connexion of purity of heart with the beatific vision.

In many preachers there is a dissolution of morals and religion; they preach both, but at separate times, evidently addressing distinct classes, which gives the effect of morals being an affair of this life, and religion of that which is to come. In a certain school we believe this impression does unconsciously exist. Such often do preach practical spiritual sermons; their souls are raised, their noblest faculties excited by some divine and glorious theme, and what they realize keenly they can impart with force, awakening a kindred and it may often be a lasting glow; but they fail in a practical moral discourse—these fall flat and heavy from their lips, all inspiration gone. And this because they think themselves addressing another class altogether; persons below the spiritual standard, who have not only neglected, but have never attained to the possession of the other's privileges. They pass from the regenerate, who can understand them, to the heathen who cannot, and the tone is lowered accordingly. While we hold that unless

people are taught morality as *Christians*, they might almost as well not be taught at all, for any good they may get from it; though for the preacher's own sake we are glad he should say certain truths anywhere rather than not utter them at all, and the echo of them will also tell advantageously with his more forward hearers in the exposition of what he believes to be deeper and more enduring truths.

Sincere honest men of all parties preach morality; but we think it is not prejudice which leads us to the opinion that it is those who receive and act upon the Church's system, and teach in accordance with the Catechism, who give such topics a vivifying, truly religious, and practical character; making the whole congregation feel themselves implicated, all under the same rule, as admitted to the same calling. Those classifications which are a feature of a certain kind of sermon—we find Mr. G. Wagner advocated them as essential to a right dividing of the word of truth—those curious analyses by which so many preachers divide and subdivide their hearers—those distinctions into believers, professors, formalists, nominal Christians, moral men, careless, profane, and downright unbelievers,—are apt to be fatal to the effect of any comprehensive teaching. We find ourselves at best in a state of mere intellectual watchfulness, applying nothing till our turn comes, and placing ourselves more by what we conceive would be the preacher's estimate of our spiritual condition than our own. Indeed it is a very hard matter for individuals to locate themselves in a *class*. They are conscious of by turns filling all the parts except, we may trust, the last two. Each of us can sometimes conscientiously declare himself in heart, and reality, in his degree, a believer, while he is aware of periods and seasons when his profession is beyond the reality, and so on. The preacher has them all cut and dried in his mind's storehouse, and speaks as if he had no difficulty in the matter. Whoever works and preaches by this plan of operation, with his strong lines of demarcation, will never make way, except with a *party*, and that a narrow one, for he betrays an ignorance of the human heart: we feel that he has sought into one-sided theories of theology, but that he has never studied even himself, to verify what his books tell him.

Perhaps, however, we should not treat this self-study as an obvious or easy one, for in reality the man who can face himself, and see what is in him,—who knows all the conflicts that pass unseen in *one* heart; who has traced to its source the fountain of his own weakness; who can realize all the changes of mood; all the various influences that sway him to and fro—he has made one great step towards being a preacher. If we may,

in our turn, draw distinctions, he may be classed amongst the influential, the *powerful*, the real. We recognise him as the owner of a treasury; he has something to draw from. He may make serious mistakes, as all men will who reason from themselves alone, but he is so far free from the trammels of system, as to understand the flexibility of flesh-and-blood humanity; the mixed motives; the good and evil influences which guide and distract; which work with or against; the heavenly inspirations which lead us to, the dark repellant powers which would withdraw us from, the right path for our souls. So far as his idiosyncrasy represents the common humanity; so far as he feels in common with his fellows; so far, that is, as he has large sympathies, will be his influence; and in proportion to their strength, and his power of expression, will be the extent of his real influence deserving the name. Men may be the fashion, and be followed at a less outlay of feeling and sympathy; but they will not mould minds.

But it is time to draw our somewhat desultory remarks to a close. Our general view of preaching, in its different aspects, has run to a length which precludes the possibility, even if it were in place, of entering into detail on particular examples. We have headed our article by two volumes, which we are quite willing should in their different ways tend to neutralize what we have said on the paralysing influence of seats of learning on the efforts of individual preachers. Mr. Ellicott's profound and interesting discourses on 'The Destiny of the Creature,' preached before the University of Cambridge, will certainly impress our readers by their mature reverential strain of thought, and the religious resignation of their tone, while they will be led to see the advantages that may accrue from addressing a cultivated audience, before whom a deep subject may be pursued through all its bearings, without any fear of overstepping the intelligence of the hearers. On the other hand, the Course of Lenten Sermons delivered this year at Oxford, under the auspices of the Bishop of the Diocese, certainly betray no check from the influences of the place on popularity of style, and freedom and force of thought.

The opening Sermon by the Bishop of Oxford brings back to those who have ever heard him, the singular power of his spoken appeals; that variety and felicity of thought and expression; that charm of voice and manner; that dignity, and yet freedom of address; that full, absorbed possession of his subject; that sense of unity with his hearers, leading him, by instinctive perception, to the arguments and illustrations which will best enforce his meaning, which constitute him master of the art of preaching, if we may thus designate the intelligent concentrating all the powers of mind and body to the great task to

which his peculiar and eminent gifts call him. We are glad to enforce our own convictions on the efficacy of preaching by the following strong words. No one could throw himself into a work so earnestly, without the abiding persuasion that it is a real work, from which good will certainly follow; that it has the Divine promise of fruit:—

'We know that He does work these miracles of His grace, through the weakness of our preaching. We know that this setting forth of His Word, to be brought home to the hearts of the listeners by His mighty grace, according to His blessed will, is, and has been, ever since St. Peter preached at Pentecost, by far the commonest means by which He does draw souls to conversion and to life.'—*Lenten Sermons, preached at Oxford*, 1858; p. 4.

Such should be the hope and confidence of all called to the preacher's office. He needs such support, who, subject to human error and infirmity, has God's work given him to do; has to touch the heart; stir the conscience; enlighten the understanding: to awaken men out of deadness and sin, to a consciousness, a love, a reception of spiritual truth.

It has been an ungracious task to point out what we have thought some of the hindrances to this work; the needless obstructions that custom, party, and individual apathy interpose. But we have wished throughout, we desire especially at the close, to express our earnest faith in the ordinance of preaching, the great part it has to perform in the evangelization of mankind, whether heathen or already Christian in name, and in sustaining and edifying the flock of Christ. Which amongst ourselves, even the most impatient and querulous, but has experienced, in his own heart, its power? Who but can recall, amongst the keenest moments of his life,—moments which have left a life-long responsibility,—winged words which pierced his heart, and laid bare its secrets? And are there not many to whom the preacher's voice has been a very message from heaven, guiding to the Everlasting Arm, in seasons when the troubles of life have been all but insupportable? Every zealous, believing, affectionate pastor has it in him to impart to some one this divine healing; to inspire hope in the darkest day; to impress the conviction of supreme wisdom and mercy in the heart's heaviest perplexity. And such—for have we not the inspired promise?—in spite of errors and mistakes, there shall ever be. The Church shall never be without her teachers, till human teaching shall give place to the fulness of knowledge, and the Divine Vision.

ART. VI.—1. *Jewish Intelligence, from the Year* 1846 *to the month of May*, 1858, *inclusive.* London: Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, 16, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

2. *Colonial Church Chronicle.* May, 1858. London: Rivingtons.

3. *Jerusalem: its Missions, Schools, Converts, &c., under Bishop Gobat.* By JAMES GRAHAM, late Secretary of the London Jews' Society in Palestine. London: David Batten, Clapham. 1858.

4. *Proceedings* in re *Hanna Hadoub.* By W. HOLMAN HUNT. London: Masters.

5. *Sundry Letters, under various Signatures, in the* Daily News *and* Record, *from October,* 1857, *to the current date, in reference to various Persons and Matters connected with the Anglican Church, &c., in Jerusalem.*

WHEN the world opened its eyes in wonder on the spiritual effrontery of Mormonism in the West, there was little expectation of a religious phenomenon in the East, which should, like the notorious name with which we head this article, divide with the former the astonishment of Christendom. Before, however, we proceed to the details of this scandal brought upon our Church, through its unnaturally affiliated Eastern branch, it may be well to retrace briefly the gradual steps by which it rose. The Chevalier Bunsen was its reputed instigator, and we believe that his responsibility for its origin has never been repudiated. The first documentary evidence of the existence of the design to found the Bishopric in question, may be seen *in extenso* in Vol. XII. pp. 277—282, of the *Christian Remembrancer*, entitled 'The King's (of Prussia) Instructions to his Ambassador,' bearing date June, 1841.

The King sets out with a commission 'to his Extraordinary Envoy,' directing him to treat with the Primate of England and Bishop of London for 'a sisterly position in the Holy Land,' to be accorded to the 'Evangelical National Church of Prussia.' He points out the political necessity of union, if any proper recognition is to be obtained from the Turkish Government; and shows that, by presenting themselves as a collection of sects, the members of 'Protestant Christendom' would be refused by that Government such privileges as are accorded to Latins, Greeks, &c.; and would further present a disadvantageous contrast

with those internally compact bodies already in prior possession of the ground.

To these political reasons, his Majesty adds his convictions that 'Evangelical Christendom' has in the East a prospect of influential action such as never before occurred, which opportunity will be certainly lost if that spot of ground which every Church holds sacred be sown with the sectarian discords of Protestantism. He then proceeds to state what he is ready to do.

He holds out his hand to the Church of England, and expects a like return. He will allow the clergy of the Prussian Church to seek Anglican orders (or, as expressed in a further paragraph, 'to join this episcopal arrangement'), and insure to those orders respect within his dominions. He urges joint operations on that 'ecclesiastical foundation' which the English Church holds on Mount Zion, from which centre results will soon, he anticipates, make themselves felt in Abyssinia and Armenia, independently of the value of a 'Christian neutral ground' to be gained for 'Evangelical Christians.'

Having dwelt thus far on the prospects of 'Evangelical Christendom' generally, he reviews those of '*German* Evangelical Christendom' in particular, the independence of which, as a National Church, he pledges himself to maintain. He regrets the suspended state of the Jerusalem mission owing to the Turkish war, and urges 'THE ENGLISH CHURCH TO ERECT A BISHOPRIC OF ITS OWN at Jerusalem,' which should 'comprehend all Evangelical Christians willing to take part in it.'

The summer and autumn of 1841 sufficed for maturing the plan sketched in the preceding instructions: and before the end of the year the Primate had issued a letter commendatory of Bishop Alexander to the Eastern Patriarchs. His authority is there limited to the exercise of 'spiritual jurisdiction over the "clergy and congregations of our Church, which are [now, or 'which hereafter may be][1] established in Syria and the countries 'adjacent.' Not only, however, are the limits of the said jurisdiction marked, but 'all intermeddling in any way with that of 'the Prelates bearing rule in the Churches of the East' is studiously renounced. The Bishop is commended as 'willing,' and one 'who will feel himself in conscience bound to follow 'these instructions; and we beseech you,' adds the letter, 'in the 'name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to receive him as a brother and 'to assist him.' An expression of a desire for the renewal of amicable intercourse, and a hope of the cessation of divisions as a possible consequence, concludes the letter. No officer, lay or clerical,

[1] This clause is not in the Greek text of the letter.

was ever sent out with a more definite field of action. Both what he is to do, and what he may probably meet with temptations to do, but is especially to forbear doing, are clearly stated; and this, 'in order to *prevent*,' says the writer of the letter, '*any misunderstanding as to the purpose*' with which the bearer of it was sent forth to claim, on the faith of it, the recognition of his Christian brotherhood, in the most Holy Name of their common Redeemer. No doubt the words were as sincerely penned as they have since been shamelessly violated; but they have still the force which they were meant to bear—they have indeed 'prevented,' and still render impossible '*all misunderstanding*.' No one can 'misunderstand' for a moment the spirit in which the mission has been worked—one of simple repudiation of the most solemn engagement, and of defiant trampling on the fundamental conditions by which the projectors of it were self-bound.

In December of the same year this was followed by a 'State-'ment of Proceedings relating to the Establishment of a Bishopric 'of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, 'published by authority;' but, as we before remarked,[1] without any authorizing signature; in which the consecration of Bishop Alexander, as 'a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland,' and the Act of Parliament under which it proceeded, were set forth. The King of Prussia's share in the project, and his munificence in furthering it by a donation of £15,000, is declared; as also is his exercise, alternately with the Crown of England, of the right of nomination to the See. Many happy anticipations of the probable or possible results of the influence of a Bishopric so planted are dwelt on at some length, and a contrast drawn between the spirit of conciliatory respect for their ecclesiastical rights in which the new Bishop would approach his brethren of the ancient Eastern patriarchates, and the aggressive pretensions and seductive intrigues of the Church of Rome. It is reiterated that *this* Bishop is 'specially charged *not* to en-'trench upon the spiritual rights and liberties of those Churches; 'but to confine himself to the care of those over whom *they* 'cannot rightfully claim any jurisdiction.' His missionary efforts are declared to be directed to the conversion of the Jews. His relations with his Metropolitan—an office to be provisionally exercised by the Archbishop of Canterbury—with the other Churches represented at Jerusalem, and especially with the orthodox Greek Church,—which he is again and expressly bidden to 'convince that the Church of England *does not wish to disturb, or divide, or interfere with them*,'—with a College to be established in Jerusalem, as also with German Protestant

[1] See the *Christian Remembrancer* for January, 1845.

congregations and their national pastors, are subsequently detailed, and copies of the commendatory letters which the newly consecrated Bishop was to carry with him to the rulers of the Greek Church are 'subjoined.'

The only points in the 'Statement' worthy of special notice are the following:—

1. Oriental Christians may be admitted into the College, but clerical members of the orthodox Greek Church only with the express consent of their ecclesiastical superiors.

2. The German clergy, who are to minister to their national congregations, are, if resident within his jurisdiction and willing to submit to it, to be ordained by the Bishop, first signing the Thirty-nine Articles; and in order that they may not be disqualified by the laws of Germany from officiating in German congregations, first exhibiting a certificate of their having duly signed the Confession of Augsburgh.

3. These ordinations, as well as the confirmations of such German Protestants, are to be according to the English ritual; but,

4. German clergy, thus ordained, are to 'officiate according to 'the forms of their national liturgy . . . agreeing in all points 'of doctrine with the liturgy of the English Church.'

With regard to 2, it should be observed that the double test therein prescribed was, as appears from a letter in June, 1842, from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King of Prussia, subsequently abrogated, and the subscription to the three Creeds substituted apparently for *both* of them; or, if not for both, for the latter—the subscription, namely, of the Thirty-nine Articles, without which no prelate or prelates of our Church may lawfully ordain either priest or deacon. Is not this a dispensing power which our Church has never conceded to her Primate, and which seems thus irregularly claimed in the surreptitious form of an anonymous 'Statement?'

These documents, and the proceedings consequent upon them, drew forth from the Bishop of Exeter, in May, 1846, on the vacancy of the see by the death of its first Bishop (Alexander), a comprehensive but disregarded 'protest,' which is one of the weightiest documents which the question has provoked. It is published at length in Vol. XII. pp. 283—7, of the *Christian Remembrancer;* but, for the convenience of our readers, we briefly review its leading topics.

It objects, 1. that the Bishop so consecrated, though of the Church of England and Ireland, is exempt from certain obligations common to its Episcopate, *e.g.* as regards its canons; 2. That such anomaly was gratuitous, since a Bishop at Jerusalem might have been consecrated, though the protester would not be understood to recommend such a course, without its being

necessary that he should be avowedly of that Church; 3. That this abandonment of our canons, especially when resulting in a union at Jerusalem between our Church and Christian bodies of questionable Catholicity (the 'Protestant Christendom' of the King of Prussia), was likely to impair our position and impede our hopeful influence with the Greek and other Eastern Churches; 4. That the German liturgy, permitted to be used by the German clergy, appears to be 'grievously defective in more than one momentous particular;' a statement which the protester proceeds to illustrate by reference to some special points in it. 5. That there is not between our own Articles and those of the Augsburgh Confession that 'entire consistency . . . without which subscription to both is irreconcileable with sincere and honest subscription to either.' 6. That for this double test for holy orders, a mere subscription to the three Creeds had, 'in manifest violation of our canons,' since been substituted. 7. That the so-called 'United German Church' is a mere political comprehension of individuals and communities, having no sufficient bond of union, no competent ecclesiastical character, nor manifesting any wish to have its defects in this respect supplied. On the publication of Bishop Gobat's first annual letter, a number of English divines protested against his proceedings as being schismatical and contrary to the original compact made at the time the Bishopric was founded. The four Archbishops of the Church of England and Ireland then signed and set forth a paper, cautioning all whom it might concern against this document, as deficient in authority, and expressing their sympathy with 'their brother the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem.' The Jerusalem Committee also, of which the Earl of Shaftesbury is chairman, made a minute upon certain allegations in the protest, to which we shall have occasion further to allude, and the English divines, the authors of the protest, replied. The Bishop of Exeter, however, really demolished the principle of the Jerusalem Bishopric; the protesters merely taking issue on certain facts in Bishop Gobat's proceedings.

Before we animadvert upon the events which have gone far to verify the forebodings of the Bishop of Exeter, we wish to draw the reader's attention to the declared object of the missionary efforts of the Jerusalem Bishopric—the conversion of the Jews.

We take the reports of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. That Society is said, on good authority, to contribute or procure 600*l.* a year towards the income of the See, or an equal moiety with that arising from the interest on the endowment furnished from the King of Prussia's munificence. They need not be suspected of understating the results of labours in which they are so largely

interested. Their reports for the years 1844, 1845, 1846, state that during the four years of Bishop Alexander's labours, the numbers of converts from Judaism baptized in Jerusalem were as follows:—

In the first year . .	8
„ second . .	11
„ third . . .	6 or 7
„ fourth . . .	10
	In all, 35 or 36.

But inasmuch as he did not live to complete the fourth year of his Episcopate, we may, perhaps, take ten as representing the yearly average. It is well known that Judaism is one of the barrenest fields of missionary enterprise. Sixteen is the total of baptisms of adult Israelites, not reckoning the children of converted parents amongst that number, reported as known to have taken place in London in 1851, according to the volume of the 'Jewish Intelligence' for the year 1852; fourteen was the total for the year 1849; and the gross total which the Jews' Society can ascribe to its own operations from their commencement was down to the first-named year 522, and probably is now somewhere about 700. Similarly in Amsterdam eight cases are reported in the year 1848-9; in the year 1852, Mr. Pauli, the resident missionary, reports two as the annual total. We are now dealing with bare figures, and reserve the argument how far they are significant, and how far numbers are a conclusive test of the value of missionary effort. We only remark, whatever that value may be, that in Jerusalem we should have expected a greater number of converts as compared with London and other European capitals. The Jews of Jerusalem are, a great proportion of them, extremely poor; they are environed and overhung by the majestic shadows of Christianity; they are, by the whole party in our own Church which most supports the Society for their conversion, and especially by the writers, preachers, speakers, and Scripture readers of that Society itself, flattered, pampered, and caressed; prophecy is wrested and Christian doctrine perverted in favour of the fervent fancies which contemplate, if words mean things, the secular restoration of a converted Israel. The great number of Jewish Prussian subjects was likely also to give great proselytizing weight to the Prussian element in the mission; and an Anglo-Prussian hierarchy, expressly chosen for the work, might, by mingling the influences of those two races, the English and the German, which have ever shown greater sympathy for the Jew than all the rest of Europe, have bid fair to do more in the way of conversion than either singly could be expected to do. Certainly, what-

ever might be the abstract merits of the Jerusalem Episcopate, the Jews' Society deservedly regarded it, on its announcement, as a powerful demonstration in favour of their object. Yet we learn that, after the whole apparatus has now been at work for sixteen years, about forty converts, at the outside, during the time of Bishop Alexander, and the same number during that of his successor, are the total of the results of this project as regards the conversion of the Jews. Bishop Gobat, indeed, claims fifty for himself; but, as it appears to be his weakness to detract from the labours of his predecessor and to exaggerate the results of his own, the sum total will remain unaffected, unless for the worse, (for he has the audacity to diminish the total number of Bishop Alexander's converts to a paltry *three or four!*[1]) by our adopting his calculations. Looking at the figures relatively only, we say that, viewed side by side with the results achieved elsewhere by similar agency with less overpowering local influences, they are meagre and baffling. In spite of the bombast of Exeter Hall, its zealots have here a mere gleaning, even assuming the genuineness of the cases called conversions, where a harvest might have been looked for.

But, building as we hitherto have done on the statements of the 'Jewish Intelligence' supplied by the Society, we are here brought to a pause by the momentous consideration, How far are these reliable? Is it possible for secretaries and committees to check the reports of their remote agents and dependants? Is it their obvious interest—using the word not, of course, in that lofty sense in which 'truth one with another' is the highest common interest of Christian souls, but as the determining one in the great medley of motives which sways human action—is it the obvious and palpable interest, we ask of those secretaries and committees, to criticise the statements so transmitted to them? Is it not obvious, that unless some such strong determining motive keeps vigilance alert, a little sanguineness on the one side will soon be met half-way by a little supineness on the other? Zeal for success will disguise itself as zeal for truth, will be called by its name, and obtain its honours; a mutual sympathy for each other's difficulties will actuate the reporting missionary and the editing secretary. Of course, until men become insolent with success, care will be taken not to commit the Society to point-blank statements, which offer no smooth declivity of explanation from the precipice of falsehood. But before this point is reached—as we have reason to think it *has* been reached by the London Society—a mutual understanding is tacitly engendered, that what the missionary reports the secretary will receive, the

[1] See Dr. Bonar's letter in Mr. Graham's pamphlet, p. 62.

Society will endorse, will circulate, will capitalize, in the form of donations, subscriptions, bequests, and benefactions. Alas! how many earnest and pious men there are, who would gradually yield to the slowly collected weight of consequences such as these, and whose characters would be imperceptibly damped by such influence till the starch of veracity was taken out of them, and their very first impressions of facts around them would become ductile to the secretary's pen. On the other hand, is the character of the investigator who weighs and measures statements, deducts a fair per-centage from expectations, and looks at the rosy hues of distance through the cold grey spectacles of criticism, a popular or a 'paying' one? We are a practical people, and as we are careful to count the cost, like to dwell on *results*. There may be a furtive fallacy in the adoption of their reality; but still they appear to carry a show of conclusiveness, though they may be as ingeniously correct in form and defective in substance as the assets in the balance-sheet of a bubble bank. However, in a vast number of missionary reports—those, for instance, which regard heathen countries thoroughly ventilated by intelligence, like India—though it may not be easy to test special allegations, the general question, What has been achieved? can seldom be evaded, or its true answer disguised. Reality is too severely the characteristic of the scene to admit of dressed and coloured details obscuring solid aspects of truth. It is unhappily not so with the missions to the Jews. As regards the general public, they begin and end in words; speeches, letters, journals, sermons, reports and tracts, are the windy staple of which they are composed. We are not saying how far there is either less or more of fact underlying this involute of language; more or less of heart to the cabbage there probably is; but to the great mass of greedy feeders on the succulent vegetable there is nothing else at which they can possibly arrive. From the one circumstance of his perusing the last touching case of conversion, to the other circumstance of his forwarding his guinea to the collector, the genuine sympathiser passes by a law which association has made familiar to him, but the foundation of which is purely subjective. Then, too, how these vegetarians of propagandism do gorge and cram! There is in that banquet neither stint, satiety, nor shame. The purely Teutonic taste has usually been reputed more critical; but that too, we fear, is becoming gradually depraved by the pressing invitations of Royalty to partake and praise the *sauer kraut* of Bishop Gobat.

The quality of the writings and speeches most in favour is marked and peculiar. The phraseology of the Authorized Version of Scripture is required to be adapted to the most ordinary terms of conversational expression. It seems to be thought irreligious to

talk or write plain simple English. We cannot now attempt a critical examination of the 'Jewish Intelligence' of the Society before mentioned, for the eleven years which have elapsed since the date up to which it was last noticed in the pages of this review. Nor is it desirable to pick out specimens of the way in which the Word of God is made the mere dress and vehicle for whatever statements the outlying agents of the Society have to report to their secretary. Readers of pious feeling, and who have not reached the conventional standard in these things, would probably shrink from the ostentatious familiarity with scriptural language shown in the ready recurrence to words, phrases, and turns of expression, which suggest sacred associations in recording the every-day events of a journal. As we have hinted, there is a class, and we fear a widening class of readers, who luxuriate in finding thus cheaply appropriated to themselves and their doings the words which have expressed the yearnings of Isaiah or the expostulations of S. Paul. Perhaps their feeling is, that to like this is to have grown in grace—that it is 'edification;' in short, the writers who supply the market have lost all feeling of being shocked, if ever they felt any, and it becomes to them a natural flow of expression—to others, a twang of offensive Pharisaism. It stirs the indignation, too, of an honest man, whether spiritually-minded or not, to find statements of simple occurrences cumbered with the pomp of circumlocution in order to produce an effect by the way; and if he have attained to a very low spiritual standard, he is too jealous of the phrases of Holy Writ to endure patiently their being brought in as the wadding and stuffing of what he distrusts as at least one-sided and exaggerated. He would rather endure to paper his room with the fragments of Bibles, than thus to dress up apocryphal statements in scriptural words.

But we gladly pass from a purely verbal question, though it concerns holy words, to deal with the facts of Jewish conversions. Where these rest wholly on one-sided testimony, an impartial judge can hardly escape from the suspense which arises from there being no power of cross-examining a string of witnesses zealous for one side, all deposing to similar facts, in a conventional strain of language. Occasionally, however, the statement extends to facts which must in their nature be beyond the deponent's knowledge, and tends rather to throw discredit on his statements of such as are within it. Take, as an example, the following paragraph from the 'Jewish Intelligence,' June, 1849, p. 219:—

'BRESLAU.

'Dr. Neumann has reported six baptisms as having taken place at Breslau; and adds, that having in his intercourse with them endeavoured to ascertain their motives for renouncing Judaism, he found that the Lord *has really knocked at the door of their hearts, and that they will now follow the voice of the Good Shepherd.*'

Who this Dr. Neumann is, we know not; he seems to hold a post in connexion with the Society's Breslau mission, and to have the airs of a private secretary, if we may venture to say so, to the kingdom of heaven. No pope, in the plenitude of so-called vicarial authority, ever coined a phrase of greater audacity. Who is this that affects to search the heart and know what is in man? Surely it were better to leave the objects of his solicitude to the hope of their obtaining God's mercy for their ignorance, than to make them thus the proselytes of presumption.

But in page 138 of the volume for 1856, a mis-statement occurs, which vindicates our assertion that the Society have become reckless of the reports which they hazard. The Berlin Jews' Society enumerate 85 admissions of pupils into Bishop Gobat's schools at Jerusalem, during the year! Now, it is notorious, and rests indeed on the Bishop's own assertion, that the *whole number* in his school was between fifty and sixty at that time. Nor will the account given by the Bishop of the girls' school account for the difference; compare ibid. p. 243, in which place it is stated that '*the increase*' (in the boys' school) 'went 'on steadily till about a year ago,' *i.e.* till August, or July, 1855, whereas the numbers appear to have been at their maximum in November, 1853; see below, p. 29.

The next passage which we cite, is written from London (Ibid. p. 28).

'One of the five, whose instruction has been completed, has given me much satisfaction. He was an inmate of the Institution (for Jewish Operative Converts) seven years ago; he has since married, and has an independent income. But though he was only a short time in the institution, and did afterwards well as regards his support, he did not give up his desire to become a Christian; and when under instruction, had to come a long distance, at first eight and afterwards six miles. His feelings on the subject of religion are expressed in a paper, written by himself but a few days ago.'

Now, do we learn *any* positive fact worth knowing from this paragraph? One of five is singled out for praise, and we may presume he was the best of the bunch. His respectability as married and independent might have been omitted. His 'well-doing' is summed up as being in reference to his own 'support.' The number of miles he walked to attend the writer's lecture is touchingly dwelt upon. Surely our readers will be reminded of Goldsmith's man of Islington—

'Of whom the world did say,
That still a godly race he ran
Whene'er he went to pray.
* * * *
The naked every day he clad,
When he put on his clothes'—

together with other good deeds done on himself, and parallel to the 'well-doing' of our convert, if so he is to be called; for the rest of the statement is so purely negative, that we know not what is meant to be affirmed respecting him. He 'was only a short time in the Institution;' 'he did *not* give up his desire to become a Christian;' while 'his *feelings* on the subject' are—but such stuff as this is not worth repeating. The moment we have done with negative facts, we find 'feelings' substituted for any positive ones. And after all, even of the 'feelings' we are not able to judge, for the subject drops where our quotation ends, and the next paragraph conducts us to an account of 'thirty inquiring Jews with whom I had conversations.'

Why need this sort of 'leather and prunella' form so large a portion as it does of the 'Intelligence' before us? There is, however, a touch of the grotesque about the following, which makes us sorry our readers should miss it, as it has fallen in our way. Imagine a paragraph headed

'*The Sleepless Jewish Baker.*'

One expects to find, at least, that the sleeplessness arose from shooting pangs of conscience at the baker's rejection of the truth; but it turns out, in the paragraph thus headed, to be a very modified and conditional sleeplessness only. 'When his work'—of eighteen hours—'is over, though much fatigued, he would 'rather sacrifice his sleep, than miss coming to me for instruc-'tion.' The veracious writer does not seem to conceive the possibility of the baker lying in bed the next day. We are glad to see the next paragraph, however, headed—

'*Baptism of the Baker.*'

It is but fair to the writing missionary in this case to say that the secretary or editor of the 'Intelligence' appears solely responsible for these *ad captandum* italics, and that the former had no intention of claiming a 'sleepless' catechumen.

There is, however, one deficiency which excites our curiosity, more than all the miscellaneous 'intelligence' with which these reports are furnished. Why do we not hear something about relapses into Judaism of those, who, after a while, recede from the profession which they have adopted? This subject is one which has seriously troubled the Church in all ages; nor can we suppose that the process of conversion is secure in the nineteenth century from the worldly dangers which surrounded it in the first. We have gleaned but one scanty notice, or rather hint, of the possibility of such cases, from the volumes which we have searched. It is to be found on page 19 of Volume XV., and is as follows, dated Berlin:—

'The late (1849) alteration of the law (of Prussia) which allows baptized Jews to have their names struck out of the registry, and become Jews again, has had a *most baneful effect* upon them, though I myself believe that it will finally turn out to the furtherance of pure and honest Christianity among them.'

What is the 'most baneful effect' thus darkly hinted at? Can it be the relapse of proselytes to their original Judaism? If so, what must we think of the chances of the constancy of those proselytes who reside in countries where Jew and Gentile, proselyte and lapsed, are equal before the law? Of course, it is ever for the furtherance of sincere profession, that no such collateral motive as that implied in our last quotation should mingle in the influences which retain a proselyte in adherence to the Church of Christ. But then we rather tremble for the 700 alleged converts (in about twenty-four years) of the London Society. How many may have relapsed since the respective yearly totals were made up? More especially does this question press on our consideration, when, on looking through the 'Intelligence,' we are unable to detect any trace of special supervision of converts, when once received. Every missionary, every secretary, seems to busy himself, and every page to teem with 'interesting cases,' 'promising inquirers,' 'great doors opened,' and the more exciting and stimulating class of proselytistic anecdotes; but we can detect very little provision for keeping those whom, on the reporters' own showing, it is so hard to win. There seems to be, in particular, no commendation of them to the Bishop of their respective dioceses, no reference to their lawful and immediate pastors, no endeavour, which we can trace, to give them any such fixed local recognition as would be some slight security for their constancy in the faith, and guard them from the seductions to which a novitiate is liable. The missionary just seems 'to pilot them off, and then leave' their faith to sink or swim. We beg pardon if we have omitted any statements of importance, tending to substantiate an opposite view; but we are certain that no one would, from the perusal of any given number of volumes of the 'Intelligence,' rise with the conviction that its promoters' anxiety to retain was equal to their zeal in converting the proselyte. They may reply that they occupy the ground of a missionary society, and that as such conversion is their proper and peculiar work, and that it is for them to plant, and for others to water; and, no doubt, this does appear to be their self-chosen sphere of operations. Nor need we wonder that this is so. So long as societies of a purely volunteer character busy themselves in work which is a function of the Church, there will be the danger of their choosing rather what will look well on paper, or sound well on the platform, in the shape of a programme,

a placard, or a report. In conversions, the process is that on which interest settles; this is the novelistic portion of the whole career of the proselyte which sets the white handkerchiefs waving in the merry month of May, and the subscriptions flowing during the rest of the year; the result is a comparatively tame affair to watch, and resembles the domestic sequel when the hero is comfortably settled. The Jerusalem Bishopric, some will say, is of itself an answer to the objection. There is a provision—*the* provision for keeping the souls from Judaism, who have been added to the Church, in a sympathising communion—contrived expressly for their safety, edification, and comfort. This, however, can only apply to the colony of Jews who are to be found in Jerusalem, and the adjacent countries. But, unhappily, the local converts of that Episcopate labour under the disadvantage of finding in recent events that their Church has become the eyesore of Christendom, and their own Bishop their greatest stumbling-block. To the events in question, we shall be constrained to advert further in our later pages, studiously postponing to the last moment the remarks which the circumstances call forth, inasmuch as a defence of the Bishop, in regard to some or all of the charges brought against him, is said to be in course of preparation. It is, however, to new, and even to more confirmed converts, sufficiently trying, to find themselves in a Church with which rumour and scandal are busy, whatever the merits of the case may ultimately prove. *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis et dici potuisse*, is a feeling which might deter a waverer on the verge of so painful a novitiate, and, without waiting to decide on the *potuisse refelli*, he might easily abandon it in disgust. We cannot take leave of this branch of our subject which regards Jewish conversions, and especially those which have been reported as taking place at Jerusalem, under the auspices of Bishop Gobat, without adding that the doubts surrounding the question, 'To what Communion do they become converts?' rather have tended to increase than to diminish since we last touched it. The reports of the Society contain tokens of the same dangerous subserviency to Jewish prejudices, the same departure from the plain sense of Apostolic words, and the same preference of an interpretation of the prophetical Scriptures which is merely obvious, literal, and superficial, to that which harmonizes with the New Testament, and has been generally received by Christendom. The extravagant exaltation of the Jews, in the speech of the most respectable and learned champion of the Society, but whom their scandalous practices have since driven from them, as the 'missionary nation' of the world, whose belief and preaching is to convert its infidel masses, appears to be so contradictory to the plainest statement which, perhaps, Holy Scripture contains on

the subject of the ultimate order of the acceptance of the Gospel by Jew and Gentile, that it will serve better, perhaps, than any other passage which we could as conveniently adduce to illustrate the wide departure of these latter-day interpreters.

'A missionary,' Dr. McCaul is reported to have said ('Jewish Intelligence,' June, 1852), 'to be successful with the Jews, or indeed anywhere else, must be a man of one idea. He must go to the Jews with the idea that they are the greatest and most interesting people in the world, and so in fact they are; and it is in this respect that the work of this Society is more important than that of any other missionary undertaking. Not that I mean to depreciate the labours of other societies; but with the Word of God before me, I cannot but believe that the mission to the Jews is the most important—for, convert the Jews, and the world is converted. Send all the inhabitants of these islands as missionaries to the heathen, and still you will have but a remnant according to the election of grace; the great in-gathering, the great harvest is reserved for God's ancient people.'

According to Dr. McCaul, then, 'the fulness of the Gentiles' is NOT to 'come in' until the 'blindness' which has, 'in fact, happened to Israel' has been removed. We cannot name Dr. McCaul without respect, respect due to his learning and amiable character always, but now more than ever demanded by the sacrifices of peace and old associations which he has recently made in denouncing Bishop Gobat's proceedings. For years the only respectable thing about the Jews' Society, was Dr. McCaul's friendship and assistance; and, perhaps, the conduct of the Committee towards Dr. McCaul, ungrateful and impolitic as it is, is among the worst of its sins. In the passage just cited from Dr. McCaul's speech, we must leave our readers to judge between him and S. Paul, and pass on to the second branch of our subject, which relates to the conduct and bearing of the Jerusalem Missionary Episcopate towards the Greek and Oriental Churches.

The question of how the present holder of that Episcopate has acted, is too well known to need more than simple reference. He himself has furnished all the evidence which is most material to that question in his encyclical letter. Again, with regard to the pledges publicly given, under which the first Bishop was sent out, however the London Committee of the Jews' Society have endeavoured to fence with the obligation which they still impose, their meaning is as emphatic, and the duty thence arising as obligatory, as a document solemnly subscribed can make it. We will for the moment leave out of sight the common law of the universal Church, and those œcumenic canons, prohibitory of intrusion into a see of a brother Bishop, on which our Reformers based their protest against the usurped authority of the 'Bishop of Rome.' We purpose to take our present stand simply on the documents which prove the original limits of the authority assigned to the first Bishop; and to show that his successor has, on his

own showing, transgressed them. It would be idle to pretend, for a moment, though the 'Committee of the Jerusalem Diocesan Fund' have hinted something like it, that the second Bishop has any authority in this respect which the first had not, or is in any way emancipated from the limitations assigned to his predecessor. It was precisely by such pretexts as the London Committee put forward, that the Church of Rome justified her first encroachments on Catholic liberties. She wrested the language of canons as the Committee does that of the 'Statement by authority,' in 1841; she pleaded the sins, and need of 'purification,' of those on whom she encroached, as the justification of her trespass, as the Committee parade the errors and impurities of Eastern Churches, to cover the aggressions of Bishop Gobat. No doubt, now and then, more rarely, a Pope was treated with disrespect, as men *will* blurt out in unguarded moments their suspicion, that he who is all fleece without is all wolf within, and probably this too tended to precipitate papal aggressions. The Committee complain that Eastern patriarchs have treated their Bishop with disrespect. While as regards the plea, that certain neighbouring Churches were 'depressed, feeble, and unlettered,' and as such needed the strong hand of paternal protection, and would fall into worse, say heretical hands, if not rescued by Rome's timely interposition—it must have been of all possible pretexts the readiest, the surest, and the one which circumstances went farthest to justify. Probably, the Churches in Syria and the circumjacent region are just what the Committee say they are—Bishop Gobat, indeed, calls them—'cold, dark, and dead Churches,' and their members 'nominal Christians;' and seems to deduce the inference, that he is bound by no engagements with regard to them; that to 'disturb and divide' them is no disturbance, and no division.

Let us proceed to prove our allegations in detail; firstly, the Committee have wrested the language of the 'Statement by authority.' They quote its words:[1]—

'A college is to be established at Jerusalem, under the Bishop, whose chaplain will be its first principal. Its primary object will be the education of Jewish converts, but the Bishop will be authorized to receive into it Druses, and other Gentile converts; and if the funds of the college should be sufficient, Oriental Christians may be admitted, but clerical members of the orthodox Greek Church will be received into the college only with the express consent of their spiritual superiors, and for a subsidiary purpose. The religious instruction given in the college will be in strict conformity with the doctrines of the United Church of England and Ireland, and under the superintendence and direction of the Bishop.'

The Committee add, 'The college was relinquished for want of 'funds, after a few years.' But they forget that the purpose of

[1] Minute of the Committee of the Jerusalem Diocesan Fund, sect. iii.

the college must have been consistent with, and governed by that total abstinence from proselytism prescribed by the document of which it stands part, *i. e.* with the purpose not to 'disturb, divide, or interfere with' the native Christian communions. To have set up a college, in order to do covertly, within shelter of local rights, what was forbidden to be done openly, or on unprivileged ground, would indeed have been a shameless evasion of a contract. But this permission to give such instruction as might not be repugnant to abstinence from proselytism, *e. g.* secular instruction, is then wrested to cover the giving to lay members of those communions, instruction, '*in strict conformity with* the doctrines' of our Church, which to members of communions differing from ours, it is, of course, impossible to give without 'disturbing' and 'interfering with,' and, as the result has in fact shown, without 'dividing' them.

But the would-be expositions of the 'Statement' go beyond this: 'It cannot,' they argue, 'be repugnant to the spirit of the com-'pact, that instruction, "in strict conformity with the doctrines 'of the United Church," should be given to Oriental Christians, 'who seek it of the Bishop . . . *even though no college walls sur-'round them.*' The argument would syllogistically stand thus:—

Whatever instruction may lawfully be given in a college may lawfully be given out of it.

Religious instruction to members of Churches, from which we are forbidden to seek proselytes, may lawfully be given in a college.

Ergo, it may lawfully be given out of it.

The former premise is untrue; for a man has, by coming within a college, taken a step of volition towards intercourse, which shows that he is seeking its professors and is prepared to risk intercourse with them. The second is untrue, in the sense in which it is applied, *i. e.* such instruction may not be given, save and except the seeking of the same comes wholly from the student's side; for if it comes from the professor's, he is seeking the proselyte. Thus, the argument is worthless.

It was somewhat opportune, in case the missionaries were full of zeal which their instructions hampered, that the college went early to decay. Probably it was better for a disturbing, dividing, and interfering policy, to have as little as possible in the way of a definite standard, to which they could be referred. At any rate, the college was allowed to drop, and left its name as a pretence, by which to bolster up that interference. Such secular instruction as might have been guiltless of all proselytizing tendency was no longer possible, for the college was closed; *ergo*, the actions of the Bishop and his coadjutors seem to say, we will now set to work on *religious* instruction, given anywhere, to all

who can be lured to come. The advantage which indefiniteness gives to evasion is incalculable. It is easy, comparatively, within a college, where a routine of instruction is fixed, and lecturers have their hours, to know who attends each branch of study, and what is the actual amount of persuasive influence which flows, mingled with mere instruction; but when the lecture-room is a corner of the bazaar, or the shady side of a street, and the lecturer, 'brother Hiscock,' or his colporteur, or a 'believing Jew,' who has picked up an 'inquiring Greek,' what check can possibly be placed on insidious and seductive influence? In a college, some one is known to be at work at a given time, and is responsible for what takes place; or, if other times are chosen for influential conversation with their pupils, by its officials, at any rate, the very place may remind them of their station, and of their responsibility for any abuse of it. Poachers do not infest the farmyard; they beat the covers, or net the open fields. And, so the 'four walls of the college' have ceased, most opportunely, to contain the narrow scene of the appointed labours of Bishop Gobat and his ecclesiastical marauders, and they, or the Committee on their behalf, snatch eagerly at the plea of a roving commission everywhere.

But the Committee proceed to tamper with the authority of the 'letter commendatory,' and insinuate that there is some difference in the obligation imposed by it on Bishop Gobat, and on Bishop Alexander. They—

'Make these remarks' on 'the letter commendatory of the Archbishop, upon which so much stress is now laid. That the letter was drawn up after the consecration of Bishop Alexander, and consequently cannot be said to "limit his authority," which had already been defined in the Queen's licence for consecration, and other documents of the compact of 1841. That the letter never was accepted, or acknowledged, by the highest authorities of the Greek Church. . . . That no such letter commendatory was repeated in the case of Bishop Gobat. And lastly, that it cannot be maintained with any shadow of reason, that it could bind the conscience even of the first Bishop, much less of any subsequent Bishop, in the exercise of their office.'

In answer to this untenable position, what, we would ask, is a letter commendatory? Is it a mere private and personal introduction given by Metropolitan A, to inform Metropolitan B that Bishop C is about to visit his jurisdiction? On the other hand, there is hardly an instrument known to the Church of greater antiquity, or one more indelibly stamped with public authority. But, beyond this its general and necessary nature, it is expressly recognised in the 'Statement by authority,' the last paragraph of which thus concludes: '*Subjoined are copies of the 'commendatory letter . . . which the newly-consecrated Bishop 'takes with him to the East.*' It is manifestly a portion of the whole general public instrument, declaratory of the authority

of the Bishop of whom it speaks. The purport, however, of this particular letter was to bespeak the reception of a Christian brother for the episcopal bearer, and to certify that he was ready to recognise on his part the rights due to Christian brotherhood. There was not one iota in it that was of a private or personal nature, unless the words which declare the 'learning and piety' of the bearer, be construed as other than merely formal language. It professes to set forth 'this our purpose,' in the ordination and mission of the newly-made Bishop; it expresses a wish 'to prevent any misunderstanding' of that 'purpose,' by making known to the person addressed what charge *had been given* to the bearer. The witness given to Christendom by this public instrument, as to the nature and purpose of this Missionary Bishopric, at its first institution, must be held as still authoritative. The successor steps into the position, privileges, rights, duties, and responsibilities of his predecessor. If Archbishop Stanley's commendatory letter was only meant for an individual case, it was a mockery and delusion. The 'purpose' in sending Bishop Gobat,—we speak not, of course, of any private design which may lodge in the breast of an Archbishop, or of a Committee, but of the public design, as avowed by authority,—was precisely the same as that in sending Bishop Alexander. Nor can any other purpose be understood, nor any abandonment of that purpose, unless declared by a similar subsequent act of the same authority. Bishop Gobat found a reception, which, but for his predecessor's position thus publicly guaranteed, he would not have had, precisely because the same understanding was extended to him. He went out as completely enjoying whatever protection and benefit might accrue to the bearer of the original letter commendatory, as if he had carried a duplicate of it in his portmanteau. He proceeds to violate its most solemn pledges, and the Committee proceed to repudiate them.

But, indeed, the 'letter' might be given up, and supposed out of the question: the 'Statement' itself is at least as strong and plain as the 'letter' subjoined to it. Its words are:

'The Bishop (of the English Church in Jerusalem) is specially charged not to entrench upon the spiritual rights and liberties of those (the Eastern) Churches; *but to confine himself* to the care of those over whom they cannot rightfully claim any jurisdiction; and to maintain with them a friendly intercourse of good offices . . . taking special care to convince them that the Church of England does not wish to disturb, divide, or interfere with them.'

Does *this* language bind Bishop Gobat? we would like the Committee to pronounce. If it does, to distinguish between the obligation imposed thereby, and that created by the 'letter,' was hardly worth their while.

But our second allegation was, that the Committee plead the

errors and need of purification of the Greek and other Churches, in defence of these unjustifiable proceedings. To prove that they do so, it is only necessary to refer to their own 'Minute' *verbatim*. They say (referring to and quoting the 'Statement by authority,' and probably some other document, though it is not easy to discover what) :—

'From these documents it appears that, while the immediate object of the bishopric was the care of European Protestant congregations and the conversion of the Jews, one of the results contemplated in establishing *friendly relations* with the Eastern Churches, was the preparing the way for their *purification*, in some cases *from serious errors*, in others from those imperfections which now materially impede their efficiency as witnesses and dispensers of Gospel truth and grace.'

And this paragraph is audaciously quoted in part proof that Bishop Gobat's proceedings do not 'transgress the injunctions which limit his authority,' and are not repugnant to the compact ratified, A.D. 1841. This is argued in section iii. of the 'Minute,' under which the quotation stands. *Because* they are imperfect Churches, 'friendly relations,' says the 'Statement by authority,' are to be opened with them; *because* they are imperfect Churches, say the Committee, the hostile relations into which Bishop Gobat has plunged with them, are to be defended, as involving no transgression.

They next complain of 'disrespect.' They (the highest authorities of the Greek Church), say the Committee, 'have not 'only treated the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem with disrespect, 'but . . . so ignore the Church which is in England, as not even to 'acknowledge her baptism.' Is lack of courtesy, we would reply, a defence of injustice? Is it strange, that, considering the long alienation between Eastern and Western Christians, the first advances on either side should be met with distant coolness, or even with jealous suspicion? The pains taken to remove, *in limine*, the character of intrusion from the act of planting a Bishop of a Western Church on Eastern ground, more especially on the spot where every stone may be said to be a monument of some religious feud, is a *primâ facie* ground for attributing to the act an intrusive intention, or viewing it at least under an intrusive aspect. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse*, is a piece of human nature both in East and West; and the jealous disclaimer of that intention, which the 'Statement' contained, sincere and justifiable as it was in 1841, necessary and yet fruitless as more recent events have shown it to have been, is now only viewed as the bait of a trap, into which the wary patriarch now accused of disrespect, probably plumes himself on not having fallen. 'We now see,' the heads of the Eastern Churches may be fairly supposed to say, 'what was meant by the Western professions 'of respect for our jurisdiction—their words were smoother than

'butter; but war was in their hearts. They came with the appeal 'of brotherhood, as Joab came to Amasa, when he took him by 'the beard to kiss him, and smote him with a deadly wound.' Such must be the reflections which occur to Eastern minds, as they contrast the terms of our profession with the deeds of our performance. Was it better to endure the non-recognition of our baptism, or to place in the lips of the foe and the scoffer this unanswerable taunt, to submit to 'disrespect,' or to make respect—even self-respect—impossible?

And what shall we say, after this, to the affected pity for 'the 'present depressed, feeble, and unlettered condition of these 'ancient Churches,' which the Committee express? Such a feeling were most justifiable, if it were regulated in action by justice and charity; but what should we think of the philanthropist who said, 'My neighbour is "depressed, feeble, and unlettered." 'I will therefore trespass on his orchard, break the weak fences 'which he has set up, and violate my engagements with him. I 'will show him the advantage of being elevated, powerful, and 'learned'? And the Oriental Churches will by this time have learned, that that advantage chiefly consists in an impunity of transgression.

With those actions of Bishop Gobat which are rather the fruits of his personal character than of his false position and exceeded jurisdiction, we must deal separately. The question, however, of how he has, in point of fact, behaved in the matter of proselytism is settled at once by his own statement. His charge or encyclical letter, dated October 30th, 1851, is before the world. In an early paragraph it states that,—'The power 'of darkness is displaying an activity altogether frightful, to 'prevent the light of the Gospel from penetrating into this dark 'abode of superstition and worldliness,'—*i. e.* the authorities of the Greek Church are resisting openly and secretly (the Bishop says by bribery and intimidation, amongst other means) his efforts to supplant their schools, and draw their lay members over to Protestantism. He says:—

'One (Scripture Reader) who is at the same time my secretary, *labours chiefly among the higher class of Christians.* . . . He has been the means of exciting a spirit of research amongst a good number of priests; but they are so strictly watched that it would not be prudent to enter into any details, except that lately, one, a young man, who began to show his attachment to the Gospel, has been suddenly removed to some confinement hitherto unknown to me. . . . The third Scripture Reader, Michael, has been engaged for some time in the spring in visiting the low country, Ramlah, Lidda Jaffa: but there he found a strong opposition to the Gospel; people, afraid of one another and of their priests, did not dare speak to him. We could, however, collect a few in some retired places, when he learned that a good number of persons are secretly reading the Word of God.'

Now, in his own defence, and in public answer, it should seem, to the charge of proselytism, Bishop Gobat tells us that he acts under the advice of his and our Metropolitan, which was, that he should receive individual inquirers—we presume, of course, if coming unsolicited—but should decline the adherence of a whole village, rushing, in a burst of Protestant feeling, into his arms. It appears, however, that a whole village, bitten, we are to suppose, by some Protestant gad-fly, so offered themselves, and were by him rejected; that they then illustrated the 'Protestant' genuineness of their motives *by applying straightway to the Roman-Catholic Church authorities*, by whom they were at once received. The caution of the Metropolitan seems to have been justified, and the true state of feeling on the part of the Oriental communion revealed by this fact. The proselytes yearned simply to escape from some position of disadvantage or annoyance, and to find a strong friend and effectual protector. The Sultan's letter, indeed, to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as quoted by Bishop Gobat (Annual Letter, January, 1854), charges the ecclesiastical superiors of certain of those communions with 'making 'themselves daily guilty of crimes of which the lowest class of 'men would be ashamed.' But on whomsoever the blame may rest, these spiritual refugees bethought themselves perhaps of Bishop Gobat, as backed by the weight of England and Prussia, and, he failing them, fell back on the Romanists, as supported by the power of France. This is the probable solution of their conduct—simple enough when referred to ordinary secular and political motives; only, we may suggest, is there any guarantee that the individuals who figure as added to the Anglican from various Oriental communions, had any deeper root to their 'Protestantism' than this? No doubt such a state of feeling makes proselytism from those Churches a rapid and easy work as compared with the task of plodding in the thorny ground of Rabbinism and Talmudism. Nor is it unlikely that the great decrease of converts from Judaism during the Gobat Episcopate, may be due to his having largely transferred his energies to this tempting but forbidden field.

Let us return, however, for a moment, to the confession that a 'Bible Reader' has been busying himself with the 'priests and the higher class of Christians.' Here, at any rate, we may fairly retort on the Committee their argument as based on the permission with regard to the college, which, though affirmatively inconclusive, will hold negatively as inhibting that which was forbidden to be done out of it. 'Clerical members of the orthodox Greek Church will be received into the college,' are the words of the 'Statement,' 'only with the express consent of their spiritual superiors.' The college is no more; but 'stone

walls do not a college make,' any more than a prison; there is Scripture Reader No. 1, the Bishop's own private secretary, who, a college in himself, circulates about the country and boldly dares to do at Nazareth or Nablous what at the college in Jerusalem was, by express stipulation, *not* to be done. He receives priests as his pupils in religious teaching, not only without the 'consent,' but in defiance of the known wishes of those 'spiritual superiors,' as the latter part of the paragraph plainly shows. After this, it is loss of time to split straws with the Committee as to what is meant by proselytism, and whether the proceedings of the Bishop fall within it. We will, however, examine his admissions a little farther.

What is meant by this 'spirit of research' which is excited 'amongst the priests' by the Bible Reader? Did not Paul and Barnabas excite a spirit of research among those whom they induced to 'search the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so?' Is not the Bishop's purpose in exciting research precisely the same as that of those apostles, so far as proselytism is concerned, and apart from the question *from* what and *to* what proselytes are won? Does not the question whether certain 'things are so' or not, whether *i. e.* the Greek Church in holding certain things is or is not in error, manifestly lurk below this specious phrase? Is there any doubt that the process of which proselytism is the result is controversy, and that for controversy, research is a mere euphemism? There is a consciousness of hostility about the whole description which betrays at once the *animus*. 'They' (the budding neophytes, or *Gobatics* the inquirers,) 'are so strictly watched, that it would not be pru-'dent to enter into any details.' Why, the very description reads like a passage from the siege of Sebastopol, where 'Our own Correspondent,' in the exercise of a rare discretion, forbore occasionally in his graphic narrative to name the allied batteries and number their guns. The Bishop knows he is making hostile approaches, and he naturally prefers the covered way, the zigzag, and the mine, to the point blank assault. His third Scripture Reader finds 'a strong opposition to the Gospel,' *i. e.* to the dissemination of Protestant tenets; of which opposition he immediately proceeds to take advantage, and turns the enemy's position by adroit ambuscades. He 'finds employment for several summer months at Nazareth.' A little farther we read of a Mr. Klein, who 'has been already two months occupied in learning 'the first rudiments of the language, previous to *his settling as* '*pastor of the Protestant community of Nazareth.* Another is 'expected here in a few days, who, being well acquainted with '*modern Greek* and *Turkish*, will in the first place labour among '*the* thousands of *ignorant pilgrims who yearly visit Jerusalem.*

'Here in Jerusalem there are many Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, who more or less earnestly seek the truth; but they 'are almost all poor, and their dependence on the convents is to 'them a formidable obstacle.'

One would be glad if the 'Committee of the Jerusalem Fund' would sketch a working plan for proselytism. Their theoretical distinction between one with and without 'an aggressive 'system of polemical efforts to detach members from other com-'munions, and to unite them with one's own,' conveys little to a man in quest of a practical principle, and who shrinks from a definition within a definition, such as an attempt to reduce this to practice would involve. The Romanists may perhaps urge that their last famous 'aggression' in this country did not amount to proselytism, because they did not station a popish priest at every church-door to warn enterers-in of damnation; and because Cardinal Wiseman did not stand up at Charing Cross, in full pontificals, to curse her Majesty the Queen and the bench of bishops with bell, book, and candle. Certainly we should rather be disposed to call the Gobat policy one of 'insidious' than of 'aggressive' efforts; and as regards the Committee's definition, we give him the full benefit of the difference. Was it proselytism or not of which Jeroboam was guilty when he set up the golden calves in convenient positions to attract worshippers? He merely selected his spot with judgment, issued no order, but trusted to the restlessness and discontent around him, to the *vis inertiæ* of human selfishness, to the stimulus of the passion for novelty; and of course he succeeded. Is it not plain, from the Bishop's own evidence, as it was already morally certain to all who know the present state of Palestine, that the same causes now exist and will surely produce the same effects; that 'aggressive systems of polemical effort' would be superfluous trouble—nay, would tend rather to defeat than to promote their own object; that they would arouse the sensitiveness and the spirit of opposition in the human nature which they sought to indoctrinate—for men yield more surely to argument than to force, and most surely to an argumentative style which looks least like force, *i.e.* which is least 'aggr ssive,' and least 'polemical?' The latter style would excite vigilant enmities, political, personal, and sectarian; would stir the bile of a consul, ruffle the beard of a patriarch, and set a pasha's three tails simultaneously on end. For all their thinking him one of the children of light, do the Committee really believe their Bishop so unwise in his generation as this?

Bishop Gobat sets up high places, where high places have been set up before, because he sees they 'draw;' he sends out Scripture Readers in appointed circuits, because it is of the nature of Scripture

Readers to get into polemical talk; he opens schools in judicious situations, because he finds by catching the children he can lure the parents. He has chapels for the elder and schools for the younger; just as in that famous door, still preserved, it is believed, at Cambridge, Sir Isaac the Great cut one hole to admit the cat and another to admit the kitten. He provides a colportage of Bibles and controversial tracts, because if people can be got to buy from curiosity, they will be prepared to inquire about what they have been induced to invest money in. If he sells a hundred New Testaments, provokes a thousand questions, answers them so as to impress upon or suggest to the inquirers the notion that he is in the right, and their own Church in the wrong; then, according to the casuists of the London Committee, it is *not* proselytism. What other than this is found the most efficacious machinery in acting upon those Jews whom he was sent forth avowedly to proselytize? What do we find as we turn over volume after volume of that 'Jewish Intelligence,' so often already quoted? It is everywhere the same—colportage, inquiry, answer, inquirer invited to attend service, asked to buy a Bible, or an 'Old Paths,' told of a good school to which he may send his children. 'Schools,' emphatically observes our Bishop, are 'the most important branch of missionary work, after preach-'ing, *which they include.*' How schools which 'include preaching' can exclude proselytizing, we shall be glad to be informed. Does he mean to tell us that the schools at Nazareth, or Nablous, or wherever else Greek children may predominate, do not 'include preaching' just as much as those at Jerusalem? We can hardly suppose that he would admit any inferiority of the former in this respect. The whole gist of his attempted defence seems to lie in this, that he does not designedly single out *individuals* for his attempts at conversion. He does not 'put salt on the tail' of this or that particular bird. At any rate, though there is room for suspicion to the contrary, we will assume that he does not. He circulates the Scriptures, &c., we may suppose, with a general aim, but with one which can only succeed by the conversion of individuals. He leaves the law of moral attraction to settle who are to be converted. The colporteur, or reader, goes about, and, as of old, 'certain men cleave unto him.' Still, the fact of his having no individual aim, if fact it be, does not alter the character of his act. That act is one of proselytizing as against the whole Greek communion from which these chance adherents are detached, as truly as he who should fire a loaded gun from his window into a crowded thoroughfare would be held guilty of a murderous intent against society in general, or, as the lawyers *say*, 'of malice against all mankind.' Is it not proselytizing if

the Romanists hawk pictures of the Virgin and saints in popular thoroughfares, and fling into cab-windows stories about the Holy Coat of Trèves, and Our Lady of Salette? Bishop Gobat takes his basis on the Bible, and the Bible only. Dr. Wiseman recognises reverence as due to images and relics, and ascribes an authority to tradition, and a value, perhaps, to legend. The former, in his popular movements, appeals to the pride of reason and the right of private judgment; the latter, to the feeling of reverence, the senses, and the imagination; yet actions precisely similar would surely be accounted proselytizing in the latter, which are denied to be so in the former.

In one of the adventurous naval tales with which Captain Marryat lured from their studies the youth of the late, and perhaps may lure those of many future generations, is a scene which closely illustrates the proceedings of our Bishop. A captain has forbidden the ship's boys to fish from the vessel's sides; when, one moonlight night, a juvenile delinquent is found lurking in the main chains, with a line and a hook in suspicious proximity. 'No, sir,' the urchin indignantly urges, when caught and taxed with it; 'I 'wasn't fishing—I was *only setting night-lines.*' The captain makes no remark till next night, when the hands are turned up, and a certain number of 'dozen' are administered to the astonished culprit, who had fondly supposed his exculpation satisfactory. The excuse of this young marauder is exactly that alleged by the Committee for Bishop Gobat. He has, they say, not been guilty of 'proselytizing practices' (of which they then proceed as above to give the ingeniously exaggerated definition aforesaid). He merely sends out the Scripture Reader to feel the spiritual pulse of a neighbourhood, to play on excitable feelings, to supply premises to his 'inquiring' hearers, and to leave the conclusions to be supplied by themselves. He merely lets drop the line; there is, to be sure, a hook, baited perhaps, at one extremity, probably at that end which finds its way into the water; how that may be he is not quite certain, as he looks another way and walks off without further notice. Happening to pass the spot again, his curiosity is interested by an evident wriggling—the struggles, probably, of a 'spirit,' engaged in 'research.' And now he looks you fully in the face and wants to know if it be not his duty as a Christian to help the unlucky fish, if fish there be—and there probably is—out of his uncomfortable position, into which, he *has done nothing*, you see, to bring him. Would you, caviller, like to be left to wriggle on the hook of eager inquiry? Surely no. But is he therefore a 'fisher of men' in these forbidden Eastern waters? No, indeed; he is only a setter of 'night-lines.' The defence need surprise no one: though one may notice the relishing *naïveté* with which your true Protestant turns Jesuit.

But let us add a word upon the anticipation indulged 'by authority,' that the Jerusalem Bishopric might lead the way to 'an essential unity of discipline, as well as of doctrine, between 'our own Church and the less perfectly constituted of the Pro-'testant Churches of Europe.'

The first method taken 'by authority' to promote this 'essential unity,' as regards discipline, was to release its Bishop at Jerusalem from the compliance with the canons of our Church, and, as regards doctrine, to require subscription, as we have stated above, to the Thirty-nine Articles *and* the Confession of Augsburgh on the part of German Clergy seeking ordination from that Bishop. This being, as the Bishop of Exeter in his protest has intimated, a subscription to more than could probably be consistently held, the conditions were changed, and a mere signature of the three creeds substituted as a qualification for holy orders. The latter was as far too little in the way of security as the former was too much for sincerity. But although these conditions were laid down to regulate the ordinations of Germans intended for the charge of such congregations, and although the Clergy of the Lutheran Church were to be allowed by their Sovereign[1] to seek English orders, yet we are unable to obtain any proof of the fact, that any such Lutheran Clergy have in fact been so ordained. The Rev. J. Nicolayson, lately removed from the scene of his labours, was ordained by the late Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London successively Deacon and Priest. His compatriot, the Rev. Mr. Valentiner, was chosen and sent by the King of Prussia; but whether he has received Anglican orders or not we cannot tell, or whether, as we rather suppose, he is simply a Lutheran or an 'United-German' pastor, ministering at Jerusalem under the direction of the Anglican Bishop there, who, in apparently his first annual letter after Mr. Valentiner's arrival there, speaks of him as officiating, but makes no allusion to his ordination. The Bishop's words are—

'In connexion with the above German Institution is a chaplaincy, now filled by the Rev. Mr. Valentiner, who preaches every fortnight at Christ Church, officially, to the members of the Protestant Church of Germany; but I am happy to say that nearly all the members of our Church, who understand German, avail themselves gladly of the opportunity of thus being edified in their most holy faith. I consider it a source of great blessing, and a cause of thankfulness to our common Lord, that although we have two different forms of Divine Service, belonging to two distinct Churches, we have absolutely the same doctrines, and form but one community. Much of this blessing is to be attributed, under God, to the humble spiritual-mindedness and conciliatory behaviour of Mr. Valentiner; so that we feel most thankful to his Majesty the King of Prussia for having chosen and sent us such a colleague.'

[1] See above, p. 172.

This evidently assumes that the doctrine of the 'two Churches' is identical. Now as there are certainly some degrees of ecclesiastical latitude between the Lutheran and the Anglican Confessions, and, so far as we can ascertain the character of the United German Church (exposed by the Bishop of Exeter in his famous protest), a still farther width of divergency between it and the Church of England, the 'unity of doctrine,' of which Bishop Gobat boasts, can only have been gained by a compromise, on the precise terms of which (if it be a thing of precise terms and not a mere vague fraternization) we are not enlightened. There is, however, from the most recent known developments of that 'German Evangelical Christendom,' of which this 'United German Church' appears to be the most comprehensive type, little doubt that, in proportion as it has leavened the 'one doctrine' of the 'two Churches,' the distinctive catholicity of Anglican doctrine has disappeared from the compound. We cannot but see just reason to fear that this abandonment of Catholic principles in favour of gymno-Biblism is the main feature of the 'essential unity of doctrine,' so far as that has been reached; and that the movement which began in dispensing with our canons has ended in a departure from our Prayer-book. Nor is it merely Anglicanism eviscerated which appears to enjoy episcopal encouragement. Dr. Bonar tells the Bishop of Carlisle, 'It is Lutheranism that now occupies these regions; it is 'Lutheranism that your Committee support.' A certain Mr. Kraus is said to have also received an appointment as teacher at the Bishop's hands, who held that 'circumcision was *necessary* ' (as we understand it) for the Hebrew Christians' children; that 'Saturday *and* the Lord's Day should be kept holy,' &c. (See Mr. Graham's pamphlet, pp. 63 and 10.) It is stated, however, that the Bishop, when he thus appointed him, forbade the inculcation of these peculiar views.

Having thus gone through the more directly official aspects of this unhappy question, we could wish that our duty ended here, and that there were no necessity to dive into questions of individual conduct, and which call for an examination of personal character. It is, however, impossible to leave unnoticed the grave charges in which the Bishop is implicated, both as a minister and as a man. Supposing him even, for a moment, utterly blameless, still the state of feeling in the Anglican or Anglo-German community at Jerusalem remains proved to be one of distrust, exasperation, and division, and presenting the greatest possible contrast not only to what every one would wish who reverences the Christian name, and is prepared to 'rejoice that even through envy and strife Christ is preached,' but likewise to the public statements put forth by the Bishop and the

London Committee, until apparently silenced and shame-stricken by the force of out-speaking facts. It is now some months since the pamphlets of Mr. Holman Hunt, and of Mr. Graham, 'late lay secretary of the London Jews' Society in Palestine,' burst on the Western world, since Dr. McCaul refused to be a party to the shameless suppression and perversion of truth which the Committee were promoting; and since Dr. Bonar, in several letters to divers journals, and to a Bishop of the Church of England, a leading member of that Committee, reclaimed against Bishop Gobat's calumniation of some of the worthiest members of his flock. The whole of this mass of allegations remains up to this moment unanswered, gathering weight by the silence of those who are most concerned to reply, at a time when a month takes a letter and brings its answer from London to Jerusalem and back. The latest advices in *The Record* inform us, however, of a pamphlet in the press, though of the authority whence it proceeds, beyond that of the London Committee, we have no intimation.

Of the three questions which their importance singles out from this mass of unrebutted charges—viz. the character of the teaching and morals at the Jerusalem 'diocesan' schools, the conduct of the Bishop in reference to Hanna Hadoub's marriage, and, again, in reference to Simeon Rosenthal's imprisonment—the former claims precedence in respect of its more direct public interest and earlier prominency, and rests on facts of too long standing to be affected by any recent intelligence.

We will first state the case as regards the inefficiency of the teaching in the school. It appears that report after report, from different unprejudiced authorities, was received condemning it (Graham, p. 7); that in October, 1854, a 'Dr. Porter examined the boys in the Arabic Bible-class.' We cannot find room for the specimens of answers to some of the questions which he put, but the impression was unfavourable. This was confirmed in the spring of the following year by the annual examination, when 'the examination was so disgraceful, that the Bishop apologised to Lady Napier and the other strangers present, for the 'ignorance exhibited by the children.' An independent confirmation of the state of the Jerusalem school was afforded, six months later, by the 'inefficient state' in which the Bishop's schools 'at Nazareth and Nablous' were found by 'the Rev. Dr. Duff, the celebrated Indian missionary,' who 'expressed his grief' at their condition, and 'strongly urged' our author (Mr. Graham) 'to set about establishing an independent school at Jerusalem, and offered to raise funds for that purpose' (p. 9).

As for Mr. Graham himself, he appends extracts from his own correspondence with the London Society, which show that he

was importunately forcing on their attention the necessity of vigorous scholastic reforms—so importunately that, after he had been confirmed in his views by every examiner who visited the school, that Society wrote him a sharp rebuke, ascribing his representations to prejudice, party spirit, and want of charity, scouting his suggestions, and reflecting on Mr. Nicolayson, as the one from whom they were drawn. This reprimand to their zealous secretary he candidly gives at length (p. 52), and it is a model of feeble censoriousness. But it was not to the Committee alone that Mr. Graham addressed his remonstrances. 'So far back as the early spring of '1854,' writes Mr. Graham (p. 8), 'I was so thoroughly satisfied 'of the inefficiency of the teaching, that I urged the Bishop, in 'private, to get a duly qualified master from England or Scot-'land, which he declined.' This he confirms by the insertion (Appendix XII.) of an extract from a letter of his own to Captain Layard, Lay Secretary to the Jews' Society in London, dated July, 1854, whence it appears that the Jews had by that time, under the auspices of a Mr. Cohen, a French Jew, who visited Jerusalem in that year, set up a school, like to rival the Bishop's, and adds, 'I cannot doubt that they will take advan-'tage of it; and, should the teachers prove efficient, they will 'naturally cling to it.' Speaking of the Bishop's schools, he says, just before, 'The boys' school is in so poor a state that I 'have abstained from showing the girls' school to the same 'individual, as he was writing for publication in England, and 'I did not wish to show him the nakedness of the land.' The extract concludes with an enumeration of persons in Jerusalem, ready to come forward with funds in aid of the salary of an efficient master, who might 'not merely have commanded all 'the children of the proselytes and missionaries, but also the 'children of many Jews.' The reader will wonder, why *was* all this? To raise a school to a decent average of efficiency is no very difficult task even in Jerusalem, as is witnessed by the thriving state of those supported by the Greek and Latin patriarchs. There is an account to be given—a very simple one; and here it is: 'The masters were probably chosen on account 'of their being believed to be pious men. . . . They were not 'teachers by profession, but came out here as mechanics . . . in 'an establishment called the "Brüder Haus"' (a sort of House of Industry for German Jews). 'These inmates of the "Haus" 'all married and left it, and *advantage was taken of their being* '*here to place them over the Diocesan schools here and at Naza-*'*reth.*' It seems plain, since Mr. Graham did not (according to the London Society's own Report, 'Jewish Intelligence,' June, 1854) arrive in Jerusalem till December, 1853, and had formed and begun to urge upon the Bishop his unfavourable opinion of

the schools in the early spring of 1854, that these honest 'brethren' of the lathe and hammer must have been keeping school when he arrived, and, if they had been thus engaged only for six months at the time when he attributed the poor state of the schools to their inefficiency, that they must have been so engaged for at least three months, *i. e.* in that very month of November, 1854, in which the Bishop's annual letter, giving a full account both of the 'Brüder Haus' and of the schools, is dated, but *which is altogether silent as to any connexion between the teachers of the latter and the inmates, or late inmates, of the former.* ('Jewish Intelligence,' January, 1854, pp. 4—6). Nor, again, in his next year's annual letter, does the Bishop give the slightest hint that Mr. Cohen—the emissary, it is said, of the Messrs. Rothschild—had, as Mr. Graham informs us, 'started a school' in the previous July, in opposition to his own. Dr. M'Gowan, too, writes from Jerusalem, apparently in the same month of July in which Mr. Graham's statement is dated, 'I have given the substance 'of Mr. Cohen's address. . . . It is important, I think, that *our* 'Christian friends in England should have full information on 'the subject of these exertions which are being made by the in-'fluential Jews of Europe to new model the Jewish community 'in Jerusalem.' He accordingly details minutely, as from a professional man might be expected, the inauguration of the new Jewish *Hospital;* but no word occurs to intimate the foundation of a rival *school.* ('Jewish Intelligence,' January, 1855, p. 6; and September, 1854, p. 285.)

What, then, does the Bishop say of these schools taught by the erudite brethren of the mechanical Brüder Haus? The statement of his annual letter, dated November, 1853, is as follows:—

'The Diocesan school has, under the blessing of God, continued to prosper, although it labours under many disadvantages. The number of children having considerably increased, I availed myself of my visit to England last year, to engage two female teachers. The subjects taught are, besides reading, writing, and cyphering, first of all, the whole Word of God . . . geography, history, and, to the boys, geometry.'

In November, 1854, he writes:—

'The Diocesan school, now divided, as stated last year, into two branches —the boys' school with three teachers' [the mechanics, late members of the Brüder Haus, we suppose], 'and the girls' school with two female teachers—has again prospered, and received many tokens of the love and care of the Good Shepherd.'

The Bishop adds, that 'the school is far from being all that he could wish it to be,' and accounts for it by the 'neglected condition' and other disadvantages of 'the children.' His numbers exhibit a falling off since the previous year, being then 60 boys, now 55, and, in the intervening August, 51. He adds, 'I have thus entered into the details of the school here . . .

'because, in a missionary point of view, I consider it, after 'preaching (which it also includes), as the most important branch 'of our work.' He concludes by bespeaking for his school the 'prayers of believers,' as 'it has to contend with many difficulties from within and from without:'—a remarkably obscure allusion, if it be indeed one, to the incapacity of the teachers and the opposition of Mr. Cohen, especially when we consider how broadly the facts of the children's condition had been dilated on just before.[1] Why need any one who is responsible for schools be ashamed of saying, if the fact be so, 'I am compelled, owing 'to circumstances, to employ as teachers men who have had no 'regular training?' But we look in vain in the Bishop's letters for any spark of honest avowal such as this.

The feelings raised by this seemingly candid statement and glowing appeal, are rather lowered as we learn further that the 'pious soap-boiler' at the head of the 'Diocesan' school had married a female servant of the Bishop's household, and that the having once taught in a Sunday-school in Germany was his sole remaining qualification. It seems that when his three years (of soap-boiling?) in the 'Haus' had expired, something was obliged to be found for him to do. Possibly, as German influences predominated in the mission, the demand for soap had not so largely increased in Jerusalem during the Gobat Episcopate as to warrant his being set up in that line of business. However, it is obviously inexpedient, amidst the envious eyes of rival communions, as of course it is in itself highly uncharitable, to turn out pious brethren at a loss for a livelihood. This seems to be the reason why this person was made a schoolmaster; another perhaps was, that, holding a post at the Bishop's pleasure, he might be simply dependent on the latter, and thus, trouble, such as an independent mind sometimes gives, might be avoided. Thus, he 'marries and settles'—marries out of the Bishop's nursery, and settles in the Bishop's schools. An under-master, named Hanna Yuseph, was subsequently imported from Malta. His training had not received the finishing touch of the Brüder Haus, and he is reported by Mr. Cunningham, a Scotch school-inspector who examined the school in which he assisted, as unable to teach English and arithmetic, which were his special province; but he proceeded to graduate matrimonially, like the other, in the episcopal establishment. In 1857, the latter of these persons was appointed to a newly-opened school at Caiffa; and Mr. A'Jacob-

[1] His words are, 'any reasonable man, who will consider the neglected state of the children, their absolute ignorance, rudeness, cultivated perversity, their difference of age, of religion, language, nationality, the short time which many of them are allowed to remain in the school, &c., such a man will sympathize with the teachers, and adore the goodness of God for the amount of good which is being done.'—(*Ibid.* 1855, p. 7.)

son, of the Islington Training College, whose outward claims to be considered competent are most complete, was made, *not* head-master of an independent and superior school, as the Jerusalem Mission had unanimously urged, but assistant-master under the ex-soap-boiler; and, apparently, after a few months of tenure, was (Graham's pamphlet, p. 60) curtly dismissed by the Bishop, without cause assigned. We can only infer, either that he expressed too freely a natural disgust at his subordination to so illiterate a chief, or that the imprudent young man declined to 'keep company' with the housemaid.[1]

The school was examined annually. We have already alluded to the annual examination of the school in March, 1855, and to the Bishop's explanation of its unsatisfactory condition, publicly volunteered, charging the fault on the low origin and disreputable condition of the children, and not alleging or allowing any incapacity on the part of the teachers. But in the summer of 1856, the Mr. Cunningham aforesaid examined and reported on the state of the school, in the presence of all the leading members of the Mission, except the Bishop, then absent in England, to whom the report, with another document containing their formal adoption of it, and recommendation based thereupon (Mr. Graham, Appendix, No. XVIII.), was accordingly sent, as it was also, Mr. Graham says, to the London Jews' Society.[2] And we come here to the most disgusting part of the case—save one. Neither the Bishop nor the Society had the common honesty to own the report, or acquaint the public with this voice from the Mission at Jerusalem. They did not dare let the truth be known. Nor did they, on this point, maintain the hazy and circumlocutory style, but the Society told a point-blank falsehood; and in their own publication, 'Jewish Intelligence,' June, 1856, p. 199, being a part of the abstract of their yearly report, read at their public meeting, and therefore fully weighted with official authority, it stands on record against them in these words:—'The Diocesan 'schools have been full throughout the year; and A MOST SATIS-'FACTORY ACCOUNT HAS BEEN GIVEN by persons who were 'present at the late examination;' on which Mr. Graham appends the following note, that 'the statement was made notwithstanding 'the fact, that, about nine months before, *the whole of the sons of* '*the converted Jews, with one exception, had been withdrawn from* '*the school*'—a sufficient testimony to the state of parental feeling on the spot.

The hitherto undisputed extracts given from Mr. Cunningham's

[1] Dr. Bonar, p. 64 of Mr. Graham's pamphlet, says, that '*one* of the special causes of disagreement between him (Mr. A'Jacobson) and Palmer, was the Lutheran heresy of consubstantiation held by the latter.'

[2] It appears to have been sent to the Bishop for the purpose of their seeing it. *See* Mr. Graham's letter to them, p. 41 of his pamphlet.

report, by Mr. Graham, exhibit a bathos of attainment combined with a needless arrogance of pretension. For those extracts we cannot find room; but their tenor is as follows:—In geometry, all the pupils had committed to memory a single entire proposition; and by the aid of a diagram with fixed letters, as in the text of their work, were prepared to go through it. The examiner, however, declined this, when he found an utter ignorance of elementary theorems. So in botany, the boys were found to have learned a few definitions by rote, but had 'not got so far as' the classification of plants, nor ever, it seems, risen above mere book-work, and the mere a, b, c, of that. To which he adds, that the boys of the second class could not answer the simplest questions in addition or subtraction.

With full knowledge, as from dates we must infer, of this report, backed by the minute of his own fellow-labourers in his absence, Bishop Gobat was addressing the anniversary meeting of the 'Jerusalem Diocesan Fund,' presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury, in the following terms, as reported in 'Jewish Intelligence,' August, 1856. 'The increase (in the numbers of scholars) 'went on steadily till about a year ago. . . . Since that time, in 'consequence of the efforts both of the nominal Christian hier-'archy, and of the otherwise well-conducted Jews who have 'visited Jerusalem, *it has slightly decreased.*' He makes no allusion whatever, it is remarkable, to the all but total 'withdrawal of the sons of converted Jews,' a fact, then, of nearly a year's standing. He declines any statement respecting the general state of the instruction, although the Society's report before quoted, speaking of the 'most satisfactory account' received concerning them, had been then for two months public, and must have been well known both to the Bishop and his audience, and to the former must have been known to be untrue. Is it too much to say, that this is just such an opportunity as an honest man would have seized, in order to correct that gross misstatement? A slight faltering in the confidence of his tone is observable as he speaks of the numbers; and here he alludes, though distantly, to the rival schools of Mr. Cohen—an allusion, which, a year earlier, might have passed for a candid admission. But, the year before, it seemed more useful to suppress all mention of it; *now* it serves the turn better to allude remotely to it than to admit the far graver causes of those diminished numbers—the glaring inefficiency, namely, of the instruction, of which the Bishop and his leading hearers were both fully by this time aware, and the frightful state of morals prevalent among some of the scholars.

Thus the Bishop, knowing that report after report had left his school without a character, got up, in the presence of men who

equally shared the complicity in the true state of the case with him, to make a speech ignoring the fact and adopting the fiction, with a distinct invocation of the Divine blessing on his words and deeds—'God grant that it may be a hundredfold!' ('Jewish Intelligence,' Aug. 1856, p. 243.)

Damnatory as such things are, they are nothing to the 'immo-'rality in word and deed of the most shocking and unnatural 'description,' of which we are assured as existing in connexion with the Diocesan Boys' School, at Jerusalem. The local committee of the mission at Jerusalem, who received, adopted, and transmitted Mr. Cunningham's report, seem to have had worse facts before them, than any which affected the quality of the instruction. It is plain, from Mr. Graham's pamphlet, page 11, and confirmed by oral witness now existing in England, that the dread of moral contamination from a section of the pupils, viz. the Arab boys, was already operating on the minds of that Committee in May, 1856, when that report, reflecting on its efficiency, became the occasion of their meeting. The boy who is spoken of as subsequently the most notorious culprit, was then present, and examined with the rest. The question of separating the boys was then urged; and the reason for giving the new and superior master, whom the Bishop was earnestly exhorted to engage, a fair start in a separate and independent establishment, lay not less in the scholastic vantage-ground which would be thus secured to him, but in the protection against their infamous associates, which might be in this way afforded to the boys of healthier moral tone.

The reader who has not watched the course which this unhappy subject has taken, does not yet know, perhaps, how revolting and infamous was the character of the sin of which the Bishop's school lies under grave suspicion. Of all those offences which are 'not so much as named' amongst us, and which repel us by their loathsomeness from dwelling upon them, the most repulsive has been charged upon this seminary of the Jerusalem mission. There seems hardly room for doubt that the master, Palmer, knew of the same facts which were in the mind of the Committee; that Mr. Crawford, a clerical missionary of the London Jews' Society, was painfully aware of them, seems clear from his openly stating at the meeting which considered the report, that 'if the new school,' for the erection of which they were 'pressing, were in the same building with the Arab school, he could not send his son; but if not, he should.' Nor was this a solitary opinion 'in regard to the moral atmosphere of the Diocesan Boys' School;' but Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Hefter, and Mr. Bailey, all expressed their opinions so strongly on the *importance* of the new school being 'entirely apart from the

other, and within the city, so as to avoid contact,' that Mr. Graham, in writing shortly afterwards to the London Committee, said, 'As regards Jerusalem itself, and as regards your future 'standing with the public, it is, I believe, the question of all 'others that most demands your attention.' The parents probably knew earliest the horrible facts, as may be inferred from the circumstance that save one, who was of indigent parents, and the pensioner of a lady of rank, all the converted Jews had withdrawn their sons some time in the autumn of 1855, or, as Mr. Graham says, some nine months before the damnatory report of Mr. Cunningham was stifled on the London platform. Can any one doubt that when that strong, and, as it plainly was, concerted measure was taken by the parents, there were facts, if not within the Committee's knowledge, easy enough to be known, had the Committee sought to find them out? Whoever has observed the rapid spread of gossip at a day-school among parents, like these converts, all of one class, and bound therein by a common interest, can judge pretty well how far any ear in Jerusalem was likely to escape the abominable rumour. The converts, however, who had removed their sons, vindicated their motives by incurring the expense of setting up a school on their own account, and marked their abhorrence of the Bishop's seminary of vice, by preferring, in default of any Christian teacher, to take for their master one whom Mr. Graham calls 'a Judaizer,' rather than continue their sons at the 'Diocesan' school. Mr. Graham, justly shocked at believers' children being thus straitened for Christian teaching, undertook their instruction himself, and wrote to his former censors at the Committee for some books to assist his work; reiterating at the same time, with the weight of these triumphant facts on his side, his appeal to them to found a separate school. He adds, in italics, which we borrow, '*My letter was not answered, but the books were sent.*' The parents then seconded him in the request for this plan, and offered to share the expense of its execution; Mr. Nicolayson endorsed it; and the Local (Jerusalem) Committee, to whom it was then in course referred, *rejected* it. Could this have been at the instance of the Bishop? or rather, could it possibly have been without his knowledge and sanction? In the month of June following, the same Committee, the Bishop then being absent from Jerusalem, sent a strong recommendation of the very thing which they now condemned.

It is, then, a remarkable coincidence that, when they are deprived of the guidance of the episcopal judgment for awhile, and enlightened by the report of Mr. Cunningham, which only touched the school's efficiency, and let its morals wholly alone, this same Committee seem to open their eyes, adopt

Mr. Graham's views, which they before flouted, patronize the parents' request (for a separate school), which they had before rejected, and one of them, himself a parent, stakes the education of his own son upon the issue. It is as though truth regained its natural ascendancy when the presence of the Bishop was withdrawn. We except from this remark the honoured name of Mr. Nicolayson, who preserves a Christian and unobtrusive consistency throughout, who had first promoted the same suggestion, and whose influence probably was preponderant in his superior's absence.

Of the latest of these facts, however, which related to the instruction, we will suppose the Bishop to have been unaware when he landed in England to proclaim the flourishing condition of his schools, as 'full throughout the year;' to carry with him, it seems, and publish opinions and statements, signed in April by Messrs. Bailey and Crawford, his subordinates of the Jerusalem Mission, directly contradictory to those of Mr. Cunningham's report, to the adoption of which they subsequently signed in May? 'The thorough-grounded knowledge of 'many of the boys,' says Mr. Bailey, writing *before* the Bishop left Jerusalem, 'would have done much credit to many grammar-'schools in England.' 'The subjects,' writes Mr. Crawford at the same date, 'included . . . most of the items of a scientific education;' and he adds with a charming candour, which makes recantation quite a bungling affair, that but for the conviction of the boys' 'real knowledge,' at which, through the April examination, he had arrived, he 'should have said we were *in danger of attempting too much.*' But the Bishop had hardly left, when down comes an examiner, and shakes the sawdust out of this stuffed image of Minerva, laughs at the pretence to science, exposes a system at once baseless and topheavy, shows that the master is a mere *sutor ultra crepidam*, and convinces the Local Committee that piety and soap are not enough to form an efficient teacher. The compliant Committee, and Messrs. B. and C. among them, say Amen with hearty unanimity, and forward the 'adopted' report to England. However, in the 'Jewish Intelligence' for August, 1856, we read that Bishop Gobat is on his legs in Willis's Rooms to uphold piety and soap before a British public.

But of which of the gross and shocking facts before alluded to—facts which, however, are but an Eastern type of 'social evil'—can the Bishop have been by any possibility ignorant, when, touching diffidently on the numbers of his schools, he quoted with insincere air a few inconclusive figures, but hushed up the inconvenient fact that his own proselytes had turned their *backs* upon him, and that, nearly a year before, his schoolroom

doors had closed upon the last of them? 'That Bishop Gobat 'was cognisant of the state of matters,' Mr. Graham writes, p. 8, 'may be inferred from the circumstance of his having 'subsequently introduced into the school a member of the 'German Brother-House, for the purpose of sleeping in the 'dormitory, and keeping a watch over the conduct of the 'pupils.' At any rate, if he knew it not, he ought to have known it. But his whole speech, in so far as it relates to the facts before us, is, we are afraid, a specimen of the twin fallacies, the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio falsi*. It glitters with gewgaw anecdotes, and 'paste' facts, to amuse the women and children, and the womanish and childish men on whom such toy-trifles can be imposed. Here is one of them: 'I observed 'thirty-one children standing near a well, and when I got up to 'them they began to sing'—the parallel of the four-and-twenty blackbirds baked in a pie, might have occurred to the minds of his hearers—'an Arabic hymn in one of those beautiful German 'tunes which are so universally known.' Even if Bishop Gobat had not the manliness to avow an honest confession that his 'Diocesan' school had become a cage of unclean birds, that the sheep had fled his flock and left him the goats, the handful of young Ishmaelites, the sweepings of the desert incorporated into the refuse of the city, there was at least no occasion for this sort of thing. He takes refuge in figures, as arithmetic is the last resource of sophistry; reckons his 300 children in all the several schools; including those of 'unconverted Jews,' 'Mahommedans,' and 'nominal Christians;' and then, as the crowning evasion of the whole, instead of any mention of Mr. Cunningham's report, or of Mr. Graham's so often vainly urged request, recommended by Mr. Nicolayson, and adopted by his own Committee, he brings forward with awful effrontery 'the Word of God!'

'All the children are taught the pure Word of God, including the historical, doctrinal, and practical portions; and some of the schools have been led and directed by masters, who so love the Word of God, and so delight in teaching it, that I should not be afraid to compare them with the teachers of any primary schools in this country. How far the Word of God has affected the hearts of the children, it is not for me to say, but I know that the seed of that Word has been sown in them, and I trust that in due season it will not fail to produce good fruit. God grant that it may be an hundred-fold!'

'God grant that it may be an hundred-fold!' When this prayer was uttered, and uttered by a Bishop, the speaker must have known,—the last to learn perhaps, like Cæsar of old,

'dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus,'—

but still he must by that time, *tandem aliquando*, have known that in those schools which he was lauding as seminaries of

God's Word, intellectual progress was on the verge of foundering on moral ruin. Verily, however, the prayer served its turn; it diverted people's minds, and solemnly stopped the mouth of inquiry. We leave the reader to imagine the rapturous plaudits which followed, the throbbing benches, the fervent atmosphere, the half-crowns at the door. 'These is our religious principles!' remarks an equivocal moralist in one of Mr. Dickens's tales,—'these is our religious principles, *and we finds 'em answer.*'

Bishop Gobat then resumes the anecdotic style, the cue to which resumption is of course, 'I will *not* detain you with anecdotes of what has *occasionally* happened among these children.' Well was it for his hearers, though ill enough for truth, that he did not, as he could, 'a tale unfold,' concerning what was *constantly* and not occasionally happening. However, he must mention one case (of the 'occasional' class), which fills a close printed column. He 'will' then 'state one fact relating to a girl,' which is a very little shorter; after which, with an apt diversion upon the Russian war, he shifts his ground boldly to 'Abyssinia,' and thus adroitly kicks off the shoes in which he has trampled on the dull, dry question of morals.

To return briefly, however, to the facts of the schools. The new teacher, Mr. A'Jacobson, as before mentioned, was engaged, not in accordance with the recommendation of all on the spot, as principal in an independent school, but as subordinate to the *quondam* soap-boiler in the same abode of impurity. And hardly had the letter from the Bishop announcing this resolution reached Jerusalem, when a case started to light in connexion with the school which he thus refused to sift and purify, disclosing the blackest spot which had yet been fixed upon its name. We will only refer our readers to Mr. Graham's Appendix, No. VIII. The Jerusalem Committee deny the fact of the criminal being at that time a pupil. Are they prepared to deny that other similar cases have occurred *in* the school? A hopeful start it was indeed for a young and zealous schoolmaster. He was exposed to the annoyance of seeing those divisions raging around him, which already had, before he came, strewn his path with stumbling-blocks. He found himself subordinate to a person whose attainments were not only below his own, but contemptible to a degree which would have made his share in the work disagreeable had their relative positions been inverted. We have said that he was curtly dismissed, and on this dismissal was eagerly engaged by the converted Jews, the ex-Gobatists, who had now organized a school of their own, where, at our latest advices, he still remained. This schismatical climax might have been avoided, if the recommendation of *the Local* (Jerusalem) Committee, when penitent at last and

recanting its errors, in June 1856, had been listened to. But, immediately on the opening of this independent establishment by the converts themselves, the London Society at last followed to the right about like the rest, and opened, with the worst possible grace, and so 'late'[1] that 'never' would have been 'better,' a *third* school. The Bishop has since (April, 1857) expressed publicly the 'deep satisfaction' which the 'Diocesan' school '*continues* to afford' him; so we may conclude that its moral condition is much the same; and leave him *contaminato cum grege*, in this state of threefold discord. The language of this report is in the style with which our readers are now familiar. Diminished numbers are admitted, and 'evident 'tokens that those who have laboured, have not done so in 'vain,' are spoken of but not detailed. 'Opposition' is noticed, with the meek air of long-suffering saintliness; it is said to have 'never been such as it has been of late,' which is at once set down 'as a sign that God is blessing us.' We need not suggest any reminder of the *grounds* of that opposition, but only state that the one faithful but importunate witness who kept alive from first to last the knowledge of the state of the schools, was dismissed from the London Jews' Society's employ, a short time before the first of his suggestions was adopted; the Bishop being apparently at that time in conference with the said Society in England. The case of Hanna Hadoub is the adult form of wickedness to which the shocking cases of youthful pollution in the school may be supposed to lead. Hanna Hadoub is the result, and the Diocesan school supplies the process. We are not of course meaning to imply that this personage had ever been there as a boy; but simply that he is a legitimate moral sequel to the budding depravity of Yuseph.

Hanna Hadoub—writes Mr. Graham, p. 22, who borrows the Bishop's language to describe his *protégé*—

'is the son of very poor parents, and I believe also wicked, at least his mother. He was brought up in complete ignorance of religion; learned his trade by which he earned his livelihood; was light minded; early brought into bad companies, and being absolutely ignorant of the truth, it is natural, it could scarcely be otherwise, that he fell into many kinds of sin and mischief. As he grew up, he was known in Jerusalem as one of its most disreputable characters; so that, when some of the inhabitants were questioned as to their knowledge of his crimes, they replied, "Ask the stones, and they will tell you." In early life he lived, in part, by the prostitution of his mother and sisters; and later, by that of his first two wives, whose death was believed, upon competent English medical testimony, to have resulted therefrom.'

We set down, for brevity and for distinction, the chief heads

[1] We believe that this attempt has proved an utter failure, and that the school has dwindled to a mere nominal existence, if it be not by this time closed.

of this man's known career up to the time of the marriage which has occasioned so much scandal :—

1. Is a member of the Latin (Roman Catholic) Church.
2. Is admitted into Bishop Gobat's congregation.
3. Is convicted of felony, and excommunicated by Bishop Gobat.
4. First wife dies; cause, supposed, as above. Stated by Mr. Graham.
5. Returns to the Latin Church, in order to marry his second wife, 1850.
6. Is observed soon after second marriage to live in a style superior to his calling (that of a journeyman stonemason).
7. Is re-admitted into the English Church by the Bishop, who has become convinced (though no one, it is said, shared the conviction) of his innocence, 1853.
8. Is excluded from the Holy Communion.
9. Second wife dies; cause, supposed, as above, 1854.
10. Entertains designs for a third wife, Sophia Nicola, whose brother (her guardian) opposes his views, on which the marriage contract is torn up, early in 1855.
11. Banns published between Hanna Hadoub and Sophia Nicola for the first time, April 1st, 1855, when Mr. Holman Hunt remonstrates.
12. On 8th April no second publication of banns at English morning prayer.
13. Marriage supposed given up.
14. Banns discovered to have been published at Arabic morning prayer, on 8th April, at 6 A.M.
15. Banns published third time at English morning prayer, 15th April. Mr. Holman Hunt, following clergy into vestry, objects to marriage.
16. Protest against marriage by Mr. H. Hunt and two others, sent to Mr. Nicolayson.
17. Exposure of Hanna Hadoub's character at several investigations.
18. Bishop refuses (in a note to Mr. Hunt) to decide without Mr. Bowen's presence, and until the whole evidence had been laid before him (the Bishop) in writing, May 31st, 1855; case, therefore, still pending.
19. Mr. Nicolayson expunges banns from his register, and proposes that H. H. be suspended from all Church privileges for one year.
20. Whilst the case is thus left still pending, Sophia's brother (her legal guardian) goes on business to Jaffa, on which, Hadoub and she are sent off by the Bishop to Nazareth, with instructions to the Church Missionary Society's agent to marry them *at once*, *which* was accordingly done.

As this matter has been the subject of a protracted inquiry, with detailed evidence, we purpose, for the sake of preserving impartial adherence to the latter, to exhibit it as bearing in succession on each of the above heads of the former. But, for the sake of presenting the most important points to the reader's notice with greater prominence, we will make the gratuitous assumption; that Hanna Hadoub is an innocent and an injured man, that universal belief in Jerusalem was at fault, that the medical men who attended his second wife, and judged of her malady, were mistaken in the symptoms; that he had neither prostituted his wives, nor committed felony; had been a lucky speculator in guns, horses, or what not, and *so* made his money; had been the victim of a conspiracy, and *so* been wrongfully convicted, and unjustly visited with ecclesiastical censures. The reader will observe that the case as regards the legality of the Bishop's conduct is unchanged by any of these considerations. For the fact remains, that the brother and guardian of the girl, whose rights alone were legally at stake on the issue, was known to be wholly opposed to the match, at the moment that by the Bishop's agency it was forced to a hasty and clandestine completion. And even if these objections were grounded on prejudice merely, the weight due to them by nature and reason in the case of a minor of such extreme youth, ought to have been fully allowed. As regards its morality, the Bishop's conduct is still inexcusable; for the man was, on the Bishop's own showing, 'known in Jerusalem as one of its most disreputable characters,' while the girl was an orphan and too young for her own judgment to guide her in a matter of the last moment temporally and eternally. To such a case, *quod dubitas ne feceris*, is the only applicable maxim; and that there was ample ground for doubt is at least undeniable. How rash, to say the very best of it, the Bishop's decision was, may be gathered from the grave suspicions on Hanna Hadoub's character, as having twice joined and twice left the Latin Church; twice been received into, once excommunicated from, and again suspended from communion in, the English Church. Had the Bishop nothing but those grave suspicions before him, he ought to have paused; had he nothing but the guardian's objections against the match, he ought not to have urged it; but coupling those suspicions with these objections, he has plainly defied a weight of moral obligation which ought to have been, and in other cases would have been, insuperable. It came out also during the trial that the girl herself wavered, to say the least, in the matter; and at any rate only expressed any wish for the marriage when subject to the unjustifiable influence of a hireling wretch, whose audacious

tampering with the witnesses forms the blackest feature of this lame and impotent investigation.

There was evidence enough, then, to make a man of unbiassed judgment, and common feeling, shrink with suspicion, if not recoil with horror, from any act which could commit the keeping of the honour of an orphan Christian girl of fourteen years, not yet confirmed, to such doubtful tutelage. When we add that the man who so acted was the head of the Christian community to which she belonged, and she herself one of his own children in the faith, the case becomes worse; and when we unfold the whole labyrinth of corruption and intrigue by which this abominable decision was made effective, and the plan for the girl's ruin completed, it becomes in the highest degree atrocious, unnatural, and revolting.

With regard, then, to Nos. 1 and 2 of our file of facts, they are proved by Bishop Gobat's words, in a letter to Mr. Nicolayson (Mr. H. Hunt, p. 44). He (Hadoub) 'was obliged *to return* to 'the Latin Church; . . . he applied again to be received among 'the Protestants;' see also pp. 7, 8, of the same, and Mr. Graham, p. 22.

'During the episcopate of Bishop Gobat, this man, for his own purposes, left the Latin, or Roman Catholic Church, and was admitted into the Anglican congregation, upon what evidence of true conversion, or sincere repentance, is known only to the Bishop.'

Nos. 3 and 5 are proved from Mr. H. Hunt, p. 8; compare Mr. Graham, p. 22.

'About the year 1850, after the death of his first wife, he returned to the Latin Church, in order to effect his marriage with his second wife, which the Bishop accounts for by saying, that he had excommunicated him from the Anglican Church in consequence of a charge of felony.'

Dr. Macgowan also appears to depose to the same facts before Messrs. H. Hunt and Cotton, and Dr. Sim (Mr. Hunt, p. 23).

No. 4 rests, first, on the medical testimony of the officers of the hospital; secondly, on general belief in Jerusalem, as testified to by many competent persons; and, thirdly, on the observations of Hanna Hadoub's general mode of life as inconsistent with his poor avocation as a stonemason. It is just to say, however, that as regards his first wife, the medical testimony does not bear at all upon her case; still there remain two persons whose testimony amounts to more than hearsay. The first is 'the Fellaha woman at Mrs. Finn's,' who saw a woman brought veiled, one night, to the house of a Turk, named Risk Alla, whose servant she then was, and believed her to be Hadoub's wife, with other statements to the like purport; and by comparing p. 24 with p. 26 of Mr. Hunt, it seems that his *first* wife must be intended. Also,

during the course of the investigation, the brother of Hadoub's first wife stated that Hadoub and that wife (witness's sister) had been banished from Jerusalem by the Pacha, at the instance of the Latin Convent, and that, with his own eyes, he had seen them first thrown into prison, and then sent off.—P. 33.

The medical testimony with regard to the death of Hadoub's second wife from a disease caused by unchastity, rests on the combined observations of Dr. Macgowan and Dr. Sim; but as the details are suppressed as unfit for publication, we will only refer the reader to Mr. Hunt, pp. 27, 28. Dr. Macgowan appears to have replied to some remarks of the Bishop on the conclusiveness of this part of the evidence, in a letter which, at his request, Mr. Hunt has suppressed.

There is, however, copious evidence to show that Hadoub was in ill reputation on account of generally believed dealings in his wife's dishonour. Messrs. Cotton, H. Hunt, and Sim stated as their reason for their former protest, the 'ill repute of the pro-'posed bridegroom, and his scandalous treatment of his former 'wife, which is generally reported, and discredited by few in 'Jerusalem.'—Mr. Hunt, p. 22.

Issa Nicola, the brother of the girl, had heard Hadoub acknowledge his guilt in this particular before a large party; his words being, 'I have been as wicked as men say I have, and more.' He added, 'I heard men in the bazaar say he was a ———[1] (*i.e.* one who lets out his wife).' Another sentence, obscure on account of the same word in Arabic, suppressed without any English equivalent, seems to mean, 'Suppose,' Hadoub is alleged to have said, 'I acknowledged that I was a ———,' what is that if I repent?' So the Fellaha woman aforesaid testifies, that Hadoub 'was in general evil repute in the city;' and the common saying in Jerusalem concerning him was, 'Ask the stones, and they will tell you of his crimes.' But even Dr. Sandreczki himself, when the third marriage was first proposed, had 'said to 'Hadoub, that it could not be, *his impression being that he in-'tended to prostitute Sophia Nicola, as he is reported to have done 'his former wife*' (Mr. Hunt, pp. 24, 26).

So, independently of his medical statement as to the nature of the second wife's illness, Dr. Sim adds 'that on visiting her, 'they found her dressed in a way that made him remark to Dr. 'Macgowan, that her attire gave him the impression she was so 'dressed for meretricious purposes. He afterwards heard so much 'of her husband's hiring her out for money, that he then said he 'should decline visiting her in future.' He added, in answer to a specially-put question, that the symptoms 'could only have

[1] The Arabic word employed, but not here reproduced.

'been produced by impure connexion, or excessive prostitution.' —*Ibid.* p. 28.

The mother of the girl Nicola, when asked whether 'any one had ever told her not to marry her daughter to a man who let out his wife to Turks,' mentioned at once two of her neighbours, besides her own sons, who had so warned her. A saddler, named Serugi, an ally of Hadoub's, and witness on his side, admitted that 'he had a bad repute among people.' Dr. Sandreczki, on whose own name the evil shadow of these proceedings also falls, who is Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in Jerusalem, and Minister of a Church near, stated that in 1853 Hadoub went to Bethlehem with his wife, and that in consequence of the 'many evil reports spread about them,' he had interdicted him, for a time, from the Communion (Ibid. p. 31). This interdict appears to have been removed without, as far as we can trace, any reason whatever, '*on the second day of the proclamation of the banns*' (Ibid. note). Hadoub himself stated that his wife 'was a Latin,' but that, in her last illness, 'he never sent for any priest to confess her' (p. 32). Is it possible that his own Protestant feelings (for, at that time, he had been again received into the Anglican Church), or his dread of guilty secrets which the confession might disclose, dictated this omission? We will only add that scandal has mixed up the name of a certain 'padre' of the Latin Convent with that of Hadoub's wife, though the authorities of the convent[1] directly deny the truth of the statement. David, the Carite Rabbi, had one night heard sounds of revelry in an adjoining house, and was told that the Sheikh of the Hara had there surprised certain men and women so engaged; that these were 'Hadoub and his sisters, an Armenian and a Mussulman.' That he 'had brought those sisters for prostitution to the convent;' and that on application from the convent, those sisters 'had been banished from Jerusalem several times.' The Turkish Governor (Mustapha Beg) in Jerusalem at the time subsequently confirmed the former portion of this statement. His letter (to Dr. Macgowan) on the point is so important that we subjoin it in a note.[2] David, the Carite,

[1] See a letter from the Latin Superior to Bishop Gobat (Ibid. p. 44).

[2] 'Dear Doctor,—(after the usual Arab introductory compliments)—I received your letter, in which you desired me to give you an information concerning the conduct of Hanna Hadoub. Everything what you have stated to me in your letter I comprehend it. It is true that since twenty years ago, at the time of the Egyptians, when I was Mitsalem (ruler) in Jerusalem, at that time, in a certain night, the said Hanna Hadoub and his female companion were seized upon in a certain house, and both were held in a very bad reputation; and in the same time, not account of such crime, he was bastinadoed and exiled out of Jerusalem; and his *is* what I now remember about him; but with regard to his present state, I know *nothing* about it.'—(Mr. Hunt, pp. 36-7.)

also 'had heard Moslems boast, on several occasions, of having had intercourse' with the second wife at Hadoub's own house (p. 34). Another witness, Yusoof Effendi, who had supported the controverted scandal about the Latin 'padre' (the procurator, it appears, of the convent), deposed to Hadoub's having been banished, together with his sisters and mother, though only a youth at the time, by the Turkish authorities, on account of their prostitution; to his 'spending his time in fantasia, 'parties coming to him for the sake of his wife. He was a bad 'man. He brought men to his mother, his sisters, and both his 'wives.' Michael Sueder, the Bishop's own Scripture Reader, was stated by Dr. Sim to have 'said that Hadoub was a bad man, and that Dr. Sandreczki knew it.' On this statement being made by Dr. Sim, the Bishop appears to have stated that 'Michael Sueder had been to him (the Bishop), but that he 'was *so confused in his manner that it was not possible to* 'understand what he was saying.' This seems a very singular statement from a Bishop concerning one of his own missionary agents.

Salami Ibraheem, who had let Hadoub a house at Bethlehem, had, a week before, deposed as follows: that his (Salami's) relations had quarrelled with him and refused to visit him, for so letting his house, on account of Hadoub's *bad name*, who was constantly giving 'fantasia' (music and dancing parties); that a person named Meshullam, in whose presence the above deposition was taken by Dr. Sim, *and who signs it as a witness, with no denial or protest against its veracity*, had once come to see Hanna Hadoub's wife, and others, visiting, we believe, medically; and that he was pressed three times before he went into the house. The inference is that he was reluctant to enter an abode of notorious ill-fame.

Such being the allegations against Hadoub, the Bishop is said by Mr. Hunt and by Mr. Graham, to have remarked at a late stage of the investigation, that, 'supposing all that had been alleged 'against Hadoub were true, he had been no worse than one-half 'of the young English clergy at the Universities of Oxford and 'Cambridge;' to which Dr. Sim replied, 'Surely you do not 'mean to say that the young English clergy prostitute their 'mothers and sisters!' and the Bishop rejoined, 'No, but they 'keep mistresses when at college' (Mr. Graham, p. 24). If a man is so undiscriminating, or so prejudiced, that he confounds the moral quality of such different acts as an unmarried man's concubinage and a husband's prostitution of his wife, no one can be surprised at his being wholly unfit for so nice a duty as that of balancing evidence. Of course we say nothing of the libel uttered by this ignorant German Lutheran, Anglican

Bishop though he be, against one-half of the Clergy of the Church of England. We pass on, however, to No. 6, which rests on the testimony of Dr. Macgowan; who, on his return from visiting England, was struck by the evident change in the circumstances of H. Hadoub (p. 28). This change was not only matter of general remark, but was not denied by Hadoub himself when examined; only he sought to account for it by saying that 'God had blessed him' (Mr. Hunt, p. 32). We may pass on, therefore, to No. 7, about which, a public episcopal act, there is as little room for doubt as about his previous excommunication. It is certain that Hadoub had been convicted of some grave offence—the Bishop says, 'of stealing an ass'—for which the Bishop had excommunicated him; 'and yet,' adds the Bishop, 'I 'must confess it, I was in the wrong; for, about two years later, 'the real thief was discovered, and Hadoub completely justified.' The Bishop *says* this, indeed, in his letter to Mr. Nicolayson; but it is singular that in the evidence as to Hadoub's character, we find not a syllable of proof of it (p. 43). Mr. Graham (p. 23) remarks, on the contrary, that the Bishop 'professed to have discovered' Hadoub's innocence, but 'was alone in his belief on this point'—language which is singularly in contrast with the apparently palpable exculpation indicated by the words, 'the real thief was discovered.'

No. 8 has been already proved incidentally by the testimony of Dr. Sandreczki, (by whose authority the exclusion was, it seems, effected,) adduced under No. 4; as also has No. 9.

No. 10 is proved by the statement of Issa, the brother and guardian (p. 23).

Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 15 rest on the personal testimony of Mr. H. Hunt, himself present in the congregation; see his pamphlet, pp. 21, 22.

No. 14 rests on the statement of Mr. Graham, who remarks, with great reason, 'such publication of the banns before a dif-'ferent congregation being altogether irregular and calculated 'to mislead.'

The 'protest' referred to in No. 16 appears in full on page 22 of Mr. Hunt's pamphlet, and is signed by W. C. Cotton, student of Christ Church, Oxford, officiating minister, W. Holman Hunt, Robert Sim. These facts from No. 11 to No. 16 inclusively, are in such close connexion, that, at the risk of a seeming repetion, we venture to review them specially as a whole.

The banns were, when published for the first time, the subject of remonstrance by a member of the English congregation; and for their second publication the scene was shifted to the Arab congregation's early morning service, at 6 A.M., *so that* the cognisance of the English congregation, among

whom remonstrance had been excited, was wholly eluded. What, we may here inquire, would be thought in England of banns published at an early service for the *second* time, after being published for the *first* time at the usual hour of morning prayer? The banns were afterwards published as for the third time, to the surprise of the congregation, who had only heard them once. The previous remonstrance was then followed up, and, it being found that *the very next day* was fixed for the marriage, was coupled with a formal protest, signed by the previous remonstrator, by the clergyman who had first published the banns, and by another person who knew the parties well. This was further fortified by a memorial, signed by twenty-one of the best known names in the English congregation, 'agreeing in the purport' of the protest.

The 'exposure of character' referred to in No. 17, was the result of the investigation which followed the receipt of the memorial, and its chief features have already been exhibited in the matter adduced under No. 4. We may, however, add to the facts there arrayed, a very black suspicion that a plot existed between Hadoub and the girl Sophia's own mother, having for its object the seduction of the former, in order, it should seem, that any other match being thereby rendered hopeless for her, the objections of her brother and guardian might be thus disposed of. The testimony of all the three brothers conspires to prove the fact of an assignation, for which no other reasonable purpose can be assigned, made by Sophia's mother, for Hadoub, at her own house. It was prevented by a message, of which the youngest boy was made the go-between by Hadoub, with a strict charge of secrecy, but which his elder brother extorted from him. The strictly domestic nature of the circumstance prevents any witnesses from possibly confirming the statement of the brothers, except that of the sister herself. But there is nothing whatever to shake it, either in the cross-examination, or in the way of contradictory evidence, unless the words of the incriminated parties, who admit the fact of Hadoub's nocturnal visit, but assign another and inadequate object for it, can be deemed worth notice. Under these circumstances, one thing that astonishes us is, why was *not* the girl Sophia herself examined? This investigation was protracted through several adjournments; was on the 31st of May fixed to be concluded by the Bishop on the 1st of June; and then again by him put off till all the evidence could be written out for his perusal. This transcript was not complete on the 20th of June. The Bishop's note mentioned in No. 18, is given by Mr. Hunt, p. 37.

As regards the fact mentioned in No. 19, stated by Mr. Hunt, p. 12, we may observe that Mr. Nicolayson was so far satisfied of

the improper character of the proceeding in reference to the banns, that he expunged the entries of them from the register of his church, and recommended the suspension of Hanna Hadoub from Church privileges for a year, which would disable him from marrying the girl within that time, unless clandestinely, or out of Jerusalem. All parties viewed the matter as still pending, and the Bishop as pledged *not* to decide it until the complete copy of the evidence was laid before him, and as refusing to decide it until assisted by Mr. Bowen's[1] presence—the 'impartial and God-fearing Mr. Bowen.'

No. 20. The facts here are so important that we extract the passage from page 12 of Mr. Hunt's pamphlet:

'While the affair was thus in abeyance, at the Bishop's instance the girl's brother went to Jaffa, a day's journey distant from Jerusalem. He had not been away more than three days, when *advantage was taken of his absence;* and notwithstanding the promise which his lordship had made, and the fact, that the whole report of the evidence had not yet been sent in, Hanna Hadoub and Sophia Nicola were sent off clandestinely to Nazareth, in charge of Yacoob, the dragoman of the Church Missionary Society, with instructions from Bishop Gobat, to the Minister of the Church Missionary Society there (Mr. Klein), to marry them at once, without banns—and so secretly was this done, that it was currently believed that she had been taken by her mother to Bethlehem.'[2]

Thus the evidence,—for the receipt of which in writing the Bishop professed to wait,—had never come in that form before him; the presence of Mr. Bowen, officiating at Nablous, without which he declared himself unwilling to decide, had been summarily dispensed with; the recommendation of Mr. Nicolayson for the suspension of Hadoub had been contumeliously ignored; and the guardian returned, to find that, not by the connivance, but by the positive contrivance of the Bishop, a stolen match had been made for his ward and sister.

The Bishop confirms the fact of the marriage in the first paragraph of his letter, dated 5th July, to Mr. Nicolayson (p. 39). It appears from a letter of Mr. Hunt's to the Bishop, that the dragoman of Dr. Sandreczki came on the Sunday night previous to the abduction of the girl to Nazareth, to borrow a cloak of Michael Sueder, the Reader, and when pressed to tell where he was going, first said 'Bethlehem;' and, being further questioned, named 'Gaza,' and then 'Jaffa,' as his destination;—a prevarication which had the effect of putting Sueder on the right scent, though too late to arrest the movement. It remains to be remarked, that the Bishop, at the last meeting

[1] Then officiating at Nablous; since, Bishop of Sierra Leone.

[2] *i.e.* in a direction precisely opposite to that really taken; the dragoman *appears to* have spread this false report in order to baffle inquiry, and elude *pursuit.*

convened to take evidence, appears to have suggested their marriage by Mr. Bowen at Nablous, in order to avoid any 'commotion' in Jerusalem, as the Bishop himself states in a still subsequent letter to Mr. Nicolayson, which contains his full view of the case. It is not easy to ascertain the reason for the choice of a spot so far removed as Nazareth, and of a clergyman only partially aware of the facts; for Mr. Klein, although said by the Bishop to have expressed his belief of Hadoub's innocence, which was enough to dictate the Bishop's choice of him, had only been present at the earlier meetings of the investigation. The Bishop probably knew that he could reckon on the uninformed obedience of Mr. Klein at Nazareth; he might doubt the compliance of Mr. Bowen at Nablous. At any rate, at Nazareth, this piece of treachery against the guardian was at last effected. But no one in Jerusalem, not even Mr. Nicolayson, appears to have been informed of it, until, in consequence of the ugly rumours soon afloat, direct inquiry was made by him of the Bishop.

But different minor facts in the course of the investigation, tend each to deepen the shadow of guilt and duplicity which rests on the whole case. Let us take the conduct of Dr. Sandreczki. It has been shown, that both the infamous character of Hadoub, and the repugnance of the girl's brother to the marriage, on account of that character, and its probable consequences to her, were perfectly well known to him; for he had interdicted Hadoub from the Communion, on account of those evil rumours, and had torn up the contract of marriage when first drawn, on account of that repugnance. Further, he distinctly shared, and instantly stated before witnesses, the impression of the base designs with which Hadoub sought the girl; yet, when taxed with the inconsistency of subsequently consenting to the marriage, he could only refer to Hadoub's denial of his own guilt,—which denial yet he plainly distrusted, for he at the same time urged 'the necessity of giving him an opportunity of amending his life,'—and to Hadoub's profession of future good conduct. Who, indeed, would have trusted a dog to the professions of such a creature as Hadoub? Moreover, the same Dr. Sandreczki, when the brother of Sophia had beaten and ill-treated his mother, in his natural, if unjustifiable, indignation at her detected manœuvring and equivocating, and at her suspected contrivance of a plot for his sister's seduction, threatened that brother with excommunication that same night. Throughout the investigation, Dr. Sandreczki seems to conduct the evidence as Mr. Hunt does that of the prosecution, nor was there perhaps any blame to be laid on him on that account, had his proceedings been limited by even that vested right in his client's interest which forensic custom allows

the bar. But, when we find that he in person is charged to his face with personally intimidating a witness for the other side, and does not deny it, we stand amazed at the effrontery which could allow a man so tainted any share in such grave proceedings. It is clear that Dr. Sandreczki also was known to have some hold upon Hadoub; for when the proprietor of the house at Bethlehem, let to Hadoub, found that the rent was not fully paid by his tenant, he carried his complaint to this reverend doctor, who shortly afterwards placed Hadoub under the interdict beforementioned.[1] We beg the reader to note by the way this apparent system of ready fulminations on each side. Is it possible that a distress for rent takes, under the Gobat *régime*, the form of a Church censure, and that for 'execution' we ought to read 'excommunication?'

But there is another person of whom our readers have had a glimpse, as the instrument of this foul business,—the coarse villain of the plot, whose hands are in actual contact with its defilement. This is a certain Yacoob, dragoman to Dr. Sandreczki. They are a worthy pair. On one occasion only, as far as evidence shows, did the doctor himself interfere to threaten anything beyond the censures of the Church, and the victim on this occasion was Sueder, whom he threatens with *loss of employment* (as reader to the Mission) *on account of the evidence that he had given in the matter of Hanna Hadoub* (p. 35). Not that Yacoob left his proper province of intimidation to the doctor, but that the zeal of the latter led him to encroach upon it. But the dragoman monopolises the darker bits of villany. Sophia Nicola was placed by the Bishop's sanction, it would seem, in Sueder's house for safety; was removed thence by this Yacoob; and her brother states, that, in consequence of Sueder making known her aversion to the marriage, Yacoob 'had been closeted 'with her for three hours in that same house, telling her all 'manner of things to persuade her to go on with the marriage, 'mentioning Hadoub's riches, &c., and also that, in consequence 'of her betrothal, she could never, during Hadoub's lifetime, be 'free to marry any one else' (p. 33). Nicolas Beyruti, servant to Dr. S., deposed that he had stated that the marriage could not be finally stopped, because Yacoob had received money from Hanna Hadoub to forward it; at least that this was the way in which the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians in the city accounted for the trouble he was taking in Hadoub's favour. The witness, Ibraheem, whose tenant Hadoub was when at Bethlehem, and whose deposition on May 24th was strongly against

[1] Compare the end of the middle paragraph of p. 31 of Mr. Hunt, with p. 36, *line 10.*

him,[1] in his examination a week later, became suddenly and suspiciously favourable to him, and not till six months later did it come out, in the Pasha's court, that this tergiversation was the result of a bribe from Yacoob. The affair which brought him into that court will deserve separate notice, when we have done with this quasi-court of investigation at Jerusalem. There are, however, more tamperings with justice to be disclosed even there. The brother of Hadoub's wife, whose evidence has been given above,[2] 'came with complaints to Messrs. Sim and Graham, that 'Hanna Hadoub, and Dr. Sandreczki's dragoman, Yacoob, had 'been to him, and threatened him with violence for his having 'given that information.' Again, on the 25th May, the investigation was awaiting the evidence of a certain Mustapha Besheeta, the Shekh of the Jewish quarter, supposed capable of testifying to certain orgies of Hanna Hadoub's.[3] After waiting two hours, the investigation adjourned till next day, when Antonio, dragoman to Dr. Macgowan, came with an assurance from his master, that the Shekh had promised to attend at 9 A.M.; but added, that after he had obtained that promise, *he had seen Dr. Sandreczki's dragoman, and Elias Serugi, come and look for the Shekh.* Of course the result was the Shekh did *not* come. How well this rascal Yacoob seems to have earned his money!

But his *rôle* is not yet complete. This dragoman appears to have been, by his position of influence, the most powerful tool which judicial intrigue could have found. An address is got up on behalf of the 'native Protestants,' when, in spite of this shameless tampering with witnesses, the character of Hadoub had been thoroughly exposed; it was written out by the dragoman Yacoob, in his capacity of 'kodji baschi,' or head of the native Protestants, to the purport that the Arab Christians who signed it '*protested against European Protestants examining into the cha-* 'racter and conduct of the members of the Arab congregation,' and concluded with a petition for a separate church and clergyman of their own, still in communion with the Anglican Church. This interesting document is addressed to Dr. Sandreczki, and was handed by him to the Bishop, who, writing to Mr. Hunt, to appoint a meeting for further evidence to be taken, thus alludes to it:—

'Yesterday I received a paper from the native Protestants, which I wish to communicate to the meeting, as the effect of it may be to remove this scandalous affair from our hands.'

The last eight words evidently mean 'to suppress the further course of this inquiry.' The impudence of this grave caricature of a legal writ of *stet processus* is the most astounding part

[1] See page 215. [2] See page 213. [3] See page 215.

of it, more so even than the transparent feebleness of its artifice.

Again, we ask, why was not this Yacoob examined and confronted with the alleged victims of his bribery and intimidation? It is evident that every Christian Arab witness was liable to the perverse influence of this unscrupulous dragoman. Thus one entire source of important testimony was corrupted; whilst, as to another source, that viz. of Moslems, the Bishop, in his letter to Mr. Nicolayson, states his aversion to receive it at all. What chance, under these circumstances, had the case of sufficient investigation? Alas that no member of the Old Bailey bar was at that time recruiting his lungs in Syrian air! Here was a case of such broadly corrupt features as no electioneering or Riband-Club riot of Irish practice, can ever be hoped to yield. Here was evidence offered that a principal member of the court of inquiry and his dragoman, or clerk (who himself is a chief of the Protestants, with magisterial authority), was engaged in bullying, bribing, intimidating, and seducing the chief witnesses for the prosecution in open day. Then there is the document of the 'native Protestant' party so ingeniously alluded to by the Bishop—how rich in humorous effect would probably have been the cross-examination, *secundum artem*, of the dragoman upon its secret history!

But there is another and yet another fold in the plot of this unparalleled story. '*The matter*,' writes Mr. Graham to Mr. Hunt on the 8th February, 1856, '*is all out in the Pasha's court*.' The 'unbelievers' have had the benefit of these most Christian proceedings, with the further edifying facts which follow. A Turk named Khaleely brought to Issa, the baffled brother of the inveigled Sophia, a bond executed by Hanna Hadoub in the said Khaleely's favour for 2,400 piastres,—the real creditors, under the screen of the said Khaleely's name, and who had promised him 400 piastres for the use of it, being Yacoob the dragoman, and Elias Serugi; but, as they had shown symptoms of cheating him, Khaleely came to offer Issa the bond, if *he* would make good the 400 piastres. It had been asserted and denied in the course of the investigation, that Yacoob was in the pay of Hadoub; here was proof patent, of which Dr. Sandreczki was duly informed. This new outbreak of infamy included proof of a bribe from Yacoob on Hadoub's behalf, to Beesheeta, the Shekh of the Hara, who, after promising to attend the investigation, was suddenly missing; and of another to the same Ibraheem of Bethlehem, who, as aforesaid, after deposing flatly against Hadoub, testified orally in his favour. *Yacoob* compelled Khaleely to prosecute Hadoub on this bond

'before the Machkemi,' a court in which Yacoob himself, as the Protestant magistrate, has a seat. Hadoub was of course fined heavily, and the bond declared forfeit. Issa, now his brother-in-law, and still his bitter enemy, on this changes sides, in order to compel the exposure of Yacoob, now screened by Khaleely; and becomes bail for Hadoub, in order to be able to appeal from 'the Machkemi' to the Pasha's court. On this the Bishop steps forward, like the *deus e machinâ* when a virtuous hero is at a dead lock, sends a *message—not* a letter—to Mr. Graham, to request him *not* to appear and give evidence against Yacoob, whom he now wishes—and no doubt from just confidence in his talents and experience—to make his dragoman. Yacoob protests to the Pasha that he is, just then, most positively wanted by the Bishop—cannot stop, cannot come to-morrow or next day, after that must go to Jaffa, and cannot say when he shall be back. Mr. Graham, who must therefore, as we are glad to find, have been in the court notwithstanding the Bishop's dissuasive, is thereupon requested by the Pasha, to write another note to the Bishop, to know the truth of this; and '*in consequence of the Bishop's answer*, the case was ad-'journed *sine die*, to suit his lordship's convenience.' Here, then, we have an Anglican Bishop stooping to the base intrigues of an Oriental sycophant to shield his own agent from the infamy which was his due. We wonder what the note could possibly have contained, and as this was in January, 1856, whether the interesting case has *yet* been resumed! Probably a safe silence still reigns for some excellent reason, mutually satisfactory to the Bishop and the Pasha; and probably Yacoob, the Iago of Protestantism, the catspaw and the bully, the briber and the bribed, now rides the high horse as dragoman to the Bishopric, and 'kodji baschi,' or chief magistrate, of the 'native Protestants' in Jerusalem.

Hadoub, however, is at any rate no longer a scandalous example of wickedness 'in great prosperity.' He probably astonished his patrons, by being detected at the head of a gang of desperadoes, who broke into a watchmaker's house within a year after his last nefarious marriage. He was seen lately sweeping the streets of Jerusalem in chains, and being asked how he came to that, piously said that 'God had put him there.' This man seems to have acquired the profane art of impressing the clergy with his airs of penitence. Dr. Sandreczki was the earliest and easiest dupe of his professional 'piety;' and it would be uncharitable to deny that the Bishop also was a conspicuous victim. Probably, owing to more recent events, his patrons have hardly the influence left to procure him a ticket of leave. But one person remains to be accounted for—Sophia herself. Mr. Graham says in a letter to Mr. Hunt (p. 59):—

'She was in such terror of her life from her husband's conduct towards her, to mould her to his wicked purposes, that Issa asked me to try and get a divorce for her, as she was afraid of being poisoned. Alas, poor girl! what has the Bishop not to answer for?'

Mr. Hunt adds (p. 15):—

'I am informed, that she and her mother have suffered very much—*even as beggars, driven away from the Bishop's door by his kawas.* They were soon afterwards, through the kind assistance of the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson and other travellers, removed by Issa to Nazareth, where they now support themselves by work.'

We hope that the statement of the sentence in italics is not true. We are disposed to disbelieve it.

As regards the moral question involved, we see in this matter social peace trampled on by clerical delinquents, as it has not been in the records of the English Church since the days of the constitution of Clarendon. No adequate motive can be assigned for such a transaction. That lust of power which is laid to the 'Churchman's' charge by Pope, the love of having his own way, of backing his own *protégé*, of 'putting down' all who resisted or protested, and the horror of retracing a first false step, seems to be the moral clue to the Bishop's proceedings. Perhaps also he wished not to lose a convert. There seems a pretty close competition for proselytes in Jerusalem among the various rival communions, and even such questionable society as that of Hadoub is not wholly to be despised. Perhaps there were other secret motives for the Bishop's not wishing to part with a man whom we cannot, judging by an English standard, regard as an acquisition. No doubt he also has the natural wish for success which all men feel when filling a responsible post, and would not run the risk of a manifest failure. And hitherto he has gone on with plausible reports and ready subsidies, with the countenance of two powerful and popular Societies at home, and the patronage of a first-rate political power, besides his own country. The Prussian consul was known to be his friend; and until a still more rash, though far less morally heinous proceeding, threw him into collision with Mr. Finn, he could claim also all the weight of the British consulate. Hence, Turkish justice cringed before him. That Mr. H. Hunt should have waited till the year 1858, in order to publish facts, completed at a fortnight's easy sail from London more than two years previously, is a proof of his Christian forbearance—a virtue, however, which has in the course of the case become obsolete. He appears to have only been decided in his design to publish by renewed tokens of that 'arbitrariness of purpose,' which had been manifested by the Bishop in these events of 1855-6.

There is, moreover, apparent throughout the whole of the Hadoub investigation an air of painful constraint, and in the

majority of investigators a want of independence of mind. Puzzling disclosures remain unsifted, questions are not pressed home, and there is an air of hesitation, reticence, and compromise at the moment when we think something is coming. Why was not Dr. Sandreczki, who was present, asked which of the discordant statements (Mr. Hunt, p. 35-6) of the witness Ibraheem was true? Even more wonderful still, why was not the same person called upon for an explanation, when Dr. Sim repeated in his hearing Michael Sueder's statement, that *Dr. Sandreczki and his dragoman Yacoob had threatened him with loss of his situation, on account of the evidence he had given in the matter of Hanna Hadoub* (Ibid. p. 35)? Above all, why was the Bishop allowed to slur over the whole with the words 'that Sueder *had been* to him' (he had threatened to go to speak to the Bishop about Dr. Sandreczki's threat), 'but that he was so con-'fused in his manner that it was not possible to understand what 'he was saying?' Why was not Sueder called at once (he, at any rate, was a witness whose attendance could have been summarily procured), and the alleged confusion cleared up? For no other reason, we believe, than that the question would have been felt an awkward one for the Bishop, and that the proper deference of clergy to their ordinary imposed a restraint which was fatal to the fairness of the investigation.

But besides this bias in the minds of many of the inquirers, there is one circumstance which alone would, we apprehend, to the mind of English lawyers, give a defective air to the inquiry,—the absence, namely, of Hadoub, the accused party, during the examination of the witnesses. If the Bishop had really wished for a fair and full sifting of the question of Hadoub's guilt, he should have respected the principle of Roman law, that the accused 'have his accusers face to face.' For this capital defect in the mode of conducting the case, who can be so fairly held responsible as the Bishop? Again, there was abundant evidence that the testimony had been systematically corrupted by an intrigue to defeat the investigation. Of the native Arab witnesses, four at least were directly suborned to speak falsehood, or influenced to withhold the truth. The four were, Besheeta, 'the Sheikh of the Hara,' who was kept away altogether; Michael Sueder, the reader; Hadoub's brother-in-law by a former wife; and Ibraheem of Bethlehem, the late landlord of Hadoub there. Of these four, the second and third *disclosed during the inquiry* the intimidation used towards them; the first and fourth were found in the Pasha's court afterwards, to have been influenced by bribery. *Of this system of corruption the Bishop, in his review of the evidence, takes no notice whatever.* He seems to complain that that evi-

dence was hazy and unsubstantial, but to speak as one who felt that every means had been used to clear up the truth, instead of, as was the fact, to pervert and maim it. Again, supposing that guilt was on the whole non-proven, and no penal infliction would have been justifiable on the grounds adduced; still, where there is the prospect of *an innocent person suffering* by the probable guilt of the accused, any judicial inquirer would be much to blame if he came to a practical decision which would not secure such innocent person from such probability. Possibly all that was necessary to make that security complete, was delay; and all that was necessary to ensure ruin, was precipitation. Why could not the Bishop have been satisfied to take up with Mr. Nicolayson's suggestion, that Hadoub should be suspended, and thus tested, for one year? But why, above all things, since there was one witness beyond the reach of intimidation or bribery (only, however, because he was out of Jerusalem, and his response proportionably slow in coming), why was not his declaration waited for? This was a former Governor of Jerusalem, who had been applied to, by letter from Dr. Macgowan, to know the truth or falsehood of that early charge, which several previous witnesses, though no perhaps conclusively, had tended to establish against Hadoub, but which he had strenuously denied. When his letter came, which it seems to have done some time after the inquiry was suspended, and then summarily frustrated by the Bishop's precipitate decision, it established that guilt incontestably, as may be seen by reference to the letter quoted above.

There is evidently, we may further observe, no public opinion in Jerusalem, except such as the Bishop feels himself above. Everybody there knew Hadoub's infamous character, and the shameless corruptions effected by Yacoob; but turpitude, if rich and powerful, is always safe. No infamy follows exposure, and no stories find their way home, save such as show well in the authentic columns of the London Jews' and Church Missionary Societies. On this practical superiority to Turkish justice, a serviceable machine, which can be put up and down like an umbrella, Hadoub probably reckoned when he closed his career of audacity by a violent burglary in concert with a gang of thieves. However, here he overrated the power or the impudence of his protector; and we shall probably hear no more of his conversion, repentance, excommunication, 'imperfect knowledge of Protestantism,' and oscillations between the two communions under the hopes of matrimony.

Among the weaker members of the court of investigation *in re* Hadoub, we may exemplify Mr. Crawford, as being apparently one on whom the episcopal thumb lies heavier than on most.

He spoke highly of the Jerusalem schools, as we have seen, in April, 1855; but in the following May adopted the elaborate condemnation of them by Mr. Cunningham, and again subsequently impeached that inspector's impartiality. In his letter to Mr. Hunt of September 3d, Mr. Crawford takes that forbearing gentleman to task for disrespectful language to the Bishop in a letter. He has since made and retracted a calumnious charge against Mr. Finn. Among the imputations which he complains of, as cast by Mr. Hunt on the Bishop, are the following; that 'he (the Bishop) and Dr. Sandreczki had themselves, or by their 'agents, *wickedly tampered with witnesses*, to prevent the truth 'from coming to light, and that they had appointed a highly 'improper person to represent the Protestant community as their 'kodgibash,' &c. Mr. Crawford does not attempt to deal with the former of these questions, which certainly seems morally proved against the Bishop and the Doctor; and, with regard to the latter question, merely asserts that it was not the Bishop who appointed him, but the Arabs. But how would he deal with the fact of the Bishop immediately appointing him dragoman to the bishopric, and screening him from justice, at the very moment when nothing else could have saved him from ruinous exposure in the Pasha's court? But Mr. Crawford, and indeed all who write letters on the question, overlook its real point,—the injured rights of Issa the brother, who deposed, in the course of the inquiry, that his consent to the marriage was *unwilling* (Mr. Hunt, p. 23). No bishop, priest, deacon, or 'kodgibash,' had any right to defeat, though they might use all their moral influence to dissuade, an engagement of marriage between A and B, simply because A is a vile character, however deeply they may be persuaded of B's impending ruin. But if the guardian of B have a legal veto, then the Bishop's investigation, though it made A's conduct clear as the light, and his righteous dealing as the noon-day, could have no possible power to set aside those grounds of objection which the guardian set up. The brother was clearly anxious to uphold his own rights, but fearful that by some manœuvre of Hadoub's, and some collusion of the mother's, they would be evaded; and though his veto was not, perhaps, given in form, yet the moral effect of his statement is the same as if it had been. He was anxious 'an asylum' should be found for his sister. Why was the matter so hurried on as to prevent the possibility of such an attempt? The Bishop sets the brother's words at nought, and in this assumes a power over-riding civil rights, precisely similar to that which he attributes to the rival Latin and Greek Patriarchs in their endeavour to check the flow of converts into his Church. Again, we say, Oh, that some one moderately expert in the rules of evidence, had

been at hand to assist the court! An ordinarily sharp attorney's clerk would have been an acquisition to its counsels. A single ounce of law would have outweighed a pound of Protestantism. It is clear theoretically, that Issa, the guardian, might have summoned before the Pasha, or their proper consul, the Bishop, Mr. Klein, the dragoman Yacoob, and all others concerned in the conspiracy for the abduction of his sister. But he knew better than thus to fling good time and good money after bad. As regards the Pasha's court, its law is, against influential adversaries, a mere bruised reed to pierce the hand of him who leans thereon. The Bishop had not then quarrelled with the British consul, so that there too he would have had as little hope. Our Bishop and his Protestant blue-bottles are too large flies to be caught, Issa might have thought, by the cobwebs of justice.

To Mr. Hunt, however, the acknowledgments of human nature are due for the sacrifice of precious time, devoted to the cause of truth and honour. If he was unable to defeat injustice, he did what he could, and his voice was not raised in vain. His exertions in that cause have raised him to an eminence as a man equal to that which he has achieved as an artist. He was the 'good Samaritan' when the 'Priest' and the 'Levite'—not 'passed by on the other side,' but—sided openly with the marauder upon virtue. Mr. Holman Hunt was evidently the heart and soul of the entire movement, which, though several others faithfully followed, no one else would so boldly have led.

And now we come to the last shoot on this tree of ill-repute, the Jerusalem Episcopate—that which relates to the imprisonment of Simeon Rosenthal. It is a well-known proverb that 'one man may steal a horse when another may not look over a 'wall;' but it is capable of the following variation, that the same person may steal one man's horse, and yet may not look over another man's wall. The episcopal visitations fall with hopeless impunity on those whose last hope of justice lies in the Pasha's court; but when on a consul, backed by a British Foreign Office, and on all whom he is willing and entitled to protect, they are sure of an ultimate check. This branch of our subject is surrounded by a fringe of gossip, party rancour and personal littleness, which makes its complete elucidation at once a more tedious and a more repulsive task. We must, however, make the attempt.

The present victim, Charles Simeon Rosenthal, appears to be a Prussian subject, originally a Prussian Rabbi, and early convert of Mr. Nicolayson, by whom he seems to have been baptized seven years before Bishop Gobat reached Jerusalem. Dr. Macgowan, a British subject, whose name is by this time fami-

liar to our readers, charged this person, then agent and dragoman to one of the two Societies hereinbefore mentioned, with misappropriation of funds, before the British consul. Rosenthal appealed to the *Prussian* consul, whereupon the British consul committed him for contempt of court. The Prussian consul was away, and, we suppose to remedy a pressing grievance, requested the Sardinian consul to interfere in a matter which could not properly come under his cognisance. Rosenthal, the unhappy skittle of contending consular factions, set up by one to be bowled down by the other, suddenly found his enemy's tactics altered. Dr. Macgowan resolved to 'strike home;' and accordingly went to England, and on his own *ex-parte* statement, without a hearing being given to the accused man, who was on his way to defend himself when the sentence was passed, obtained from the London Jews' Society his dismissal from their service, '*never again to be employed*'—such were its temperate terms—'*directly or indirectly, in any capacity, by the Society or any of its agents.*' From what we have by this time seen of that Society, we are disposed to congratulate Rosenthal, as an honest man, on having received the sole honour which it was in their power to bestow. Baron Bunsen, then Prussian ambassador here, interposed to procure a reconsideration of the decision, but without avail. The Society 'declined to pronounce on his (Rosenthal's) guilt or innocence,' and yet kept the above stigma affixed to his name. They would not acquit or condemn,—they only meant to punish; and it now turns out that the only persons condemned by their own act are themselves. Rosenthal brought an action for libel against Dr. Macgowan; but the libeller returned to Jerusalem, beyond the jurisdiction of the court. There proceedings were recommenced, and, after dragging wearily through four years, taking the accused to England and back, and causing him in their mid-course the loss of his employment and the tarnish of his good name, were finished by the following complete retractation by Dr. Macgowan:—

'Having read, for the first time, Mr. Simeon Rosenthal's defence before the Sardinian consul, and found, on examination, that the charges brought against him are not supported by the evidence adduced, and that the answers to them by Mr. Simeon Rosenthal are satisfactory, I feel bound to declare, that Mr. Simeon Rosenthal is acquitted of the said charges, and cleared of the imputations which may have been cast on his character thereby.

(Signed) 'EDWARD MACGOWAN, M.D.'

'Jerusalem, November 7th, 1853.'

Dr. Macgowan here seems to have been touched by a transient sense of justice, for he at once wrote officially to the London Society to procure the re-employment of Rosenthal. He was

unsuccessful. The Local (Jerusalem) Committee also passed a minute exculpating Rosenthal of all the charges that had been made against him by Dr. Macgowan and others, and strongly recommending him to the London Society for re-engagement. But did the Society, upon this, erase from their records the iniquitous sentence above quoted, couched in language too arrogant for infallibility itself, banning him *in perpetuum?* We should be glad to learn that they did; but there is nothing to show it. Rosenthal, however, received employment as German dragoman to the British consulate, which at once re-established his character, and must have made blush any members of the London Society who were capable of blushing. Mr. Graham's testimony here supplies some important facts; such as that, on his arrival in Palestine, he was met by Rosenthal, who was furnished with money by Dr. Macgowan for that purpose, and with letters recommending Rosenthal to him for employment; that 'much was then heard'—both from Dr. M. and from the Jerusalem clergy—'in Rosenthal's favour, and nothing to his disadvantage;' that he was employed by Mr. Graham 'in 'several matters in which integrity and judgment were required, 'and that in none of these did he disappoint his employer.' Further, Mr. Crawford, on a vacancy occurring in the sexton's office (we suppose at Christ Church, in Jerusalem), recommended Rosenthal for the appointment.

The Local (Jerusalem) Committee then (1854) despatched him to the army in the Black Sea, defraying his expenses, with a view to his advancement and emolument. A situation worth £155 per annum was there offered him; but his health compelled his return to Jerusalem, where Mr. Nicolayson and others found him a trusty and confidential servant, and where, Mr. Graham says—

'He enjoyed the respect of all the Protestants who were not in the pay or under the influence of the Bishop and Dr. Macgowan. Even from those gentlemen I do not remember having heard one word against him, till, at a meeting at Bishop Gobat's, in the Hanna Hadoub case, Dr. Sandreczki objected to Mr. Rosenthal being put on his oath as a witness, *lest he should peril his soul by swearing to what he knew to be false;* and the innuendoes then made were, at a subsequent meeting, converted into a direct charge, so circumstantial and scandalous that I ceased to have any communication with Rosenthal until I had fully investigated the affair, and ascertained its falsehood, and until the charge had been retracted *in toto* by Dr. Sandreczki and by the Rev. Mr. Crawford, whom Dr. Sandreczki gave as his authority for the statement he had made.'[1]—Mr. Graham, pp. 27, 28.

Thus was his character twice maligned, and twice cleared.

[1] 'The subject-matter is too scandalous for publication; but the original letters *by Dr. S.* and the Rev. Mr. C., substantiating the facts above mentioned, are in my possession.' (*Ibid.* note.)

More than four years had passed since his first persecution, and Rosenthal maintained his credit with Jew and Christian, Briton and Pruss. His wife kept a thriving hotel, of good repute, at Jerusalem, where her husband was much employed by persons of rank and consideration in various capacities, most fitly filled by one who knows several countries and speaks several languages. Among these is mentioned Col. J. W. Gordon, C.B., of the Royal Engineers, and many others, who testify to the exertion of the Rosenthals for the comfort and information of their guests (Mr. Graham, p. 28, note †). He was even so well thought of as to be chosen to represent the consul while absent or while at Jaffa. On this, however, a 'memorial was addressed to the Foreign Office' (not to Mr. Finn, the consul, to whom his own dragoman was surely primarily responsible), 'representing Rosenthal unworthy of being employed in the British consulate.' The memorialists this time were *the Bishop*, and his Deacon Mr. Bailey, Dr. Macgowan, and his assistant Mr. Atkinson, against whom the aspersed man sought and obtained leave of the Foreign Office to bring an action for libel. Some attempts were made to turn him from his course, but in vain; and the Consular Court at Constantinople having been recently empowered to entertain such a cause, called on the defendants, including the Bishop, to give security for their appearance there. The Bishop, however, on this, set up a Prussian nationality, being, we believe, originally a Swiss, and having since, as was supposed, been naturalized as a British subject. He also finds diocesan reasons for visiting Alexandria; and Dr. Macgowan was contemporaneously called by business to visit England. Mr. Finn, the watchful guardian of the rights of the Superior Court at Constantinople, on this attempt to elude its jurisdiction becoming apparent, forbids the defendant's departure until security had been given. On this, the Prussian consul interferes, at the instance of the Bishop, who, it is said, wrote officially, and not merely arrests, but commits to prison Rosenthal, though dragoman to the British consul, on no other ground alleged than that he refused to withdraw his action against his libellers; lets no one see him, save once his son-in-law for medicine, threatens him with bread-and-water diet, and further, with *banishment*—a threat which, since it appertains to the Turkish Government alone to execute, we cannot but regard as a piece of insolent intimidation. Poor Rosenthal, unable to establish a clear nationality, but pursued by the Prussian consul when he seeks the defence of English law, as by the British previously when he claimed to be a Prussian, and, like the flying fish, obnoxious to enemies in either element, claims at last the protection of the Pasha as *a Turkish subject.*

This last surprising fact we learn from the subjoined extract from a letter published, we believe, in *Bell's Weekly Messenger*:—

'*Jerusalem, March* 17.

'All is in uproar here. Poor Simeon Rosenthal has been in prison at the Prussian consulate since the 9th. He commenced (as sanctioned by the Foreign Office) a lawsuit against the four protesters, which the British consul sent up to Constantinople to be judged. The Bishop, in an official letter, called on Dr. Rosen, Prussian consul, to use Prussian authority to stop the lawsuit. Dr. Rosen called Simeon before him and threatened him with expulsion from Jerusalem if he should again repeat what (he said) was an offence against the Prussian consulate, *i. e.* commence a lawsuit directly through the English consul, without passing through him. Simeon explained that the business in hand concerned his office as British dragoman, and so, after more threatening, among which the consul told him, "If you go to Constantinople, I'll fetch you back," he was dismissed. A letter from Mr. Graham, recommending a clergyman to his hotel, had just arrived, and so next morning Simeon went off to meet him at Jaffa. During his absence, the Bishop sent a letter to the English consul, inclosing one from the Prussian consul to himself, saying that Simeon had given a verbal promise to desist from the prosecution, "from which," said his lordship, "you will see that the proceedings against me, &c., are at an end." The English consul saw no such thing, and would not trust any such declaration, said to be extorted by threats by the very man (the Prussian consul, Dr. Rosen) who had, in November last, given the Bishop (who had sent it to the Foreign Office) a letter against Simeon, so bad, that he (the Prussian consul) was obliged to refuse to let the English consul see it. Providentially, not knowing this, the Bishop had made and sent Mr. Finn a translation of it, and sent the original to Lord Clarendon. Simeon was at Jaffa nearly a week, during which time the petition against Mr. Finn was drawn up and sent off. On the Friday he returned. The clergyman, named Owen, his wife, and son or nephew, seemed very much pleased with their lodging and hosts, but next day, Saturday, he went to call on the Bishop; was away several hours; at last came back, *without his wife*, and instantly removed all their luggage to another hotel, whither the Bishop recommended them, saying "his conscience would not allow him to stay after what the Bishop had told him." The lady did not enter the house again. This was a dreadful blow to the reputation of the hotel, and almost broke their hearts, for they have gone to great expense to fit up a new house, and had no travellers all this season, and then came this. On Monday morning came a summons to the Prussian consulate; but Simeon was at Bethlehem. On Tuesday the summons was repeated. He went. The consul required him to sign a paper, saying that he had *promised* to stop the prosecution, on which, in Simeon's own words, "I rose, and said, No, Sir. I *never, never* told you so." He was put into prison, and has remained there ever since. For some days past his wife was not allowed to see him. This evening, not being well, he sent for his son-in-law, Mr. Bergheim, for medicine. Dr. Rosen *did* allow him to see him, but told him that no one is to be admitted. He threatens to keep him on bread and water. On Friday we were all thrown into great excitement by Mr. Deniss and Mrs. Simeon running in with a pencil note in Jewish. The following is Mr. Deniss' written account:—

'"*March* 12.—On passing the Prussian consulate, I heard some voice calling me very urgingly. Scarcely had I time to look about to ascertain whence the voice came, when a towel fell down into the street, accompanied

by a verbal request, 'Please, take this to my wife immediately.' I hurled it into my pocket, and off I ran according to request.

(Signed) '"M. J. DENISS."

'(TRANSLATION.)

'"MY DEAR MR. BERGHEIM,—Let my wife leave her house. Let her know that they are about to banish me. Consul Rosen told me, if I do not whatever he requires of me, he will send me away from Jerusalem. I asked him who has aught against me? He replied, 'Because you have committed some illegal act.' I told him that I was not his subject, but a *protégé;* I was a Turkish subject, and such I will remain. This, he says, 'you may say afterwards.' He prevents any one from coming to see me, and persists in saying he will banish me. Let my wife go immediately, and take advice.

'"Your poor father-in-law,

'"SIMEON ROSENTHAL."

'The wife, children, &c., soon filled the British consulate, crying and in distraction. Some ran to watch the house, and see when he left; some ran here and some there. Mr. Finn presently wrote a most serious remonstrance to the Bishop and others. Next day was as much an uproar as the day before. All our converts were in alarm; there were letters, petitions, and a large meeting, of which I will give you a report. But to all the Bishop replies, Simeon *is not in prison on his account.* Every day matters seem to get worse, and what will be the end we know not. His wife is distracted, and we are getting worn out, while letters and answers occupy us morning, noon, and night. Having written in vain to entreat the Prussian consul to tell what law her husband had broken, Mrs. Simeon yesterday wrote the following:—

'"*March* 16, 1858.

'"HONOURED SIR,—I yesterday sent you a letter. I entreat for the answer. I am ill with anxiety; be so merciful as to answer.

(Signed) '"AMELIA ROSENTHAL.

'"To Dr. G. Rosen, His Prussian Majesty's consul, by the hand of Christina Rosenthal."

'To-day she got the following answer—

'(TRANSLATION).

'"*Jerusalem, March* 17, 1858.

'"In reply to your letters of yesterday, and the day before yesterday's date, I believe I can do nothing better than refer you to your son-in-law, Mr. Bergheim, to whom I have taken pains to explain the affair of your husband, and who, as I hope, will give you information suitable to your powers of understanding. If I am obliged to suppose that your power of understanding is not clearer than your husband's, it seems to me that any discussion about Prussian law is as superfluous as unsuitable. I only add that your husband may immediately obtain his liberty by honestly answering the questions put to him. So that it is solely to his obstinate perseverance in disobedience and untruth that you have to ascribe it, if you and your children really are injured by his imprisonment.

(Signed) "G. ROSEN.

'"To Mrs. Amelia Rosenthal, of this place."

'She has written the following reply, and has as yet no answer. Bergheim knows no more than any of us. The consul has not shown him the questions.

'"*March* 17, 1858.

'"HONOURED SIR,—Excuse me for not using Mr. Bergheim, my son-in-law, between you and me. I cannot cause him suffering on account of my

affairs. My own troubles are great enough, and he might unintentionally make some mistake in repeating what you said. I look to you as my consul, and beg your mercy to answer me, and tell me what law my husband has broken. Also to entreat a copy of the questions my husband refuses to answer, that I may try if it is possible to persuade him to answer them. (Signed) "AMELIA ROSENTHAL.

'"To Dr. G. Rosen, Consul of His Prussian Majesty in Jerusalem."'

Since this was written, the adjudication of Mr. Hornby, the consular judge referred to, has arrived, to the effect that Rosenthal was justified in commencing either a criminal or a civil suit against his libellers; that the British consul's court at Jerusalem was the proper place in which to initiate proceedings; and that on their contempt of his summons, the consul was right in placing the parties under a temporary arrest.

But what reason is to be assigned, the reader may well wonder, for this inveterate persecution? Mr. Graham informs us that—

'Its great cause was the withdrawal by Rosenthal and his son-in-law, Mr. Bergheim, the banker, of their sons from the contamination of the Bishop's Diocesan school. This offence was never forgiven; and the animosity it occasioned was increased by the circumstance of their both being leading promoters of, and subscribing largely to, the separate and independent school which was afterwards established. Then commenced the persecution of Rosenthal in its bitterest form; every effort was made by the Bishop at Jerusalem, at Cairo, and elsewhere, by exerting his utmost influence upon travellers, to injure Mrs. Rosenthal's hotel, which many consider the best in Jerusalem.'

The soreness which the Bishop felt at the failure of his school included the smart of a detected falsehood, or rather of that series of untrue representations which we have already exposed by comparison with facts. Mr. Hunt testifies to the unsound character of Reports for home perusal:—

'My faith' (he says, p. 6) 'in the judgment and frankness of the missionaries was destroyed by the nature of the reports of Jerusalem affairs published by them in the English missionary journals. . . . My experience enabled me to understand how the humbler among the missionaries had to avoid steps of an independent character, and led me to feel the helplessness of the tradespeople in the congregation alone against any measure countenanced by the Bishop.'

Dr. Bonar bears independent and confirmatory testimony:—

'It is a long time since I noticed an inaccuracy of statement which I could not account for in Bishop Gobat's addresses. The numbers given by him as attending the Diocesan schools in Jerusalem are quite different from those given to myself and Mr. Cunningham.'

As regards the episcopal persecution of Rosenthal, he states:—

'When my friend Lady —— was on her way to Jaffa some time ago, *she* received a letter entreating her not to go to Simeon Rosenthal's hotel *in* Jerusalem, but to go anywhere else! A Protestant hotel, kept by a *converted* Jew, a member of your own Church, was to be avoided! Lady

—— was surprised at the letter; she did not understand what it could mean; but, meeting a friend of hers and my own at Jaffa, she showed it to him. He told her the state of things, and advised her to go to Rosenthal's. She did so, and told me afterwards that she was in every way satisfied. Now, my lord, the converts know these things; they know that if they are thought to be unfriendly to the Bishop's school or measures, they are marked men; that evil reports are circulated against them; that letters are written to deprive them of their livelihood. How, then, can they regard those who thus treat them?'

Mr. Graham enumerates the following examples of similar oppression, arising out of the vexed question of the diocesan school (p. 15) :—

'Mr. Bergheim, the banker, also a Jewish convert, was made to suffer in his business.

'Mrs. Max, a washerwoman, the wife of a converted Jew, who subscribes 10*l.* a year to the separate school, had her washing taken from her.

'Mr. A'Jacobson, the converted Jew, dismissed without cause (see p. 202), was grossly calumniated, for the sake of destroying his prospects in England.

'Mr. Calman, the missionary and converted Jew, who is a member of the Local Committee, and who has also subscribed to the establishment of the separate school, has had his character so traduced, that the London Committee hesitate to send him back to his work in Jerusalem.

'Mr. Nicolayson's death has not protected him from the attacks of the Bishop and his followers.'

He adds in a further passage (at p. 30) :—

'I do not envy the feelings of those who maligned him (Mr. Nicolayson) as unconverted in his life—converted only on his dying bed—or who denounced him as unsound in the faith; or who, like Bishop Gobat, in his funeral sermon to Mr. Nicolayson's own attached congregation, could not speak of his many virtues without adverting to what the Bishop, in that sermon, was pleased to call "the spots which stained the Christian character of the man."'

But the gross volley of personal calumnies which we encounter at this period of our progress among the facts, makes us turn in disgust from the task of picking up such dirty pellets. The unfair mode of their dissemination should, however, be noticed. When they are challenged, 'privacy' is claimed for them, whilst, at the same time, they are so carefully aimed and so studiously circulated as to have the worst effect of a public statement without its responsibility. They are as unmistakeably known as stage 'asides' are distinctly audible. They steal into the rancorous columns of the most implacable of our organs of bigotry, where any attempt to answer them is promptly and unscrupulously suppressed. Here is the private history of such a 'private' letter, given by Dr. Bonar (Mr. Graham, p. 73) :—

'Mr. Crawford calls the Bishop's letter, in the *Record* of 12th October, 1857, a "private" one. It was an *official* letter to Mr. Nelligan, as Secretary of the Jewish Committee in Dublin, acknowledging receipt of money, and had to be submitted to the numerous members of that Committee. It was

printed and circulated in Ireland, and afterwards sent for insertion to the *Record* (we have heard on the suggestion of a gentleman named Crawford—we trust not the Rev. Henry Crawford). Mr. Crawford may blame the imprudence or officiousness of the individual who sent it to the *Record*, but he cannot call it a *private* letter! Even though it were *private*, it ought to have been *true*.'

The whole paper, from which the above is an extract, is headed—

'Remarks by the Rev. Dr. H. Bonar on some of the statements in the Rev. Mr. Crawford's Letter, published in the *Record*, on the 11th January last; Dr. Bonar's Answer to which *was refused insertion* by the Editor of the *Record*.'

The coarse and poor artifice of having a party motive ready to impute to his opponents, we are sorry to see, characterises the language circulated by Bishop Gobat and his adherents. Thus the attempt was made, as shown in the famous 'Arab Protestant' document, to represent the protests against the Hadoub marriage as merely a wish on the part of the European party to exercise undue censure upon the conduct and character of native Christians. It was afterwards sought to fix on it the character of a party quarrel between the German and English sections of the European community. (Mr. Graham, Appendix, No. XXIII.) To refute this spiteful and clumsy figment, we need but refer to the list of names of the sympathisers with the protest of Mr. Hunt, in which not only are German mixed with English names, but *the large majority* are German. Lastly, both in the case of the schools, and in that of Rosenthal, 'Tractarian' motives are carelessly and copiously assigned to every challenger of the efficiency or moral purity of the former, and individually to Mr. Finn and his family, as regards the latter. Mr. Finn, who probably has little claim to the title, may console himself that he is called nothing worse. He escapes lightly from this war of aspersions and invectives, as compared with others.

By word and deed, then, an accumulative evidence, it seems, proved that the Bishop has scandalized Christendom, abused the ear of the Church at home, divided his own communion, given a text to the scorner, and a theme of taunt to the infidel. He has endeavoured to bear rule by dint of overbearing arrogance, not by the influence of meekness. Of all the topics of discord which perpetuate estrangement between the disciples of the Cross on the spot where it stood, and prevent Jerusalem from being 'a city that is at unity with itself,' nothing so ruinously schismatical in its tendencies and results has ever been devised by the subtlest enemy to religion. No vexations of politics, no intrigues of *Russia* or of France, can ever harass the Catholic Church and impede the restoration of unity, like the disorders which 'come

from within and defile' her. Oppression and persecution, vituperation and calumny, spiritual arrogance condensed into temporal despotism, all independence extinguished, all party-spirit fostered: such is the scene on which the curtain falls.

Who will take the matter up and sift it by the rules of evidence? Who will conduct an impartial investigation? Dr. Bonar's urgent appeal to the Bishop of Carlisle remains publicly unanswered. Long ago Mr. Graham pressed the London Jews' Society to institute an inquiry on the allegations which personally affected him, but they refused. The Earl of Shaftesbury was similarly appealed to, and similarly refused.[1] To the editor of the *Record*, in the columns of which Mr. Graham had been chiefly attacked, he addressed his defence, but its insertion was of course refused. The better for him; for if that print had inserted a retractation, who could have believed in its genuineness? The same noble earl, when acting as chairman this year to the meeting of the London Jews' Society, publicly deprecated any allusion to the grave scandal resting upon its operations through the acts of Bishop Gobat. That Society, as every year comes round, puts its brazen trumpet to lips that proclaim the progress and prosperity of the 'Diocese' of Jerusalem. Every convert is numbered on their returns, every case of a Jew buying a Testament, is rigorously noted. The Bishop's reader, deacon, dragoman, are names familiar to their pages. They back him till he gets into the dirt, and then they back out of him. They contribute from 150*l.* to 200*l.* a year to the schools, which have become a proverb of infamy; they have gone on all the while receiving and publishing bubble statements of the efficiency, character, &c., of that institution; and when its credit collapses, they decline all notice, give their money, we are to presume still, but ask no questions, and deprecate any. They pass on the responsibility to the 'Jerusalem Diocesan Fund Committee,' and the jubilee passes over harmoniously. To exaggerate every paltry gossip into a rumour, every hazy circumstance into a telling fact, to trim up doubt into probability, and probability into certainty, to tone down awkward incidents, to suppress impracticable statements, to admit the poison and exclude the antidote: this, it seems, is the way to work a Missionary Society for the conversion of the Jews—this is the way to show to them that be in error the light of truth, to the intent that they may return into the way of righteousness.

And now, while these sheets are going to the press, we learn from an advertisement in several newspapers, not from any report of proceedings, which though demanding publicity, nay, frivolous without it, have been kept studiously private, that at a meeting

[1] Mr. Hunt would have refrained from publishing, had not the same noble lord, to whom the evidence as collected by him was sent, declined all action in the matter.

of the Committee of the Jerusalem Diocesan Fund, on the 16th of June, a resolution was passed, complaining of the 'aspersions' cast, not *by*, but *on*, Bishop Gobat. Truly we may say,

'Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.'

The Committee further state that, after 'searching inquiry,' there is no foundation in the facts, 'when duly explained,' for those assertions; and conclude with a vote of 'undiminished confidence' in Bishop Gobat. They also promise a pamphlet, which has since come out, precisely in time to be too late for any notice here.

It may at once be said, that the mode of the 'inquiry' itself condemns the conclusions arrived at. Whatever the facts, assuming for the moment the doubt which the Committee affect, may prove to be, this was not the way to deal with them; nor was the Committee a tribunal antecedently unprejudiced, and sufficiently impartial to set at rest questions which seriously implicate the credit of every one of its members. It is as if the sitting members of constituencies charging them with bribery and corruption, should form themselves into a committee to consider the charge. To whatever the alleged 'inquiry'—as clandestine as some of the nefarious acts which it had to consider—may be found to amount, it has clearly been managed without seeking the evidence of those witnesses whose words have set the world in a blaze of indignation, Mr. Holman Hunt, Mr. Graham, Dr. Bonar, and Dr. Sim.

And now we have gone through the more public and crying facts of this complicated and distasteful affair; but there are various minor complementary scandals on which we have been unable to dilate, or even to touch. The examination of the whole is like nothing so much as that of a drop of dirty water by a microscope. There appears the Sandreczki scandal, the Crawford scandal, the Macgowan libel, the dragoman's corruption, the Rosenthals' persecution, and then emerges the great Gobat scandal itself, a strange creation, with many members, stomachs, and mouths, and,

'Like Aaron's serpent, swallows all the rest,'

and becomes itself the envelope of all. Of the state of feeling in Jerusalem fewer traces reach us than if this tyranny were exercised in the meanest and remotest dependency of the British Crown; but those which transpire are painful enough. There, the facts, as we have set them forth, are known clearly enough, and that knowledge is embittered by the further consciousness that there is a clique of bigots at home bent on denying their truth, and industrious in suppressing the proof of them, of which we expect the pamphlet alluded to as too recently published for our notice, will furnish a conclusive example.

ART. VII.—*Catholic Antidotes.* By Rev. W. E. HEYGATE, M.A. London: Masters.

IN bygone days no subject was handled without an endeavour to exhaust it. Each chronicler of his monastery or of his country conscientiously began his history at the very beginning, *i. e.* with Adam. Each writer of a theological treatise felt it necessary to pass in review not a few of the first principles of theology. Every topic, in short, was deduced and developed *usque ab ovo;* because, when books were scarce, little knowledge could be taken for granted, and each book had to discharge many of the functions of a library. Our own age, with its teeming press, its rapid locomotion, its cheap post, its wide dissemination of fundamental ideas, is naturally impatient of unnecessary repetitions. The monograph, devoted to the elucidation of a particular point of doctrine or of criticism, and dismissing all antecedent or parallel matter, is a feature of modern, perhaps especially of German theological literature. Clearness and brevity are, or ought to be, its advantages; it is liable to the charge of one-sidedness or superficiality.

'Presto è bene
Non si conviene.'

But in truth, whatever be its faults or its virtues, it is a creation of the age, and Mr. Heygate adopts it, not probably as thinking it the best for a very vast subject, but as wishing to be read by a generation which will only read on its own terms.

It is due to Mr. Heygate to bear this in mind. For the range of subjects to which he addresses himself within a somewhat narrow compass, is a little alarming. In our own days Mr. Goode has written three dreary volumes on the Rule of Faith; Mr. Macnaught, erroneously, and Mr. Lee, ably, but both at some length, on the subject of Inspiration; Mr. Mozley, with more grace and eloquence than orthodoxy, on the question of Baptismal Regeneration; writers whom it would be beyond our power to enumerate, on the Atonement; and Father Passaglia in true mediæval style upon the Immaculate Conception. The modern literature of the Sacraments would of itself fill a respectable library. Yet, in a volume of less than 200 pages, Mr. Heygate is discussing each of these very various points; but only to exhibit their relation to the premises by which the Creed of Christendom must be at present maintained. He is, perhaps,

a little dry—his arguments are elliptical, and his book wears the appearance, at places, of having tumbled out into life prematurely from the note-books in which it originally grew. But the book itself must have cost him considerable labour; and it is a real boon to the Church, as the subject to which it directs attention is of the greatest importance.

After remarking that other members of the Church of England besides those who cling peculiarly to her Catholic elements, are constantly pained and alarmed by the able promulgation and maintenance of some new and startling error within the communion of their Church, he proceeds:—

'The following pages are an attempt to direct persons to a remedy for this evil, to an antidote which will either prevent error by anticipation, or remedy it subsequently by correction.'—P. xvi.

The existence of the evil does not admit of dispute. Some years since it might have been said that Rationalism, at least in England, was but a theological bugbear, and that the strong sense of the nation was more imperious than the logic which would deduce it irresistibly from the premises of ultra-Protestantism. But since the publication of Mr. Maurice's Theological Essays, of Mr. Macnaught's work on Inspiration, and specially of the Commentaries on S. Paul's Epistles, by Messrs. Jowett and Stanley,—Evangelicals themselves have been foremost to proclaim the energy and extent of an evil with which they are at the same time utterly unable to cope, except by weapons of denunciation and abuse. Mr. Heygate proposes to them a more excellent way:—

'This antidote [to rationalism] is partly a direct appeal to the Creed of the Primitive Church, and partly an exhibition of certain Catholic doctrines and actions, as irreconcilable with particular errors, and as an intended safeguard against them.'—P. xvi.

Any man does good service who insists upon the appeal to antiquity. Ultra-Protestantism, Rationalism, the intellectual Epicureanism of the day—and we must add, Roman Catholicism—are against it. The labour of inquiry is doubtless distasteful to a large number of well-meaning persons; and we are familiar with stories of Exeter Hall orators, who have claimed and received applause on the ground of their ignorance of the Fathers. To elevate want of education into a principle and a virtue, is certainly an adroit proceeding for those who are uneducated, and who dread the loss of influence which may follow on the discovery. A more respectable objection is that which connects itself with a fear of putting a stop to the progress of theological science. But antiquity does not proscribe modern criticism. *Provided* only that no additions be made to the essentials of the

faith, as by modern Roman development, and nothing be taken from it, as by religionists of an opposite tendency, the principles of antiquity may be recognised side by side with the utmost activity of thought and investigation. Mr. Heygate discusses at length, and as we think successfully, the objection that antiquity, if resorted to, leads men to Rome (pp. xx—xxvi. Intr.), but he dismisses somewhat summarily the yet more usual fallacy, 'that 'any man can prove anything out of the Fathers, and that they 'are too discordant to be of any service as witnesses.' Certainly this objection is most frequently urged by those who are entirely ignorant of the Fathers, or who know what they know of them at second hand. Thus, as our readers will recollect, it was brought forward somewhat conspicuously last year, during the course of the debate on the Divorce Bill, by a high authority in the House of Lords. Of course there are contradictory propositions to be found in so vast a literature as that of the ancient Church. Of course there are many propositions apparently, but not really, contradictory. The Fathers state both sides of truth, as a rule, very fearlessly, and by isolating their language from its context, you may represent as antagonistic, expressions which are in the highest degree harmonious. This is at least equally the case with Holy Scripture; and it cannot at any rate be denied, that the Fathers do, on the whole, represent one common atmosphere—almost one habit of thought on sacred subjects—common, we mean, to Greeks and Latins, to the schools of Antioch and of Alexandria, to literal and mystical commentators, to writers so distant from each other in country and associations as, *e. g.* S. Chrysostom and Tertullian, or in the date of their appearance upon the arena of the Church, as the sub-apostolic S. Clement Romanus, and his successor, S. Gregory. The greatest dissimilarities between Fathers are surely less than those which separate the Old Testament from the New, or the Fathers from modern ultra-Protestants, or, much more, ultra-Protestants from each other. We say nothing of the possible application of the hasty dictum of the Bishop of London to the canon of the New Testament, or to the proof of the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity. It was uttered, perhaps, in the heat of debate; and might be passed over as what it is, an *obiter dictum*, did it not betray to our opponents a very fundamental principle not only of Anglicanism, but, as we submit, of Revelation itself, only to get rid of a troublesome argument, which could not otherwise have been met but by severe investigation.

We say a 'fundamental principle of Revelation.' For how can we prove the canon of the New Testament to be what it claims to be, if antiquity is to be thus contemptuously abandoned? No man in his senses would say that internal evidence

could suffice to prove the books of the New Testament to differ from the works of the Apostolic Fathers as inspired from uninspired compositions, or that each book of the New Testament carries within it palpable evidence of its inspiration.[1] But the express statements of the Fathers upon this subject will be easily disposed of by a resource peculiar, we believe, to controversialists of our own age. It is assumed, whenever the assumption is needed, that the Fathers used language on the most sacred subjects without restraint upon hyperbole or figure, without any adequate sense of the responsibilities of language, almost without any conscientiousness at all. They are said to speak rhetorically, whenever what they say goes beyond the purpose and tenets of those who desire to claim their names without submitting to their teaching. Doubtless, at times the Fathers are rhetorical; and it would be little less than dishonest to claim an apostrophe to a departed friend which might occur at the close of a funeral panegyric, as proving that the fervid orator habitually invoked the Saints. But when, in the midst of a grave doctrinal treatise, a writer uses strong language—which concentrates and reiterates what he had said before—the natural inference is, that he is calling attention to his real meaning, in a manner calculated to impress his readers, not with his volubility of language, but with the seriousness and substance of his teaching. It is possible to evade the adverse testimony of any writer, by describing as rhetoric or hypothetical language any body of phraseology which militates against what you wish to find in him. A recent Bampton lecturer had the boldness to apply this method of elimination to Hooker.[2] An able writer on Baptism has recently employed it to get rid of the incubus of the vast body of ancient language on the subject of regeneration conveyed by that Sacrament.[3] It is just as much, and just as little, applicable to what is said by the Fathers on the questions of inspiration of Scripture, or on the Deity of our Lord and Saviour. Their language will only appear rhetorical to those who, not possessing the gift of faith, cannot bring themselves to imagine that there is so much to be said about supernatural realities by those who see them. In any case, if their rhetorical tendency makes the ancients untrustworthy on such subjects as Baptism and the blessed Eucharist, they are equally unsafe guides when they speak, as they often do, with such force and beauty on the unity and inspiration of Holy Scripture.

And here it is that we complain, with Mr. Heygate, of the

[1] Mr. Heygate seems a little to overstate his case in page 3. The obvious general use of γραφὴ in the New Testament must limit its meaning in 2 Tim. iii. 16.

[2] Bode's Bampton Lectures, p. 173, note.

[3] *Cf.* Mozley on Baptism. Introd. sub fin.

conduct of the (so called) Evangelical clergy. Doubtless, they strive to love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and to advance His kingdom and His glory. At any rate, they have more zeal for His cause, than knowledge of the means by which it is to be sustained and promoted. They were shocked, the other day, at Liverpool, by Mr. Macnaught's attack upon the inspiration of the Word of God. At Oxford, they preach energetically, with whatever success, against Mr. Jowett's denial of the atoning work of Christ. In London, they are struggling to defend Eternal Punishment against the sublimated and shadowy dicta of Mr. Maurice. They have neither part nor lot, at Lampeter, with the 'Rational Godliness' of Mr. Williams; nor with the bitter unbelief of Dr. Donaldson, at Cambridge. Their organs proclaim incessantly that rationalism is eating into the very vitals of the Church of England. If so, we ask who is to blame but themselves? For years have they been industriously employed in destroying (with whatever good intentions) the defences of the city of God, and now they wonder that her enemies have not delicacy sufficient to keep them from entering at the breach. For years they have been struggling with all their energies to make good the premises of Rationalism, and now they are terrified that others take them at their word and pass on to the conclusion. Do they suppose that those who have been all their lives learning to undervalue antiquity, will suddenly revere and uphold it sufficiently to maintain that supremacy of Scripture which, in the long run, cannot be maintained without it? Do they imagine that men who have been taught, again and again, that Sacraments are signs—that they are not mysteries—and that mysteriousness is characteristic rather of false systems than of the Gospel—will ever continue to think of and to worship the Ever-Blessed Trinity, and the Divine Person of our Holy Redeemer, with the worship and the thoughts of an Athanasius or an Hilary? Is the first chapter of S. John to be read by the light of Catholic tradition, and the third with the glosses of Beza and Calvin, and the sixth under the guidance of a Zwingli or Worso; and yet are the faculties of unchastened, unsubmissive criticism which are trained by the Reformer of Zurich never to exercise themselves on those portions of the Divine Evangelist where the soul has been taught by ancient teachers to hear meekly, and to receive with pure affection? Is the individual to believe thoroughly in his perfect competency to decide the sense of Scripture,—to sit in judgment on its teaching in detail and on the whole, and yet to pause when he is invited to consider whether or no the Book of Genesis and the Acts of the Apostles were constructed by a later age, out of documents originally heterogeneous,—whether the Pentateuch is or is not a creation of

the age of Josiah,—whether Joshua is a consistent account of the conquest of Canaan,—whether or no the Chronicles were written in the interests of a selfish sacerdotalism,—how far Jonah is historical, or Daniel genuine, or Isaiah and Zechariah uncritical fusions of poems, originally distinct in date and authorship, into single books,—or how far the most recent Tübingen theories of the origin of S. John's Gospel, or of the Pastoral Epistles, are entitled to serious consideration,—or if the ethics of the Psalter be throughout defensible,—or whether the Song of Solomon and the Book of Esther, when literally interpreted, are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness? We do not say that these questions are not to be fully and fairly faced. God forbid! But it is certain that the tone of a mind which is moulded in an anti-sacramental system, to ignore and to depreciate antiquity on principle, to suspect and dislike mystery in revelation, to sympathise with negative conclusions, where they are possible, and to avoid positive ones,—to make Scripture say as little as possible, instead of as much as faith would desire and deserve,—it is certain that the tone of such a mind is more or less rationalistic in germ, and will approach these and like questions with a secret bias towards the side of rationalistic conclusions. Puritanism has had many years and large opportunities for sowing the wind: it has begun to reap the whirlwind; and it would fain treat its own creation, the child of its own thoughts and sympathies, as a portent and an abortion, with whose parentage it had no concern, and towards whom it could only have feelings of terror and of hatred. It would disown, or even fasten upon others, the inevitable results of habits of mind and of theological principles which itself has been mainly instrumental in forming and putting forward.

This is said not in bitterness, but in sincere sorrow. The error of the (so-termed) Evangelical school, can yield triumph to none who have at heart the holy cause of our Lord and Saviour. But it is easy to observe in that party, two elements utterly heterogeneous. Numbers there are, who, believing that the positive side of the theory in question is a full and fair representation of the religion which eighteen centuries ago was brought from heaven, feed their souls upon the truths which it does proclaim, to their sanctification and peace. They value it not for what it denies, but for what it asserts; but to others, alas! it is clear that the attractiveness of the theory lies mainly in its negative phase. To many minds at the present day, the great recommendation of the religion of Venn and Wilberforce (if, indeed, the modern school can in any true sense claim sonship from names so revered and cherished) is, not the hold upon *truths* which link the soul in vital communion with our ascended

Saviour; but the possession of a theory which is a negation, not merely of Roman, but of ancient Christianity. For the time the negative and positive adherents of the school act side by side; but while these are pressing up the sides of the Holy Mountain, and only not believing more, because, as yet, owing to prejudices of education or whatever cause, more has not been vouchsafed to them; their comrades are as manifestly looking downwards, and will close with the first teacher who can persuade them that it is possible to combine with allegiance to the Gospel, the belief of one dogma less than is required by their present creed. It is easy, in short, to predict the disintegration of the party, whenever such a solvent as the question of inspiration shall have been fairly thrust upon the English mind, and it becomes plain to honest men, that they must either accept premises which will lead them to new conclusions, or, alas! retreat from a belief which has hitherto been the hope and stay of their souls.

To Roman Catholicism, now that it is committed to the principle of development, antiquity is a standing bugbear: and the 'living Church' of modern controversialists supersedes that laborious and anxious reference to the past which we find in the pages of Bellarmine and Baronius. It is usual with modern defenders of the Roman position to represent the appeal to antiquity as merely an extension of the field of private judgment, and as identical in principle with the invitation to each man to form for himself his own religion from Scripture. Of course, if it were seriously supposed that the Catholic Church of Christ spoke œcumenically at Trent, the reference to councils and writers who are on all hands held to represent the mind of early ages would become an archæological rather than a practical question; although we should be still concerned to explain how a Divine Authority could add to what had been given once for all.[1] It is mere trifling to hope that antiquity will only yield a religion for the learned. The question is not whether the whole body of Christians ought to study the Fathers. It is whether the Fathers or modern Roman councils and writers are safer guides to the sense of the Church Catholic, for those who have the responsibility of teaching and guiding souls. In either case these are matters of opinion as well as matters of faith; in either case, therefore, the individual judgment is appealed to, although Rome may have decided much which antiquity leaves open. But while in deferring to the sense of an ancient council or a writer, confessedly representative of the yet undivided Church, you bow to an authority whom Greek, Roman, and Anglican alike revere;

[1] The case of an opposition between Scripture and a council really œcumenical cannot be supposed.

the modern Roman doctor or synod represents at best the isolated tradition of his communion—isolated not less from the reformed West than from the mighty and unyielding fabric of the Eastern Church, and the stereotyped never-changing outline of Eastern tradition.

Mr. Heygate is no optimist—indeed his book almost reads as if written in low spirits; and we think that he is disposed to underrate the extent to which the Church of England may be fairly held to represent her peculiar principle. That she is a precise reproduction of the ancient Church, or of any one primitive period, it would of course be impossible to state broadly: nor is it forgotten, that in matters affecting the Eucharistic Service, and our relations to the state, 'the influence of foreign 'reformers, the tyrannous will of Henry VIII., and other like 'influences, have left us crippled and maimed.' Mr. Heygate complains especially of the displacement of the prayer of oblation; and to those who have felt the beauty of the Gregorian canon, or of the still integral act of consecration and oblation in King Edward's first book, the *disjecta membra* of the same great action in our modern service may suggest a passing feeling of regret. It must be confessed that in this respect we have lost liturgically, although Mr. Freeman may be expected, in his forthcoming volume, to maintain, with his usual ability, that we are material gainers by this as by every other change. Without venturing to anticipate him, we may suggest that in one point of view, the present prayer of oblation does acquire by its position in the English Liturgy, a significance which it would lose if, in accordance with ancient usage, it should recover its original connexion with the act of consecration. It has become possible to offer and present ourselves, our souls, and bodies to the majesty of the Eternal Father, because an union has already been entered into with the holy and hallowing manhood of the One Mediator, in the act of communion; and accordingly, all honour and glory is rendered to the Father Almighty, not only by Him, but *with* Him, through whom alone such real praise and oblation can be duly tendered. In short, the sacrifice of the people is in its true place, as it appears to us, when after participation of the Eucharistic Species, they can be associated, not by an intention or hypothesis, but in virtue of an actual unity, with the Eucharistic Presentation to the Eternal Father of the body and blood, the life, passion, and infinite merits of His sinless Son.

The other point which Mr. Heygate illustrates is the interdependence and connexion of Christian doctrines. That relations exist between truth and truth, and that, in many cases, Divine Revelation enables and intends us to determine and adjust them,

would be generally admitted. Indeed, the natural course of theological investigation, with respect to any proposition claiming to be a portion of revealed truth, is first to examine the authority upon which it rests in Scripture as interpreted by antiquity, and then to observe its apparent attitude towards those other truths which we already know to lie above, beneath, and around it. Truth being above us, and necessarily mysterious, because a Revelation of the Infinite, it may of course happen that portions of Divine Revelation may seem to us either to have no relations towards each other, or even to be directly antagonistic. While, therefore, we may not be disappointed or perplexed at an inadequate answer, we are right in asking the question, whether any, and, if any, what relations exist between the various portions of Christian doctrine—since, in many cases, the reply is a valuable stimulus and guide to faith.

Our English divines are, as a rule, men of authority rather than men of system. They content themselves with the appeal to the law and to the testimony, and less frequently address themselves to the rationale of Christian dogma. Hooker, in this respect, stands out in majestic contrast to his contemporaries and successors; his manly and religious mind was impregnated with the thoughts and reasonings of the philosophical Eastern theologians of the fourth century, and with the writings of the great schoolmen; and his account of the connexion between the Sacraments and the Divine Incarnation is, as a whole, an unrivalled piece of philosophic theology. Even Hooker *aliquando dormitat*, great as he is; and it may be said, without presumption, that his account of the Eucharist would have been more complete, had he consulted the analogy of the faith and its requirements, rather than the then dominant authority of the Institutes of Calvin. The unabstract, unphilosophical temper of the English mind, the strong reaction from a scholasticism which had often misled its generous votaries, the indisposition peculiar to times of urgent controversy, to venture for a moment off the vantage-ground of authority—have impressed our national divinity in general with a remarkable insensibility to the interrelations of dogma; and the fact is sometimes admitted, and treated as matter for congratulation, as if it were to be accounted for by reference to the undeniable instinct of genuine piety, which fears to think or speak hastily of God, the more clearly it realizes his presence, and trembles to fetter, and, it may be, to obscure his disclosures of Himself with systems and phrases of earthly origin.

Certainly we may hope that, during the last century and since, the English mind has, through God's good grace and mercy, been saved from unbelief through its peculiar incapacity for perceiving the sequence of doctrine. It will hereafter, perhaps, be recorded

as a remarkable fact, that numbers of Englishmen within and without the Church have believed strongly and intelligently in the Incarnation, while denying Sacramental Grace. They have happily failed to perceive, not merely the parallelism of the evidence for these truths, but that (if we may reverently say so) the Sacraments stand to the Incarnation in the relation of a hand to the body, and that to deny their efficacy is to isolate the main trunk of Christian doctrine from the human soul by removing the channels and media of a real interest in it. Accordingly, in France and Germany, upon a denial of the Sacraments, the Incarnation is first treated historically, and then denied. And the earlier phase of this fatal descent is observable in the impatience with which even religious writers think and speak of the fences raised around the doctrine of the Incarnation by the Church of the Athanasian and Leonine age, and in the popular sentiments about the (so-termed) Athanasian Creed. The Incarnation, apart from the Sacraments, which bring it into living and felt contact with our actual life, and subordinate its historical aspect to its present and practical importance, would have been exposed anywhere but in England to imminent risk of being utterly denied; it has been saved, under God, in a great measure through the inconsequent and unphilosophical character of English divinity.

On the other hand, this feature of English religious thought operates to prevent recognition of truths which follow immediately on what is already admitted. Men fail to see that they believe what is only a portion of a creed, and that what they believe suggests the importance of what they hold to be doubtful or matter of opinion. Doubtless, where faith is perfect, its entire object-matter is present to the soul with a living energy which supersedes all mere ratiocination and inference. When we see an entire body, we do not laboriously reflect that each portion of it is the correlative of something else. The sight of the whole supersedes this slow effort to analyse the relations and importance of the parts. But Mr. Heygate reminds us that we may thus light upon practices and arguments in antiquity which determine with clearness and precision the faith of the ancient Church. Thus, the practice of reserving the Eucharist proves a real belief in the efficacy and perpetuated effect of consecration; while Theodoret's arguments against Eutichianism could not have been sanctioned by a body which believed in Transubstantiation. Thus Infant Baptism presupposed Original Sin as its necessary explanation; and, as Mr. Jowett implies, the atonement could not have been doubted while it was fenced by the Eucharistic Sacrifice; and Absolution asserts implicitly the gravity of the penalties which follow upon unforgiven sin. It is characteristic of the fabric of Christian theology to oppose a practice or a rite

to the surging wave of adverse criticism, and to shelter the doctrines which such rite or practice may embody from the rude and untutored hearts of men at large, who are so little morally fitted for religious investigation. Thus the Atonement was guarded by one aspect of the Eucharist, the Incarnation by another, the Fall by Baptism, the Special Providence of God by continued prayer, the inspiration of Scripture by its use in the services of the Church, the power of Christ's cleansing blood by the rites of Absolution. And where the hold upon the outwork has been swept away or been yielded, the concession has ever failed to propitiate the opponents of faith, or to arrest their advance upon the citadel of Christian doctrine beyond it. We have indeed heard it suggested that the Immaculate Conception was projected as a new barrier which might meet and engage the tide of advancing unbelief at a point as remote as possible from the centre of Christian doctrine. But human expedients may not be thus grafted upon a divine religion; nor does the Incarnation need other defences than those which have been divinely authorized; nor can anything atone to the defenders of the Immaculate Conception for the renunciation which it involves of the authority of antiquity, or for the change which, as the Bishop of S. David's has recently pointed out, it has unquestionably effected in the principles of the Roman Church;[1] nor, in short, could any measure have been devised more favourable to the advance of continental infidelity.

Mr. Heygate is at unnecessary pains, as it appears to us, in resting his opposition to that unhappy dogma upon its incompatibility with the prevalent opinion current in the ancient Church, upon the subject of Original Sin. This only amounts to showing that it could not have been generally held then; whereas it is notorious that four years ago it was no part of the faith of the Roman Church. His happiest effort is the 'Essay on the relation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice to the Doctrine of the Atonement.' We must extract one passage, as more than any other characteristic of the writer whom many of our readers will gratefully remember as the author of 'Sermons on the Care of the Soul':—

'It is far too common to confine the atonement to the death of Christ on the cross, which is indeed the crowning act of his vicarious sufferings, although not of our justification, for which the Resurrection was necessary (Rom. iv. 25), but which was preceded by acts in each and all of which the ancient Church, and devout minds in all ages, guided and encouraged by Scripture, have acknowledged redemption. The fast of Christ for man's greediness: His humiliation for man's pride; His poverty for our love of this world; His Gethsemane for man's Eden; His betrayal for our

[1] Charge, 1857, Appendix.

falsehood; His forsaken estate for our forsaking of God; His meekness for our anger; His bonds for our lawlessness; His silence for our excuses; His stripes for our deserving of stripes; His condemnation that we might not be condemned; and other like saving acts, which bring the colour of shame into our cheeks, and tears into our eyes, are all parts of that vicarious suffering whereby the original and actual sins of men are forgiven; and the Crucifixion itself was not simply a death, but a death which redeemed man in his various members; and by its crown of thorns, nails, and thirst,—by its manifold und unspeakable agonies, atoned for our various and unspeakable sins.'—P. 76.

Equally noteworthy is his correction of Archbishop Magee's meagre treatment of the objection that there could be no imaginable connexion between the death of an animal and the remission of sin (p. 77). But space obliges us to refrain from doing more than commend Mr. Heygate's book to the attention of our readers. More perhaps is due to suggestive books than to books of information; and Mr. Heygate, while full of matter, is a very suggestive writer. He propels his readers into ranges of thought which lie far beyond those which he actually traverses; and if, as in his discussion on Predestination, he is occasionally meagre, what he does say is much to the purpose. His book, we fear, is not likely to fall into the hands of those who have most to learn from it. Our countrymen at Cawnpore would have thankfully escaped the Sepoys by taking refuge, had it been possible, behind the defences of the Residency at Lucknow. But in the things of faith men are generally less wise than in matters of sense and time. Nor do we expect even a majority of our evangelical brethren to reconsider their contempt for the principle of antiquity in the light of its results, or to fall back upon a position which would dissociate them from reasoners and consequences, with which their prayers and earnestness have no legitimate connexion. Good will have been done if sound Churchmen are led to prove more searchingly the real principles of their creed; and to take their stand with increased resolution, intelligence, and thankfulness, upon a basis which sufficed for their pious forefathers—which will protect them from Rationalism, and which will not lead them to Rome.

Art. VIII.—*The Declaration of the Six Scottish Bishops.*

Since the publication of our last Number, there has been a meeting of the Scottish Episcopal Synod; an event which, we believe, took by surprise a large portion of the Scottish clergy and laity, who had imagined that nothing of the sort was to take place before the usual yearly meeting in September. Much as we regret, on many accounts, that the idea of postponement was not carried out, we are not blind to the difficulties of the position in which the six Bishops found themselves placed. The excited state of a portion of the laity, who appear to have wished for some repression of the Bishop of Brechin's teaching without so solemn a proceeding as a judicial trial; the fancied danger of a disruption between the northern and southern dioceses, or of a secession on the part of some of the lay impugners of Bishop Forbes's Charge; the increasing interest in the matter exhibited by the remarks of the press in England, and the publication of pamphlets in Scotland — all these considerations must have weighed upon the minds of those who determined upon this meeting, and the Pastoral Letter resulting from its deliberations.

Now we are most anxious not to forget the respect due both to the office and the character of the six Bishops, whose Pastoral has by this time, no doubt, been seen by our readers. But their proceedings are avowedly 'not of a judicial character;' their Letter, confessedly, embodies no new canon, but only words of 'guidance and admonition:' and they, who have so freely criticised (to use the very gentlest language) the acts and writings of their brother Bishop, can have no right to be surprised or to complain, if a document thus made *publici juris* become in its turn the subject of free, but not, we hope, either irreverent or captious criticism.

A complete survey of the very grave questions both of doctrine and discipline opened out by this Pastoral would occupy a volume. We can only touch upon some salient features.

I. As regards doctrine. While admitting in this Pastoral, as a just ground of thankfulness, the absence of any teaching which *positively* contravenes what we have been accustomed to maintain for truth, and its susceptibility (we trust) throughout of a Catholic interpretation, we see no reason to change the opinion expressed by us in April last, that a declaration of this nature would (so far as it was binding) tend to narrow the latitude hitherto allowed, both in England and Scotland, on the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. Our judgment is confirmed by finding that a contemporary newspaper, which no one will accuse of being either hasty or intemperate, and which cannot be charged

with any leanings towards extravagant doctrine, has given utterance to precisely the same sentiment, maintaining 'that 'the Reformed Church hitherto has not excluded the line of 'doctrine held in the Charge.' To have even attempted such limitation, though (happily) not by dogmatic canons or binding resolutions, seems to us to lay upon its authors the burden of a very serious and deep responsibility.

But, further, we must avow our inability to see any mode of reconciling the present document with the one issued by three of the Scotch Bishops in December last. Let us not be misunderstood. In April, we remarked upon an apparent discrepancy between a sermon by Dean Ramsay and the document for which the Dean, in company with other Presbyters, thanked the three Bishops. Perhaps we ought to have explained (what we gladly seize the earliest opportunity of explaining) that nothing was further from our intention, than to cast the slightest stigma upon the character of one of whom we have always heard the most favourable reports for long and faithful services to the Church, mild and conciliatory character, and the possession of many gifts peculiarly calculated to fit him for the important station which he occupies in Edinburgh. We were only trying 'to show cause why' toleration should be exercised, by the display of the danger which even most excellent men incur in times of excitement. And as then, so now. The six Bishops have really, we believe, persuaded themselves that the necessity for immediate action was imperative, and that the principle of *Salus Ecclesiæ suprema lex* must overrule all personal considerations. But even such a principle, though not of course intrinsically a low one, may become a snare. It cannot surely justify, on the part of Christian rulers, any exercise of that *summum jus* which the proverb pronounces to be *summa injuria;* it cannot efface the intellectual discrepancy of propositions such as the following. The writers are above all suspicion of dishonesty; but can they be acquitted of inconsistency?

Proposition signed by three Bishops of the Scotch Church in December, 1857.

'We hold and teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are not so present in the consecrated elements of bread and wine, as to be therein the proper object of such supreme adoration as is due to God alone.'

Proposition signed by the same three Bishops (with three more Co-Bishops) in May, 1858.

'You will remember that, as our Church has repudiated the doctrine of Transubstantiation, so she has given us no authority whereby we can require it to be believed that the substance of Christ's Body and Blood (still less his entire Person as God and Man, now glorified in the heavens) is made to exist *with, in,* or *under* the material substances of bread and wine.'

Now, while the latter proposition denies the existence of any authority for teaching, that the Body and Blood of Christ our Lord are present in the consecrated elements, the former as certainly implies such presence. We would submit the correctness of this last assertion to the judgment of any good lawyer or logician. Nevertheless, lest it should appear to be the mere inference of a hostile pen, we are glad to avail ourselves of the testimony of the most able and learned defender of the position. In turning back over those files of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, on which our last article was based, we find (under date of February 18th) a letter written by Mr. Freeman, which concludes as follows:—

'Lastly, with reference to the position taken up by the three Bishops in the proposition above cited, it has been deemed by some (probably by very few, however, among the *clergy* of the Scotch Church), to go beyond the limits of Eucharistic truth, in asserting (*as by implication it undoubtedly does*) that the Body and Blood of Christ *are* present in the consecrated elements, or that the elements are, or may be called, such. The grounds upon which this position is securely based I have ventured to set forth in the treatise referred to; but I may add, that one of the most learned of the present Scotch clergy—as firm a representative as could be found in Eucharistic matters of the old Scotch mind of Bishops Jolly, Rattray, &c.—informs me that he sees no difficulty in assenting to the language used by me with reference to this sacred mystery.'

Mr. Freeman, it will be observed, considers the two propositions, set forth by himself in these words, to be identical. Nor can we perceive the objection to such identification, provided always it be understood, that the preposition *in* does not here, as it would in the case of an earthly material, imply any local inclusion. It is one of the conditions (as no doubt Mr. Freeman and all real theologians would admit) of this supernatural presence, that it should also be supra-local.

In an earlier paragraph of this letter, Mr. Freeman alludes to what has, we are told, been a general belief in Scotland; namely, that the proposition in question was in some degree suggested by his Introduction to the second volume of the 'Principles of Divine Service.' *Now*, however, it appears that the teaching of that work is repudiated, as being without authority in the Scottish Church, and only one shade less reprehensible than the teaching of the Bishop of Brechin. It is difficult to avoid drawing the conclusion, that the three Bishops who in December last adopted Mr. Freeman's view, now represent themselves as being 'no authority.' Meanwhile, the treatise containing 'the grounds upon which the position [adopted in December, 1857] is securely based,' and which has been rewarded in the diocese of Exeter, must be understood to go beyond the line of episcopal sanction in the six Scottish dioceses.

With a few words more we quit the doctrinal portion of the question. By-standers—witness the editor of the *Record*,—do not perceive the existence of a vast and irreconcileable difference between the teaching of the condemned Charge and that of the six Bishops. Neither do we ourselves. We cannot see that an impassable gulf existed between 'adoration' on the one hand, and 'lowly veneration' on the other; which mutual charity and explanation could not have bridged over;[1] or, again, between a certain mysterious unity of the Sacrifice of the Altar with that of the Cross on the one hand, and their entire subjective equivalence (as recognised in the Pastoral) on the other. But while we suggest these considerations to our readers, we freely admit that our Protestant friends on the northern bank of the Tweed have real cause to congratulate themselves upon that condemnation of the Charge for which they had so vehemently contended, and upon the assurance that the doctrine of Consubstantiation, as popularly (though incorrectly) understood, cannot be required of them as an article of faith. Nor will they be disposed, in the enjoyment of what they will not unnaturally deem a triumph, to grudge us the consolation that the Pastoral of the six Bishops still leaves Catholicism rest for the sole of her foot within the ancient Church of Scotland.

II. We turn to points of discipline and general management. And here we must pause for a few moments over the wrong done to the eminent person thus singled out for censure. What each Bishop individually would have shrunk, we feel sure, from doing and saying, the collective body did not scruple to do and say. Which of the six would, in private, have approved of the censure, perhaps unprecedented in the entire history of the Church, of a brother prelate, without formal trial or accusation?

And yet, the conduct even of a body of men might have been advantageously copied in one respect. It was with great surprise, and much greater regret, that we read that the Bishop of Brechin, standing alone against the united forces of six, was not allowed the advantage of even a professional adviser at his side. That even on narrow technical grounds, the refusal was justifiable, seems open to question;[2] that on any large grounds of

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[1] Let the reader consider the following expressions, capable of indefinite multiplication, if necessary:—

'Tantum ergo Sacramentum
Veneremur cernui.'—Hymn by S. Thomas Aquinas.

'*Venerandum* tuum verum et unicum Filium.'—Te Deum.

'Te *adoramus*, Te *veneramur*, Te benedicimus, O beata Trinitas.'—Hours of Henry VII.—British Museum.

'*Venerabile* Sacramentum' is the current Roman title for the Holy Eucharist.

[2] *On* reference to the 'Code of Canons,' which has been lent us by a friend, we *can only* find a prohibition in the 35th Canon against an appellant being heard

equity, courtesy, Christian charity, it was justified, we do most profoundly question. Many, we believe, of the laity who signed the document against the Bishop's teaching, lament this deep blot upon the proceedings of the day; because many of them, though they may not be profound theologians, are yet assuredly gentlemen of high and chivalrous feeling, and accustomed to the truly British rule, of giving an accused person every fair and reasonable advantage. When, in 1845, Mr. George Ward was placed on his trial before the Oxford Convocation, he petitioned that he might be allowed to make his defence in English. Now this was an extraordinary privilege, and against the standing rule, that all such proceedings should be in Latin. It might have been urged, that it was impossible to allow every one to take up the time of such a body, by speaking English, and that, for one person alone to enjoy the power, would give him the advantage of stating his own case, without the possibility of any one making an equally impressive reply. Nevertheless, to their great honour, the Hebdomadal Board gained this permission for Mr. Ward, and him alone, from a Chancellor bearing a name synonymous with the idea of fairness and uprightness—the historic name of Wellington. The gain to the accused was incalculable. In a speech of great power, not unmingled with some rhetorical subtleties, he made an impression which no Latinizing orator could hope to efface from the minds of an audience so largely composed of country clergy, somewhat oblivious of the language of Cicero. The division was very seriously affected; many withdrew without voting; some actually changed their votes; many waverers became fixed adherents to the cause of the defendant. But no loss of votes could lessen the moral triumph won by that fairness and courtesy which, nobly disdaining to press the letter of the law against an accused person, had freely yielded to him the enjoyment of an advantage which was not possessed by his accusers.

The steadfast adherence of Bishop Forbes to the views which he has put forth, appears to have caused much annoyance to his brethren. Such a feeling is, of course, very intelligible in the

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by counsel. To extend this prohibition to the length of refusing the aid of a counsel as a support and adviser, is as much against reason and analogy, as against all generosity and fairness. Even in a court-martial, the aid of a counsel to advise, though not address the court on behalf of the accused, is constantly permitted. Ought Bishops to be less lenient to an accused brother than officers of the army and navy? We grieve to find it has been asserted that they were afraid of the publicity which their style of jurisprudence might thus attain. We will not waste words on the question of the penal nature of the proceedings. If public censure and reprimand be not penal, we should like to know what the term does mean. As the French say, 'Les *peines* de l'esprit sont ordinairement plus fortes que celles du corps.'

case of any who have published contradictory documents within the space of a few short months; nor have we any right to be surprised that they should assume an equal facility of change on the part of their right reverend brother. But let us suppose that when the paper of the three Bishops had drawn so much attention to the Charge, and aroused the slumbering zeal of numbers of the laity, who would otherwise have been ignorant of its existence—let us suppose that the Charge had then been withdrawn from circulation. How naturally, how justly, would indignation have been excited against the Prelate who had disturbed the peace of the Church by the enunciation of views so lightly taken up, that they would not bear the slightest brunt of opposition!

It is obvious that hitherto no formal presentation has been made, either (as some say) from there being no legal case, or because no three persons were found bold enough to hand themselves down to the judgment of posterity. Were it possible now to find the requisite *trio*, the moral indignation of every Englishman (so far as it had any weight in Scotland) would surely deter such persons from inviting the Bishops to ascend the judgment seat, when they had already prejudged and censured the accused. Nor can we imagine that their lordships would hail with any greater gratification than ourselves the prospect of a position the most anomalous, perhaps, that ecclesiastical history could furnish.

And now we hasten to the conclusion of an ungracious task. If our strictures have been too severe, if we have made too little account of the difficulties which beset the six Bishops (difficulties unspeakably enhanced by the publication of the paper signed by the three Bishops in December last, immediately followed, as it was, by the Protestant Memorial); if indignation—at attempts to limit a wise latitude, at the issue of irreconcileable documents by the same persons, at the severity, to say the least, of their treatment of a brother Bishop of holy and exemplary life—has carried us in any degree beyond the limits of fair criticism, we, too, shall be ready, we hope, to listen to the reply of other organs of opinion, and to reconsider the justice of our remarks. But let not our readers, above all any who sympathise with the six Bishops, or who themselves bear high office in Christ's Church, turn hastily from the consideration of the sentiments here expressed, because they happen here and there to demur to the propriety of the terms in which they are embodied. Much, very much, of what has been said would, most probably, never have been needed, but for a peculiar feature of the case, which must *be the* subject of our closing remarks.

Time was, when France and Scotland were in constant alliance

against our own country, and Scotland is said to retain to this day many local, verbal, and judicial traces of French influence. May we be pardoned for adding that, in the nineteenth century, we would venture to deprecate, in Episcopal and Diocesan Synods, even the faintest resemblance to the *idée Napoléonienne* of closed doors, authorized reports, and a nervous dread of publicity. We are at a loss to see any reason why Scotland, of all the Churches of the Anglo-Catholic name, should stand alone in the maintenance of a system, at once unsuited to the free institutions, and free press, in the midst of which its members live. In England, in America, and the Colonies, no serious evil is found to arise from the openness of Convocation, Conventions, and Ecclesiastical Courts. We are speaking of a system in Scotland, which, we fully admit, seems rather the inheritance of the past, the relic of times of depression and persecution, than in any sense established by the present rulers of the Church. Are we too sanguine—have our thoughts wandered into 'Dreamland'—if we have a future vision before us of a seemly church or chapter-house, wherein, after solemn prayer and Eucharist, is seated a venerable senate of seven prelates, duly clad in the vestments of their office; a body of associated presbyters, arrayed in their priestly garments; the place of the ancient notaries, and high civil officers of the State, supplied by two or more legal assessors of acknowledged learning and impartiality; the faithful laity seated as attentive and respectful listeners, witnesses of the duteous deference paid by the second order to the superior one, and the fatherly consideration in turn accorded to them by the prelates? We have pictured to ourselves a provincial council, after the ancient model, which would not be less open to the representatives of the press than the time-honoured Convocation of England. Nor would the scene be materially changed were an accused person brought judicially before it, save only that our imaginary court would admit the presence of advocates before the venerable administrators of the discipline of the Church, who might render all possible legitimate assistance, alike to accuser and accused. And we can imagine the solemn dissolution of the synod by the venerable Primus, with this prayer and blessing, of more than a thousand years' antiquity:—

The Prayer.

'There is not, O Lord, in any conscience of man such virtue as may be able, without offence, to declare the judgments of Thy will. Therefore, seeing that Thine eyes have beheld our frailty, account it for perfection, we beseech Thee, that it is our chief wish to decide by the perfect rule of justice. Thee in our beginnings we did ask to meet us; Thee again in this termination of our decisions, we beseech to be present, making allowance for our deviations. For why? to spare our ignorance; to allow for our wan-

dering; to crown the full service of our prayers with full practical efficacy. And because, through the galling of our conscience, we pine away, fearing lest either ignorance should have drawn us into some error, or haply too eager will should have urged us to swerve aside from justice; for this we supplicate and beseech Thee, that if we have contracted any offence during the solemnization of this council, by Thy pardon we may find it venial; and whereas we are about to give release from attendance on this assembled council, we ourselves may first be released from all the bands of our sins; so that as transgressors Thy pardon may attend us, and as confessing our faults to Thee, Thy eternal recompence.'

The Blessing.

'Christ, the Son of God, Who is the Beginning and the End, vouchsafe unto you the fulness of charity. And may He Who hath brought you safely to the completion of this synod, cause you to be absolved from all infection of sin. So that, freed more entirely from all guilt, absolved also by the gift of the Holy Ghost, you may return happily, and seek again unharmed the resting-places of your own habitations. Which may He vouchsafe to grant, Whose kingdom and dominion abideth for ever and ever. Amen.'

POSTSCRIPT.

While actually engaged in correcting the proof sheets we have received the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* of June 24. Its first three articles all bear upon the questions at issue, and the mode of treatment strikes us with such unfeigned astonishment that we cannot refrain from touching very hastily upon certain portions of them.

1. Our contemporary appears to claim entire approbation on the part of the *Guardian* of all that has been done, and quotes the following passages from that journal, the first paragraph twice over:—

'For the Christian tone of the paper issued by them, and still more for its positive statements of doctrine, the Church, we think, owes them grateful thanks. . . .

'In the positive statements of doctrine which it contains there is nothing from which we see reason to dissent; on the contrary, they appear to be well and carefully framed.'—*Guardian, June* 2, 1858.

Of the fairness of these quotations let our readers judge. We give them with their *immediate* context:—

'We can only repeat our regret that the Scottish Bishops should have adopted this course. For the Christian tone of the paper issued by them, and still more for its positive statements of doctrine, the Church, we think, owes them grateful thanks. Our remarks do not relate to the controversial merits of the questions raised, except so far as to maintain that the Reformed Church hitherto has not excluded the line of doctrine held in the Charge.'

'In the positive statements of doctrine which it contains there is nothing from which we see reason to dissent; on the contrary, they appear to be well and carefully framed. But we cannot conceal from ourselves that very unhappy consequences may be apprehended from an act, professing *to be* Synodical, which stigmatises the public teaching of another Bishop as "*un*sound and erroneous," and involving a "fundamental error," warns

the whole Church, including his own flock, against it, and excuses the Synod for not proceeding judicially against him on the ground that no presentment has been lodged, and that the case "*may not amount* to a call for one." It is an exercise of judgment which it is neither our duty nor our right to impugn, but for which we are justified in expressing very sincere regret, not lessened by the prelate at whom it is levelled being a man of singular candour, and fine unselfish nature, from whom we need at any rate fear no intemperate or precipitate step.'

Nor can we resist adding the following from the same paper of the same date:—

'Bishop Forbes has a fair right to complain that the Episcopal College have taken advantage of their position to condemn him, in effect, while allowing him no trial. That each Bishop should have spoken on the question was clearly a duty. That, if they all agreed, they should join in a common document, is also clearly a legitimate and defensible step. What we regret is, that by putting forward their Pastoral as a synodal act, they should have virtually assumed for it an authority which it has not; and, in so doing, have, in effect, condemned Bishop Forbes unheard. We speak solely in the interest of justice. But justice, in the long run, is the surest promoter of truth. And we cannot but fear that by thus ambiguously overstepping their legitimate limits, the Synod will find they have only delayed and aggravated, and not allayed the controversy.'

We shall only further venture to remark, that the style of quotation adopted by our Scottish contemporary is singularly out of place in a number which endorses, or at least gives currency to the serious charges advanced by Mr. Groves against the quotations of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and other divines of the highest integrity and most extensive research.

2. The next assertion of the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* that strikes us is the following:—'None can say that their belief has been unduly limited.' It is most unduly limited, if the teaching of S. Ambrose and S. Augustin, of Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Bramhall, with many more doctors, ancient and modern, is to be described as devoid of all authority in the Scottish Church. The virtual repudiation of Mr. Freeman's teaching as exceeding what the Church is entitled to teach is, moreover, a fresh limitation.

3. We have the following note:—

'The precedent which appears to be most completely in point, and one upon which we have been informed (since this article was in type) the Bishops did actually intend to rest the perfect legality of their procedure, is, *the censure of books by the English Convocation*. They were unwilling, we understand, to prolong the discussion, after the Bishop of Brechin had read his protest, which affected to deny to them all action and jurisdiction whatever, beyond that which is verbally specified in our own code of Canons; otherwise this argument would have been brought forward at length. The authority of Convocation to pronounce such censures was formally recognised by the Privy Council, and sanctioned by the Crown, in 1711. The instances on record are amply sufficient. Notice of them may be seen in Lothbury's History of Convocation, chap. xii.'

Unless this assertion means that the *Upper* House of Convocation alone, and without any sanction or concurrence of the *Lower*, could authoritatively pass such censures, the argument is perfectly suicidal. The very stand made by the Bishop of Brechin was the need of concurrence on the part of the Presbyterate. It is only too generous in his opponents thus to supply him with what looks like a very serviceable weapon.

4. We next beg to comment upon the following statement:—

'Despite the silence of the Canons upon the point, it was perfectly notorious that both clergy and laity were alike looking to the Bishops for the expression of some opinion. Between 600 and 700 laymen had gone so far as to address the College of Bishops to this effect.'

If, out of all the 600 or 700 laymen, there had not yet appeared three sufficiently in earnest to make a formal presentment, it would not surely have been too much to have waited, at any rate, for the usual autumnal meeting, instead of summoning this unexpected and extraordinary synod.

5. Bishop Forbes's authorities are again impugned. The six Bishops

'have urged upon the clergy to continue to teach as they have hitherto been taught themselves; and have cautioned them against being misled, in so great a mystery, by subtile reasonings, or by authorities which, when duly examined, will not, *they assure us*, warrant the conclusions which have been drawn from them.'

We must say that we should like to see a real detailed examination, instead of this general and vague assurance of invalidity, which has now been twice or thrice given, but without one syllable of proof adduced in its support.

6. Lastly, we cannot pass in silence over the following extraordinary assertions:—

'And, compared with their conduct, we must even venture to speak of the course taken by the Bishop of Brechin himself, as appearing in somewhat disappointing contrast. He had come forward to instruct the Church as to her views of the highest Christian mysteries, deeming, it would appear, such instruction so imperatively important, that the hazarding of her peace was comparatively of little moment. He had resisted impenetrably, on this ground, all remonstrance and appeal; he had felt himself compelled to agitate and divide the Church to the very verge of disruption; and yet, when at last these views came to be formally and solemnly debated, and terms of disapproval to be proposed, what was his line of action? Not, surely, that which might have been looked for from a Prelate penetrated with so deep a sense of the truth of his peculiar convictions. We looked for the vindication of his words on the ground of their eternal truth. We looked for appeal to the claim of one placed in his high position, to speak boldly the convictions of his soul; and we are answered, so far as the reports extend, only by excuse and demur, and *mere legal* plea and argument. We speak with great unwillingness, and *yet greater* sorrow, of these things.'

A more unfair and ungenerous attack it has seldom been our lot to read. The Bishop of Brechin had done all that he could do (as the writer must very well know) towards 'the vindication of his words on the ground of their eternal truth.' The entire Charge is replete with arguments, and quotations from Holy Scripture and antiquity, in defence of them; the second edition enlarged and multiplied those arguments and citations.

Are we to assume that, had the Bishop of Brechin, after the already printed Pastoral was placed in his hands, attempted (in addition to all he had previously published) to argue *orally* in defence of his opinions from Holy Scripture, antiquity, and English Divines, he would have obtained so favourable and patient a hearing from his brother Bishops as to afford even the remotest hope of his being able to alter their opinions or change their course of action?

As regards the treatment which Bishop Forbes has received, we are perfectly content to refer to our own previous remarks. But that when his co-Bishops had determined to take a step perhaps unheard of in the history of the Church, he should be blamed for the attempt to resist their uncanonical proceedings by an appeal to the laws of the Church, seems to us simply intolerable. Happily the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, though defending the conduct of the six Bishops on moral and religious grounds, yet appears in some measure to admit the validity of Bishop Forbes's protest. 'We doubt not,' says our contemporary, 'that legal objections might be raised, perhaps even sustained, against the Bishops' act.'

We are sorry to speak thus of a journal so justly respected and usually so fair. Even in its present number we observe the admission of a crushing letter to a Mr. Shaw, on a pamphlet published by that gentleman. But we cannot use holiday terms, when those who begin by speaking of 'an impartial and ingenuous mind,' proceed to adopt a tone but too much resembling that of a forensic advocate.

The Letter by the Committee of Protestant Memorialists, and the Report of the proceedings at Aberdeen, have likewise come under our notice. As regards the first, we cannot congratulate the six Bishops upon the tone which it assumes, and the evidence which it betrays that a condemnation of the Brechin Charge (solicited with a certain degree of imperious dutifulness) was a necessary condition of their continuing to abide within the pale of the Church; nor can we fail to notice the singular terms in which they speak of what 'some persons have chosen to designate the Sacrifice of the Altar,'—a more attentive perusal of the Pastoral would have served to show them that the expression

in question is unhesitatingly adopted by the six Bishops themselves. We might further add, that in the expression 'this Sacrifice of the Altar,' the demonstrative pronoun cannot be understood otherwise than as referring to the 'consecrated elements of Bread and Wine,' which have 'become in a mystery the Body and Blood of Christ.'

Nor need we add the satisfaction which these expressions in the Declaration have afforded us. Our Protestant friends in Scotland must be content to divide with us the loss and gain which has arisen from this most unhappy controversy; we have elsewhere acknowledged the success which has in no inconsiderable measure crowned their efforts. Turning next to the Report of the proceedings at Aberdeen, as given in the local newspapers, we feel it due to our readers to say that, painful as are many of the details, it in no degree modifies the opinion we have expressed as to the admission of representatives of the press. We are fully convinced that in the long run their presence would prove to be advantageous rather than otherwise. Nor would words be less measured which would in very deed be ἔπεα πτερόεντα—winged, through the agency of the press, into every corner of the realm. Nay, we will even add, that a realization of the fact that Christian men at a distance from the scene would form their estimate of all the words and acts of members of an Ecclesiastical Synod, would serve in no degree to lessen, but rather to intensify the sense of an account hereafter to be rendered before a more dread Tribunal.

[In consequence of the unexpected length of one of the most important Articles in the present Number, the Shorter Notices of New Books, &c. must be postponed.—Ed. C. R.]

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

OCTOBER, 1858.

ART. I.—1. *Scripture and Science not at Variance; with Remarks on the Historical Character, Plenary Inspiration, and Surpassing Importance of the earlier Chapters of Genesis.* By JOHN H. PRATT, M.A. Archdeacon of Calcutta; Author of the 'Mathematical Principles of Mechanical Philosophy.' Second Edition, with new matter. London: Thomas Hatchard, Piccadilly. Calcutta: R. C. Lepage and Co. 1858.

2. *The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its Bearings on the two Theologies, Natural and Revealed.* By HUGH MILLER, Author of 'The Old Red Sandstone,' 'Footprints of the Creator,' &c. &c. Edinburgh: Shepherd and Elliot, 15, Princes Street. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1857.

3. *Creation and the Fall: A Defence and Exposition of the first three Chapters of Genesis.* By the Rev. DONALD MACDONALD, M.A., Minister of the Free Church, Edinkillie. Edinburgh: Thomas Canteth and Co. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1856.

THERE are many points at which Science and Revelation come in contact with each other, with more or less of apparent antagonism. That they should have points in common is the direct and very obvious consequence of their both having reference to the necessities of human nature, both purposing, or at least resulting in, the amelioration of its circumstances and condition. And it requires but little reflection, to be enabled to see that the appearance of discord between the two is equally a matter of necessity. If we confine our attention to the fact, that the one is in a certain sense stationary, whilst the other is progressive, this alone is sufficient to demonstrate that science in its advancement must appear to clash with revelation. This would be the case, were revelation ever so clear, and definite, and free from mystery; supposing, that is, any uncertainty

to attach to the methods and conclusions of science for the time being. On the supposition that revelation was perfectly understood, science, unless each step were entirely secured and free from error, must of course exhibit discrepancies from revealed truth, so long as it refused to be guided or influenced by revelation. Every one who knows anything of the history of science, is aware of the partial views of truth which once prevailed in any given department, as well as of the entirely erroneous theories which for long periods of time prevailed in the world.

In other words, the fact that science is progressive, and capable of improvement, implies that at different periods it will exhibit statements and arguments at variance with each other, and with the truth. That such has, in point of fact, been the case, does not add any evidence to this truth, which is a necessity involved in the very idea of the imperfection of man's faculties; but it is only necessary to refer to any one of the physical sciences,—such, for instance, as Astronomy, the most symmetrical and complete of them all; or Geology, the one which has exhibited the most violently contradictory theories,—to be convinced that the statement is amply borne out by facts. What is here alleged supposes an abstract case, quite impossible of being realized, viz. the entire independence of revelation and science, and the equally absurd hypothesis, that revelation is perfectly clear and comprehensible at all points. The reader will easily perceive that these remarks are intended with especial reference to physical science. It may serve to clear our notions, if, for a moment, we turn to the relation in which moral science stands towards revelation. It will not be pretended by any, however adverse to revealed truth, unless indeed by such as adopt exploded theories of morality, that there is any established discrepancy between the ethics of the Bible, and the ethics of pure science. We do not care here to determine how far this happy result is owing to the light which moral science has borrowed from revealed truth. At least it will be admitted that the Bible nowhere contains any systematic treatise on morality, and that it does not appear to be any part of its design to solve the difficult questions in this science which have at different periods perplexed philosophers. Some of its books, however, do contain wondrous exhibitions of insight into the working of men's hearts, as well as acquaintance with the adaptation of man's nature to the circumstances under which he is placed. Now some clashing might have been expected between the conclusions which ethical science seemed to be establishing, and the enormous amount of direct statement and implied truth in the chapters of such books as the Proverbs,

and the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of Ecclesiastes, and that of the Son of Sirach. Such discrepancies will be found to exist between these and the theories which appear in any, the best of heathen systems. And if Christian systems of morality have been checked and guided in their course by especial reference to works which were considered inspired or authoritative, it is nevertheless a testimony to the value and the truth of scientific results, and what professes to be Divine revelation, that they are in harmony with each other. We do not say that everything is clear and easy, intelligible and unmysterious. On the contrary, we doubt not that there will ever remain insolvable difficulties, but the amount of agreement is such as to render these difficulties quite useless to the disputant who would wish to raise an issue between science and revelation. Now precisely similar is the result which might beforehand be expected to appear from the relations of physical science to revelation, supposing that to enlighten mankind as to the laws of the universe were in the same degree the purpose and design of revelation, as it is to throw light upon the workings of the human mind. In this latter case, it is not so much the purpose as the indirect and unavoidable result, that information is given as to the laws of moral science. However practical be the object of revelation, and however little the practical may appear prominent in scientific investigations, the subject, man, is the same in both, and the moral philosopher might therefore have expected to be aided in his investigations by reference to the inspired writers in Holy Scripture. But it does not seem *à priori* probable, if one may so speak, that the investigators of the secrets of nature would find much help in a series of works, which, however often, and with whatever purpose they may refer to natural phenomena, make little or no allusion to the laws of nature. On the contrary, it would have been altogether at variance with the doom of toil and labour to which man is condemned, if he could at each instant refer to a guide which could neither err itself, nor be mistaken by him who consulted it, to guide him in his path.

It was then to be expected that Scripture, professing to contain a revelation from Almighty God, should be so far consistent with itself as not in the particular instance of physical science to reverse the law which itself has laid down in recording the sentence passed on the first man: 'In the sweat of thy 'face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground.'[1] And certainly it will not be pretended on any hand that Scripture does reveal to us much that is calculated to assist us in

[1] Genesis iii. 19.

the laborious investigations of natural philosophy. That intellectual exercise is not distinguished in this respect at least from physical toil, is over and over again implied in the volume of inspiration. 'I gave my heart to seek and search out by 'wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven; 'this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be 'exercised therewith.'[1] We think we may even express the same truth more strongly, and say that there appears something very like a studious concealment of the laws of nature, in the Book of Revelation. It is not, of course, pretended that the human writers of these books were acquainted with the laws which science has since their time elicited from the phenomena of the universe; but, on the hypothesis of inspiration, it might perhaps have been thought not unreasonable that some such information would appear. If it is not absurd to speak in such a case of what is natural, we should not have thought it unnatural if the surface and the letter of Scripture had countenanced true rather than false hypotheses of nature: yet, in astronomical science, this is far from being the case. And the countenance which is *primâ facie* afforded to phenomenal rather than actual facts, has plainly, to say the least, not furthered the advancement of science. However, in whichever statement the reader chooses to acquiesce, whether he will go the length of saying that there is a careful abstinence in Holy Scripture of any such sayings as shall throw light upon physical science, or shall prefer speaking of it as simply indifferent on the subject, we think he will agree with us that those who object to the statements which they find on matters of physical science, should be called upon to substitute others which will better answer the purpose. Granting that man was intended by physical experience and hard intellectual processes to discover the laws of nature, we say that the *onus probandi* rests with those who object to expressions such as those that seem to imply that the sun moves round the earth, or that the antiquity of this globe is not so great as science demonstrates,—to find other modes of statement which should be more intelligible without anticipating the discoveries of modern science. We are, of course, far from denying that inspiration might have adopted methods of avoiding both difficulties, and escaping the charge of seeming to countenance false theories, without revealing the true; but we think it fairly falls upon those who object to the method which they find has been adopted to point out some other which shall be more unexceptionable. We should like very much to know how the exact truth of the complicated

[1] Eccles. i. 13.

motion of the earth round its axis, and round the sun, could possibly have been described in language adapted to unscientific hearers, without leaving room for the objections which the advance of science would always be furnishing against statements which from their very brevity can only be approximately true. To say that the earth moves round the sun, is far from being an exact statement of the truth; and we have in our time witnessed an objection raised against the assertion common to all astronomical writers, that the moon turns round on her axis, an objection which may with equal fairness be used against every motion of rotation which is known to exist—and indeed against every conceivable rotatory motion in the material world. The fact is, that all these comprehensive statements in astronomical science are only theoretically and abstractedly true. It is impossible to make any assertion in the science, without its being open to the real objection of being partial, and liable therefore to be called erroneous.

Scripture would certainly have been no better off than it is now, so far as the cavils of unbelievers are concerned, if it had implied the truths brought to light in the Copernican system, viz. the daily rotation of the earth on its axis and the annual revolution round the sun. The instance we have taken is perhaps the best illustration which could have been selected of the view which we are putting out. The facts of the motions of the heavenly bodies as established by the modern science of physical astronomy, are the most certain and undeniable, and perhaps we may add, the most intelligible in the physical world. They are also more definitely contradicted by the letter and surface of Scripture than anything which can be alleged from the whole range of science. And this we are bold to say is the best card that could be played by the infidel who wishes to impugn the veracity of the oracles of God. That he shrinks from this game is simply owing to the fact, that it has been played before, and lost. Since the time when the unwise persecutors of Galileo deemed that a theory must be false which interfered with their preconceived notions of the meaning of Holy Writ, religious people of all classes have quietly acquiesced in the discoveries of science, and no one now thinks it worth while to attempt to account for the Bible's speaking of the sun as being in motion round the earth, or to withhold his assent from the Newtonian doctrine of gravitation, because statements of Scripture, taken in their bare literal and grammatical sense, cannot be reconciled with it. And issue has of late been joined, not upon the astronomical ground, where more than in any other science there are flat and direct contradictions of what antecedently was considered to be the sense of Scripture—but upon the hypotheses, which

in rapid succession geologists have framed to account for the present condition of the earth, and the phenomena presented by its different formations.

Unhappily for their cause, Geology, too, is beginning to turn out the handmaid of Revelation, as all science is destined sooner or later to prove; and to avoid the alternative of his inspiration, Moses has been spoken of as being possessed of a knowledge of the past history of our globe, such as has only been known to have been acquired by geologists in the second quarter of the present century. The real secret of the sceptical preference of the science of Geology over that of Astronomy, we strongly suspect to be, that the latter science does not encourage dabbling, whilst Geology is that particular science which has charms for the minds of the indolent and illogical; whilst by the wonderful nature of its assertions, it makes its appeal to that principle of human nature which is referred to in the well-known words of the philosophical historian—'*Omne ignotum pro magnifico.*' With regard to the relation in which the science of Geology stands to Revelation, there are upon the whole three attitudes of thought. Without subdividing these, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to notice the two extreme sections:—1, of those who, holding to a traditional though unphilosophical view of the meaning of Holy Scripture, are content to ignore or disbelieve the conclusions of science, when they are at variance with their own preconceived notions; 2, of those who pursue their investigations, or take for granted unexamined all the assertions of writers on this subject; being either indifferent or positively hostile to the cause of Revelation. Between these two extremes of opinion exists perhaps far the largest class of thinkers who would be shocked at the notion of having to sacrifice the inspiration of Scripture, and yet are more or less uneasy at the difficulty they experience or anticipate in the truths which geological science has developed or seems likely to establish. For the benefit of the latter class it seems worth while to call attention to the distinction between the fear of science as such, and the apprehension of the possible effects of scientific investigations on certain classes of minds. We are persuaded that this distinction is far from being made prominent enough even amongst those who recognise its truth. For ourselves it is almost needless to say, that as firm believers in Revelation we can have no fears for the ultimate reconciliation of whatever discrepancies may appear between God's written Word, and the laws impressed upon his works, and discovered by patient investigation; but we confess to entertaining very grave apprehensions as to the effect of a superficial knowledge of physical science upon a mind which has not been well trained and disciplined.

Without wishing to deny that the system of education pursued at Oxford has assigned too little weight to physical science, we feel sure that that system, as it existed till the absurd changes of the last six or seven years were introduced, acted most beneficially in guarding students against hastily adopting partial or ill-supported hypotheses; and we cannot but hope that experience will soon show the folly of shortening the term of general education, with a view to devoting the last year of the academical course to special studies. In a science so imperfect as Geology must still be regarded, there is the greater danger in proportion to the novelty of the supposed discoveries. To view the danger only under one aspect,—it is a great attraction to most beginners to put out their knowledge, particularly when it can be done in a startling or paradoxical way, and the very opposition they will be sure to meet with from those who know a little less than themselves, has a great tendency to strengthen them in the views they have once propounded, and encourage them in dogmatism on subjects with which their acquaintance is perhaps merely superficial.

It may be thought perhaps that the first of the two extreme views above alluded to, is too shallow and unphilosophical to be worth notice. As a mere matter of intellect it may be so: yet amongst the class of those who adopt them are many whose difficulties on this head we should be glad to be instrumental in removing. It is to this class of persons, we presume, that the pamphlet which we have placed at the head of this article is addressed by Archdeacon Pratt: we cannot anticipate any wider sphere of operation for so very slight and superficial an investigation. The Archdeacon of Calcutta has earned for himself a well-merited reputation as a mathematician, and is well known as the author of the most systematic elementary account of the Newtonian theory of gravitation that we possess. Perhaps he is entitled to pass even for a philosopher and theologian in the school of Bishops Villiers, Baring, and Bickersteth; and the fact that one of this party has placed his opinion upon record, that revelation has nothing to fear from science, will have the comforting effect upon many weak minds that scarcely knew what to think on the subject; perhaps some may who go so far as to mark, to some extent, the line of argument by which this conclusion is maintained. The book has had some readers; for a second edition, with new matter, has appeared in little more than a year after the publication of the first. In the truth of the main view inculcated in this work we quite acquiesce: the author disclaims an intention of discussing contending theories of interpretation, being quite satisfied if he can convince his readers that it is possible on

physical principles to explain the inspired language of Moses. He quite fairly claims that it should not be considered derogatory to such inspiration, supposing we should after all be unable to satisfy ourselves what the true physical interpretation is. But, important as the truth may be, it was scarcely worth expanding into a treatise of a hundred pages. One naturally expects, in an essay with so distinctive a title as 'Scripture and Science not at Variance,' to find some views adopted on a subject where there are notoriously several current theories. Yet the author has evidently a strong dislike to pledge himself to any distinct view; and in a note at p. 37 contents himself with dissenting from the only view which, in the present state of geological science, appears to us at all tenable. 'There is one class 'of interpreters,' he says, 'with whom I find it impossible to 'agree. I mean those who take the six days to be six periods 'of unknown, indefinite length.' Indeed there is some inconsistency in this author's text and his note. Whereas in his note he seems to condemn attempts at positive interpretation of Scripture as unsafe and hazardous, on the ground that Geology is still in its infancy, we have a sort of theory put out in the text, and an interpretation, which the author expresses his readiness to change if scientific study should so require.—'The 'Word of God itself standing intact, and still speaking with 'the same solemn authority, beauty, and truth.'

Some at least of his readers will not be apt either to suspect the Archdeacon of Calcutta of inaccuracy of reasoning or want of exactness of statement, or be likely to detect his ignorance of theology. Neither would it have been at all worth our while to draw the reader's attention to these points, excepting in the way of protest against the high places in the Church being entrusted to persons so ignorant of the particular subject which they ought to know. The recent appointments to ecclesiastical dignities can only be described as most scandalous and infamous. What would be thought of a lawyer who should quote as an authority a name that carried no weight with it, or characterise as a writer on English law one who wrote commentaries on the laws of another country? Surely it is disgraceful to find an Archdeacon persisting, in a second edition of his treatise, in calling Lactantius a father of the Christian Church. Neither has Archdeacon Pratt the excuse that his mistake was passed over in silence. A contemporary critic had fixed upon this as one of the blots of the book, and quotes Bishop Bull's remark upon Lactantius; that he never had a place amongst the Fathers of the Church, '*Certe nunquam inter Ecclesiæ doctores numeratus fuit.*' It was reserved for our days to raise Lactantius to this rank. We fear the person who could speak of him as such never can have

read either the author whom he is quoting, which is, perhaps, excusable, nor the celebrated *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, which we do not hesitate to speak of as quite inexcusable in an Archdeacon. Neither is he more fortunate in his quotation from S. Augustine, who is alleged in support of the assertion, and apparently as an instance of the fact, that 'the Scriptures have been drawn into unworthy collision with the facts of nature.' We really can see nothing unfortunate or derogatory to S. Augustine's acuteness in his refusing assent to that which is not asserted in Scripture, nor supported by probable philosophical arguments, neither do we see how it bears upon the question at issue. What S. Augustine does say is well worth attending to; and contains in brief the whole of what is worth reading in this tract. '*Si manifestissimæ certæque rationi velut Scripturarum* '*Sanctarum objicitur autoritas, non intelligit qui hoc facit; et non* '*Scripturarum illarum sensum* (*ad quem penetrare non potuit*) *sed* '*suum potius objicit veritati; nec id quod in eis sed quod in seipso* '*velut pro eis invenit, opponit.*'

Our readers may, perhaps, express some surprise that we should have said so much on the subject of this essay. Neither was there any occasion for us to notice it at length, whilst it appeared in the unpretending form of its first edition—designed, as its author pretended, to meet the case of persons who, receiving the sacred volume in all its parts, as the inspired Word of God, yet felt disturbed at the apparent contradiction between some of its statements and certain facts in nature brought to light by science. Under this unpretending view, the treatise, as we have already hinted, is not without its use; but the Introduction to the second edition takes a bolder flight. We are there told that the author demonstrates the historical character, plenary inspiration, and important bearing of the earlier chapters of Genesis, and shows 'that it is *impossible*' that Scripture, proceeding as it does from Divine inspiration, and manifesting such superhuman wisdom and foreknowledge, can, when rightly interpreted, be at variance with the works of the Divine hand; and moreover, that the case of the unbeliever, though not in the author's special contemplation, is here to some extent provided for. Certainly, if the author has demonstrated what he professes, it is not only provided for, but entirely disposed of. How far the author has thrown light upon the difficult subject of plenary inspiration, we need not discuss, contenting ourselves with the remark, that the amount of space devoted to this important and abstruse subject, is just thirty pages. One section of this chapter is new, and is devoted to the surpassing importance of the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and gives, in the course of a few pages, a summary glance at ancient systems of faith, a few lines being devoted to

each. From it we learn that the Persians believed in two independent first causes, the one light, the other darkness, the authors respectively of good and evil, from the continual struggle of which all things were made. The comment which the author passes on this system of philosophy is expressed in the words, 'a strange doctrine this!'

Perhaps the most interesting of the numerous works which have of late years issued from the press, on the subject of the reconciliation of the discoveries of geological science with the account of creation given in the commencement of Genesis, is the posthumous work of Professor Hugh Miller, entitled 'The Testimony of the Rocks.' In many parts it does not bear directly upon the subject of this paper, neither do we think the remarks on the bearings of Geology on natural religion so valuable as those which relate to Revelation. In this portion of his work it will be seen that we entirely concur in the author's mode of interpretation; but before we go on to notice it in detail, we must glance at one or two of the theories which have, in their day, obtained some celebrity. And first of Dr. Chalmers' views. At the commencement of the present century, Geology was just coming into existence, and the first faint murmurs were heard of the clashing of the facts which it was supposed to be revealing, with the Mosaic account of the creation of the world. Long before this time, it had occurred to thoughtful people to hold their minds in suspense as to what might be the real meaning of the terms and phrases made use of in the history of Creation, if only because the *primâ facie* interpretation of them seemed inconsistent with well-known facts of Astronomy. No one, for instance, who knew anything of natural phenomena, we suppose, believed that the sun and moon were actually created out of nothing, on the fourth day, or that their sole final cause was to give light to this earth, the one by day, the other by night. So again, it must have occurred to almost every reader that the periods of light and darkness, respectively called day and night, might be periods of time altogether distinct from, as (on the supposition of the sun and earth not being yet created) they must have been independent on, the revolution of the earth round its axis. No one felt much difficulty in recognising the possibility of a day not meaning precisely a period of twenty-four hours; and indeed attentive readers of the Bible were accustomed to the Old Testament use of the word, at least in the prophetic books, in a different sense, whilst many would perhaps be inclined to apply to the opening chapters of Genesis the text, that 'a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years,' as if *it could* supply an adequate solution of the difficulty.

But the rise and progress of the new science of Geology

brought a new series of difficulties and objections into the field; and we can ourselves remember the time when there was a widely-prevailing tendency to disparage even tolerably well-ascertained facts, from their appearing to militate against preconceived notions of what ought to be, and must be, the meaning of Scripture. It must be admitted, that the rapid succession of contradictions which the science, in its infancy, exhibited, gave some colour to the coldness with which the uninitiated looked upon its conclusions.

A good illustration of the *status* of geological science, in the estimation of society during the second quarter of the present century, may be gathered from the introductory chapter to Dr. Buckland's 'Bridgewater Treatise.' The author, writing as late as the year 1836, thought it worth while to put out an elaborate defence of the consistency of geological discoveries with sacred history, before commencing the main argument of his treatise, which was intended to furnish such evidence of design or purpose as could be collected from this science, of which the writer was, at the time, one of the principal representatives in this country. In writing a treatise on Natural Theology, the author felt bound to show that the science to which his remarks were chiefly to be confined, was not antagonistic to the records of the inspired historian. Neither was he satisfied with the clear and able exposition which he himself put out; but, as if to anticipate objections, which he knew would be made, and to purchase a favourable hearing from those who would be most timid of any seeming departure from the meaning of Scripture, he procured a passage from Dr. Pusey, which was inserted with the writer's name in a note to this chapter, which endorses the author's view of the separation of time between the first two verses and the rest of the chapter, and supports it by a criticism of the Hebrew phraseology, as well as by reference to the opinions of the Fathers.

It was in 1804 that Dr. Chalmers, in one of his lectures at S. Andrews, attempted to vindicate Geology from misrepresentation: —

'There is (he says) a prejudice against the speculations of 'the geologist which I am anxious to remove. It has been 'said that they nurture infidel propensities. By referring the 'origin of the globe to a higher antiquity than is assigned to it 'by the writings of Moses, it has been said that Geology under-'mines our faith in the inspiration of the Bible, and in all the 'animating prospects of immortality which it unfolds. This is 'a false alarm. *The writings of Moses do not fix the antiquity 'of the globe: if they fix anything at all, it is only the antiquity 'of the species.* It is not the interest of Christianity to repress 'liberty of discussion. It has nothing to fear from the attacks

'of Infidelity. It should rather defy her approach, and stand 'to receive her in the proudest of attitudes; the attitude of 'confidence in its own strength, and animated by the remem-'brance of the triumphs it has already gained in the battles of 'controversy. God knows we have little to fear on the side of 'infidelity. It is not here that we are to seek for the point of 'alarm. What Christianity has most to fear from, is from the 'encroachments of an insidious and undermining fanaticism; 'from its false friends; from those men who disgrace the cause 'by their bigotry or enthusiasm; from those who have brought 'religion into contempt, by throwing over it the deformity of 'an illiberal and contracted superstition.'[1]

This passage, which we have extracted from the Life of Chalmers, is strikingly indicative of the straightforwardness and fearlessness of the writer; and it is remarkable as containing the earliest account of the absurdity of attempting to refute the evidence of Geology, by appeal to the exact letter of the English translation of the Bible. He afterwards filled up the theory of which he here suggests the outline, in a review of Cuvier's 'Theory of the Earth,' which in 1814 he contributed to the 'Christian Instructor.' The important part of that article has been inserted at the end of the fifth volume of the recent edition of his works, which contains the treatise on Natural Theology. It is no disparagement to a writer who published his view nearly half a century ago, to say that it is not adequate to account for phenomena which have been brought to light since his time; but we may characterise as unphilosophical his condemnation of a view which has entirely superseded his own, and appears at the present day the only theory that can stand. Dr. Chalmers asserts that the consistency of the history would be utterly violated by any attempt to allegorize the days of creation, by taking them in any other sense than that in which they obviously and literally present themselves. Neither do we think it a happy device, to account for the great antiquity of the globe by inserting any length of time between the first and the following verses of the first chapter of Genesis. Still, although subsequent discoveries do not confirm the theory, it certainly cannot be said to be violently improbable, that Moses intends to give a history, not of the first formation of things, but of the formation of the present system. Under this view, Dr. Chalmers supposes that the first verse of Genesis describes the primary act of creation, and leaves us at liberty to place it as far back as we may; and thus the first half of the second verse describes the state of the earth, which may have been for ages subjected to geological revolutions, at the point

[1] Memoirs of Chalmers, vol. i. p. 56.

of time just previous to the detailed operations of this chapter, the movement of the Spirit of God upon the face of the waters being the commencement of these operations. Perhaps the best argument that could be adduced in favour of this theory was, that it seemed to preserve the unity in the operations of each day, assigning the creation of light to the first day. The greatest blot in the hypothesis, as stated by himself, appears to be in the conception which he has of the creation of light being the bringing into existence that which was afterwards on the fourth day congregated into one place, and formed into the sun. It does not appear to have struck him that the creation of the element of light is, on the very face of things, a different act from the creation of the sun, which is clothed with a particular portion, or, we may even say, species of light. The eighteenth verse, taken most literally, in saying that the sun, and the moon, and the stars, as created on the fourth day, were meant to divide the light from the darkness, certainly implies that light and darkness were before this time divided or distinguished differently; neither does there seem any reason for considering the periods of time occupied by the alternations of light and darkness before the creation of the physical conditions under which they now exist, to be the same with those which are caused by the revolution of the earth upon its axis. Supposing these periods to have been successive, and of whatever duration, what more sensible idea could have been presented, than by calling them days and nights, which show respective commencements and conclusions—morning and evening? Dr. Chalmers' view seems, upon the whole, to be that which the Archdeacon of Calcutta would endorse. Of it we shall only remark further, that, placing ourselves in the position in which Dr. Chalmers wrote, we do not think it other than a clumsy hypothesis; what is conclusive against it, is, that it does not meet the requirements of modern science.

The next name that is prominent in theories of reconciliation is that of Dr. Pye Smith. This writer adopted Dr. Chalmers' hypothesis, of the days of the Mosaic creation being natural days, and that the work of these days refers simply to the last creation, of which the human species forms a part. But the discoveries of a quarter of a century had necessitated, if not a change in, at least an addition to, the hypothesis of Dr. Chalmers. This addition in Dr. Pye Smith's theory consisted in the limitation of the extent of area over which darkness prevailed; the author supposing that many of our present lands and seas enjoyed the light of the sun, and were occupied by plants and animals, the descendants of which still continue to exist. Thus the description in the second verse of Genesis is supposed not to refer to the whole earth, but only to a portion of its surface, brought into a condition of

superficial ruin, or some kind of general disorder. As has been observed, this theory does not conflict with facts educed by geologic discovery, but we suppose few readers will be inclined to acquiesce in it, either as an obvious or satisfactory interpretation of Scripture. The necessity for this additional hypothesis shall be given in Professor Hugh Miller's own words. He says:—

'It is a great fact now fully established in the course of geological discovery, that, between the plants which in the present time cover the earth, and the animals which inhabit it, and the animals and plants of the later extinct creations, there occurred no break or blank, but that, on the contrary, many of the existing organisms were contemporary during the morning of their being, with many of the extinct ones during the evening of theirs. We know, further, that not a few of the shells which now live on our coasts, and several of even the wild animals which continue to survive amid our tracts of hill and forest, were in existence many ages ere the human age began. Instead of dating their beginning only a single natural day, or at most two natural days in advance of man, they must have preceded him by many thousands of years. In fine, in consequence of that comparatively recent extension of geologic fact, in the direction of the later systems and formations, through which we are led to know that the present creation was not cut off abruptly from the preceding one, but that, on the contrary, it dovetailed into it at a thousand different points, we are led also to know, that any scheme of reconciliation which would separate between the recent and the extinct existences, by a chaotic gulf of death and darkness, is a scheme which no longer meets the necessities of the case. Though perfectly adequate forty years ago, it has been greatly outgrown by the progress of geological discovery, and is, as I have said, adequate no longer; and it becomes a not unimportant matter, to determine the special scheme that would bring into completest harmony the course of creation, as now ascertained by the geologist, and that brief but sublime narrative of its progress, which forms a meet introduction in Holy Writ to the history of the human family. The first question to which we must address ourselves in any such inquiry, is of course a very obvious one,—*What are the facts scientifically determined, which now demand a new scheme of reconciliation?*'—*The Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 121—123.

The volume from which this extract has been made is perhaps the most interesting of all the recent attempts to adjust the facts of geological science and the language of the inspired record of creation. It consists of twelve lectures, of which seven were delivered on different occasions, from the years 1852 to 1855; and the other five were written, as the author's preface informs us, for the purpose of completing and imparting a character of unity to the volume. Only one has been printed before; and probably many of our readers will recognise its title, 'The Two Records, Mosaic and Geological.' The third and the fourth lectures are by far the most interesting portion of the volume. Neither does it render them the less interesting to be informed, that the author has been accused of inconsistency, for adopting the view which is here presented, in

preference to that which we have already characterised as Dr. Chalmers' theory, and which the author owns that he held in common with Chalmers and Buckland. Now inconsistency is certainly a charge of a very grave character, quite conclusive against any science if it can be substantiated, and very damaging to a writer on science if it can be shown that his inconsistency is unconscious, or that his inconsistent statements are made at the same time. But we really must claim for even scientific writers exemption from the charge of inconsistency, unless it can be shown that they are obnoxious to the condition which, our logical readers will remember, is necessary to establish a contradiction—we mean the *eodem tempore*. The charge of inconsistency is frequently a very senseless charge, when preferred against political men for changing their opinions under an overwhelming weight of new evidence; but it is simply ridiculous when brought against men of science. Every great discoverer, and every man who has power of appreciating his discovery, must, from the very nature of the case, become thus far inconsistent. What *is* deserving of contempt and refutation, is the attempt of any who has changed his opinion to deny that it is a change, or to assert that he always had held the same opinion. The author's own account of his inconsistency is as follows:—

'My labours at the time as a practical geologist had been very much restricted to the Palæozoic and Secondary rocks, more especially to the Old Red and Carboniferous systems of the one division, and the Oolitic system of the other. And the long-extinct organisms which I found in them, certainly did not conflict with the view of Chalmers. All I found necessary at the time to the work of reconciliation, was some scheme that would permit me to assign to the earth a high antiquity, and to regard it as the scene of many succeeding creations. During the last nine years, however, I have spent a few weeks every autumn in exploring the later formations, and acquainting myself with their peculiar organisms. I have traced them upwards, from the raised beaches and old coast lines of the human period to the brick clays, Clyde beds, and drift and boulder deposits of the Pleistocene era; and again, from these, with the help of museums and collections, up through the mammaliferous crag of England to its Red and its Coral crags. And the conclusion at which I have been compelled to arrive is, that for many long ages, ere man was ushered into being, not a few of his humbler contemporaries of the fields and woods enjoyed life in their present haunts, and that for thousands of years anterior to even *their* appearance, many of the existing molluscs lived in our seas. That *day*, during which the present creation came into being, and in which God, when He had made "the beast of the earth after his kind, and the cattle after their kind," at length terminated the work, by moulding a creature in his own image, to whom He gave dominion over them all, was not a brief period of a few hours' duration, but extended over mayhap millenniums of centuries. No blank chaotic gap of death and darkness separated the creation to which man belongs from that of the old extinct elephant, hippopotamus, and hyæna; for familiar animals, such as the red deer, the roe, the fox, the wild cat, and the badger, lived throughout the period which connected their times with our own; and so I have been compelled to hold

that the days of creation were not natural, but prophetic days, and stretched far back into the bygone eternity. After, in some degree, committing myself to the other side, I have yielded to evidence which I found it impossible to resist; and such, in this matter, has been my *inconsistency*—an inconsistency of which the world has furnished examples in all the sciences, and will, I trust, in its onward progress, continue to furnish many more.' —*The Testimony of the Rocks.* Preface, pp. x. xi.

We need not follow the author through his brief statement of the reasons against the theory which increased knowledge forced him to abandon. The doctrine of specific centres, according to which every species, whether of plants or animals, is confined to a certain region or habitat beyond the boundaries of which its individuals cannot live, is adopted, and seems somewhat unnecessarily applied here by the Archdeacon of Calcutta, who speaks of it as demanded by the discoveries of Botany and Zoology in conjunction with those of Geology. We question whether so bold a departure from the letter, and we must think the plain meaning of the Scripture narrative, will find favour with the party whom he addresses. To us, such an interpretation seems to destroy the grandeur and majesty of the whole narrative, and to be utterly inconsistent both with other expressions in the first chapter of Genesis, and especially with the blessing pronounced in the twenty-second verse. 'Be 'fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl 'multiply on the earth.' This seems to us particularly conclusive, because the same expression precisely is made use of with regard to man in the twenty-eight verse. It would be a very strange anomaly, if the expression in one case should mean that the species man, the descendants of the first pair, were intended eventually to occupy the earth, and have dominion over it; whilst in the other, the offspring of newly-created animals were meant, in conjunction with others of the same kind as themselves, to spread through the earth and the seas.

It must be remembered, then, as Professor Miller observes, that 'between the scheme of lengthened periods and the scheme 'of a merely local chaos, which existed no one knows how, and 'of a merely local creation, which had its scene no one knows 'where, geological science leaves us now no choice whatever.' Let it not be thought, however, that we are driven reluctantly to adopt this view, by the mere necessity of the case. It is the theory which to our mind would have appeared most probable half a century ago, before anything was known about the Cambrian and Silurian systems. We do not adopt it because we cannot help ourselves, but because we think it the most natural interpretation, and can conceive no reason why the '*day*' of the first chapter of Genesis should be restricted to the *interval* of time during which the earth now turns upon its axis.

Agreeing, then, with Professor Miller in the main, but without pledging ourselves to all the details of this interesting lecture on the Two Records, we will attempt to give an outline of his views.

Confining himself strictly to his subject, viz. Geology, he declines to enter into any further description of the first three days' creation, viz. the creation of light, the separation of the waters from the waters by a firmament, and the creation of the greater and lesser lights, the one to rule the day, and the other the night; but only observes, that the fact of the moon being spoken of as subordinate only to the sun, implies that the description in this place is of what *seemed to be*, and not of what *was*. The three periods, then, to be reconciled by the geologist, are the period of plants, the period of great sea-monsters and creeping things, and the period of cattle and beasts of the earth. Setting aside minor subdivisions, the grand division of periods, characterised by a different type of life pervading them, is with the Palæozoic, the Secondary and the Tertiary formations.

The first is peculiarly distinguished from the other two by its gorgeous Flora; it was, emphatically, a period of herbs and trees, 'yielding seed after their kind.' The distinguishing mark of the Secondary period is its huge monsters of the deep and its gigantic birds. That of the Tertiary is its beasts of the field, vastly large, and vastly more numerous than those of the present day. The geologist would describe the periods by selecting that which is most prominent in each. The author thinks the Mosaic narrative does precisely the same, seizing upon the salient points as they would have appeared to a human eye, supposing any human eye had witnessed the successive creations; and the resemblance between the geological and the Mosaic account becomes still closer, upon observing that in neither is there any definite line drawn between the period of the Mammalia and the human period. We think it right to add, for the information of such of our readers as may be unacquainted with geological science, that in the Palæozoic, or oldest fossiliferous division, there are found corals, crustaceans, molluscs, and fishes, and even a few reptiles in its later formations. Moreover, the Secondary division exhibits herbs and plants, though of a much less conspicuous character than those of the preceding period. It is necessary that these facts should be borne in mind, lest the unlearned reader should gain the impression that the coincidence of the results of geological science, and the literal description of the successive creations in the book of Genesis, is more exact than it really is. There is another point, however, of agreement noticed by the author, which is of remarkable interest, viz. that in each of the

three great periods there are what he calls 'certain well-marked culminating points,' and twilight periods of morning dawn and evening decline. Thus, whilst in the earlier portion of the Palæozoic formation the plants are few and small, they reach their maximum, both of numbers and magnitude, during its Carboniferous period. Similarly, it is during the Oolitic formation of the Secondary division that the remains of reptiles are so abundant, whilst they are comparatively insignificant in its Triassic or earlier, as well as its Cretaceous or later, deposits. The same appearance of increase and subsequent diminution in the size of the enormous Mammalia, appears in the Tertiary formation.

The fourth lecture, entitled 'The Mosaic Vision of Creation,' harmonizes the facts alluded to in the previous lecture, in a most ingenious manner. It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers, that the author's theory of Inspiration neither is, nor pretends to be, the whole account of the subject. Presuming this, we think his view is at least entitled to a hearing. It is in one word this, that Moses describes, as an eye-witness, scenes which, in succession, were presented to his vision. That this was one mode of prophetic inspiration, is clear, from the text of the prophetic writers, as well as from the numerous particulars of visison enumerated in them. Instances will occur at once to every reader of the Old Testament. The whole prophecy of Isaiah, as well as that of Obadiah, is termed a vision; the prophet Amos speaks of his own prophecy as partly conveyed to the eye, partly to the ear. 'I saw the Lord standing upon the altar, and He said,' &c. (chap. ix. verse 1); and again, at the commencement of the seventh and eight chapters, 'Thus hath the Lord God showed unto me,' partly, also, as if what was communicated to one sense was not altogether distinguishable from what addressed itself to another. Again, the particular visions which characterised the different parts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, as well as the books of the minor prophets, are quite familiar to us all. We need not waste words to prove so well-known a point, as that vision was one of the recognised modes of Divine revelation amongst the Jews. The author, in writing as he does on the vision of Moses, must not therefore be supposed to speak of this as the exclusive mode of inspiration.

We may well suppose that the knowledge of the past would be conveyed in much the same way as the prophet was enabled to read and divulge the future. And the analogy of the two cases suggests the probability, that the revelation of the past, like that of the future, would be involved in obscurity. Prophecy of *what* was to happen in future time would, if too plain, have

led to abortive attempts on the part of man to fulfil its words; and the history of the past, if too minutely disclosed, would, as it might have happened, have served to guide too clearly, or to puzzle and mislead the scientific investigator. The view, then, which the author adopts, is, that the scenes of the chapter are prophetic tableaux, each containing a leading phase of the drama of creation. The same theory had been broached ten years ago by Professor Kurtz, and appears also in a little volume published some years since, and entitled 'The Mosaic Record in harmony with the Geological.' Professor Miller observes, that whether his view of the six days be adopted, or the theory of Dr. Chalmers, which makes them natural days, of the length of the present day, the drama of creation has been *optically* described. As, for instance, in the case of the sun and moon, neither theory can allow of the sun being actually brought into existence on the fourth day; the work of this day must of necessity be the bringing them into *apparent* existence; the addition which the author makes, he aptly characterises as the reason why it has been *optically* described, viz. that it was in reality *visionally* revealed. Further, the author thinks he can discover a reason why it should be visionally revealed.

We have, in the earlier part of this paper, glanced at the probable effects upon science of any definite revelation, and remarked upon the difficulty of accommodating language to different periods in the advancement of science. The following extract gives the author's view of the reflex effect of such supposed definiteness, on the credibility of the revelation itself:—

'There seems to be a peculiar fitness in a revelation made by vision, for conveying an account of creation to various tribes, and peoples of various degrees of acquirement, and throughout a long course of ages in which the knowledge of the heavenly bodies or of the earth's history, *i.e.* the sciences of astronomy and geology, did not at first exist, but in which ultimately they came to be studied and known. We must recognise such a mode as equally fitted for the earlier and the more modern times,—for the ages anterior to the rise of science, and the ages posterior to its rise. The prophet, by describing what he had actually seen in language fitted to the ideas of his time, would shock no previously-existing prejudice that had been founded on the apparent evidence of the senses; he could as safely describe the moon as the second great light of creation, as he could the sun as its first great light, and both, too, as equally subordinate to the planet which we inhabit. On the other hand, an enlightened age, when it had come to discover this key to the description, would find it *optically* true in all its details. But how differently would not a revelation have fared, in at least the earlier time, that was strictly scientific in its details,—a revelation, for instance, of the great truth demonstrated by Galileo, that the sun rests in the centre of the heavens, while the apparently immovable earth sweeps with giddy velocity around it; or of the great truth demonstrated by Newton that our ponderous planet is kept from falling off into empty space by the operation of the same law that

impels a descending pebble towards the ground! A great miracle wrought in proof of the truth of the revelation might serve to enforce the belief of it on the generation to whom it had been given; but the generations that followed, to whom the miracle would exist as a piece of mere testimony, would credit, in preference, the apparently surer evidence of their senses, and become unbelievers. They would act, all unwittingly, on the principle of Hume's famous argument, and prefer to rest rather on their own *experience* of the great phenomena of nature, than on the doubtful testimony of their ancestors, reduced, in the lapse of ages, to a dim, attenuated tradition. Nor would a geological revelation have fared better, in at least those periods intermediate between the darker and more scientific ages, in which ingenious men, somewhat sceptical in their leanings, cultivate literature, and look down rather superciliously on the ignorance and barbarism of the past. What would sceptics, such as Hobbes and Hume, have said of an opening chapter of Genesis that would describe successive periods,—first of molluscs, star-lilies, and crustaceans, next of fishes, next of reptiles and birds, then of mammals, and finally of man; and that would minutely portray a period in which there were lizards bulkier than elephants, reptilian whales furnished with necks slim and long as the bodies of great snakes, and flying dragons, whose spread of wing greatly more than doubled that of the largest bird? The world would assuredly not receive such a revelation. Nor, further, have scientific facts or principles been revealed to man which he has been furnished with the ability of observing or discovering for himself. It is according to the economy of revelation, that the truths which it exhibits should be of a kind which, lying beyond the reach of his ken, he himself could never have elicited. From every view of the case, then, a prophetic exhibition of the pre-Adamic scenes an d events by vision seems to be the one best suited for the opening chapters of a revelation vouchsafed for the accomplishment of moral, not scientific purposes; and at once destined to be contemporary with every stage of civilization, and to address itself to minds of every various calibre, and every different degree of enlightenment.'—*The Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 169—172.

The whole of this lecture is so interesting, and its tone throughout so good, that we venture to make another long extract from its conclusion:

'Let us suppose that it took place far from man, in an untrodden recess of the Midian desert, ere yet the vision of the burning bush had been vouchsafed; and that, as in the vision of St. John in Patmos, voices were mingled with scenes, and the ear as certainly addressed as the eye. A "great darkness" first falls upon the prophet, like that which, in an earlier age, fell upon Abraham, but without the "horror." And, as the Divine Spirit moves on the face of the wildly troubled waters, as a visible aurora enveloped by the pitchy cloud, the great doctrine is orally enunciated, that "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Unreckoned ages, condensed in the vision into a few brief moments, pass away; the creative voice is again heard, "Let there be light," and straightway a grey diffused light springs up in the east, and, casting its sickly gleam over a cloud-limited expanse of steaming vaporous sea, journeys through the heavens towards the west. One heavy, sunless day is made the representative of myriads; the faint light waxes fainter,—it sinks beneath the dim undefined horizon; the first scene of the drama closes upon the seer; and he sits awhile on his hill-top in darkness, solitary but not sad, in what seems to be a calm and starless night.

'The light again brightens,—it is day; and over an expanse of ocean, *without* visible bound, the horizon has become wider and sharper of out-

line than before. There is life in that great sea,—invertebrate, mayhap also ichthyic life; but, from the comparative distance of the point of view occupied by the prophet, only the slow roll of its waves can be discerned, as they rise and fall in long undulations before a gentle gale; and what most strongly impresses the eye is the change which has taken place in the atmospheric scenery. That lower stratum of the heavens occupied in the previous vision by seething steam, or grey, smoke-like fog, is clear and transparent; and only in an upper region, where the previously invisible vapour of the tepid sea has thickened in the cold, do the clouds appear. But there, in the higher strata of the atmosphere, they lie, thick and manifold,—an upper sea of great waves, separated from those beneath by the transparent firmament, and, like them too, impelled in rolling masses by the wind. A mighty advance has taken place in creation; but its most conspicuous optical sign is the existence of a transparent atmosphere—of a firmament stretched out over the earth, that separates the waters above from the waters below. But darkness descends for the third time upon the seer, for the evening and the morning have completed the second day.

'Yet again the light rises under a canopy of cloud; but the scene has changed, and there is no longer an unbroken expanse of sea. The white surf breaks, at the distant horizon, on an insulated reef, formed, mayhap, by the Silurian or Old Red coral zoophytes ages before, during the bygone yesterday; and beats in long lines of foam, nearer at hand, against a low, winding shore, the seaward barrier of a widely spread country. For at the Divine command the land has arisen from the deep—not inconspicuously and in scattered islets, as at an earlier time, but in extensive though flat and marshy continents, little raised over the sea-level; and a yet further flat has covered them with the great carboniferous flora. The scene is one of mighty forests of cone-bearing trees—of palms, and tree-ferns, and gigantic club-mosses, on the opener slopes, and of great reeds clustering by the sides of quiet lakes and dark rolling rivers. There is deep gloom in the recesses of the thicker woods, and low thick mists creep along the dank marsh or sluggish stream. But there is a general lightening of the sky overhead: as the day declines, a redder flush than had hitherto lighted up the prospect, falls athwart fern-covered bank and long withdrawing glade. And while the fourth evening has fallen on the prophet, he becomes sensible, as it wears on and the fourth dawn approaches, that yet another change has taken place. The Creator has spoken, and the stars look out from openings of deep unclouded blue; and as day rises, and the planet of morning pales in the east, the broken cloudlets are transmuted from bronze into gold, and anon the gold becomes fire, and at length the glorious sun arises out of the sea, and enters on his course rejoicing.

'It is a brilliant day; the waves, of a deeper and softer blue than before, dance and sparkle in the light; the earth, with little else to attract the gaze, has assumed a garb of brighter green; and as the sun declines amid even richer glories than those which had encircled his rising, the moon appears full orbed in the east—to the human eye the second great luminary of the heavens—and climbs slowly to the zenith as night advances, shedding its mild radiance on land and sea. Again the day breaks; the prospect consists, as before, of land and ocean. There are great pine woods, reed-covered swamps, wide plains, winding rivers, and broad lakes; and a bright sun shines over all. But the landscape derives its interest and novelty from a feature unmarked before. Gigantic birds stalk along the sands, or wade far into the water in quest of their ichthyic food; while birds of lesser size float upon the lakes, or scream discordant in hovering flocks, thick as insects in the calm of a summer evening, over the narrower

seas, or brighten with the sunlit gleam of their wings the thick woods. And ocean has its monsters: great "*tanninim*" tempest the deep, as they heave their huge bulk over the surface, to inhale the life-sustaining air; and out of their nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a "seething pot or cauldron." Monstrous creatures, armed in massive scales, haunt the rivers, or scour the flat rank meadows; earth, air, and water are charged with animal life; and the sun sets on a busy scene, in which unerring instinct pursues unremittingly its few simple ends—the support and preservation of the individual, the propagation of the species, and the protection and maintenance of the young.

'Again the night descends, for the fifth day has closed, and morning breaks on the sixth and last day of creation. Cattle and beasts of the field graze on the plains; the thick-skinned rhinoceros wallows in the marshes; the squat hippopotamus rustles among the reeds, or plunges sullenly into the river; great herds of elephants seek their food amid the young herbage of the woods; while animals of fiercer nature—the lion, the leopard, and the bear—harbour in deep caves till the evening, or lie in wait for their prey amid tangled thickets, or beneath some broken bank. At length, as the day wanes and the shadows lengthen, man, the responsible lord of creation, formed in God's own image, is introduced upon the scene, and the work of creation ceases for ever upon the earth. The night falls once more upon the prospect, and there dawns yet another morrow—the morrow of God's rest—that Divine Sabbath in which there is no more creative labour, and which, "blessed and sanctified" beyond all the days that had gone before, has as its special object the moral elevation and final redemption of man. And over *it* no evening is represented in the record as falling, for its special work is not yet complete. Such seems to have been the sublime panorama of creation exhibited in vision of old to

> "The shepherd who first taught the chosen seed,
> In the beginning how the heavens and earth
> Rose out of chaos;"

and, rightly understood, I know not a single scientific truth that militates against even the minutest or least prominent of its details.'—*The Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 187—191.

We have no intention of following our author through the rest of his volume. We may be permitted, however, to observe, that the Lecture on Geology, in its bearings on the two theologies, is less satisfactory than those which we have been reviewing. Having so recently touched upon the subject of Natural Theology, it would be out of place here to recur to the subject; neither shall we say more than that his remarks upon Hume's 'singular effect' do not strike us as being much to the point.

There is another point of contact between Scripture and Science, treated of in this volume. Two of the lectures are devoted to the Noachian deluge; and readers who have not given much attention to the subject, and who are not conversant with the established conclusions of Natural History, will perhaps be somewhat astonished at the result, which seems irresistible, that the Deluge was partial, extending over the countries inhabited by man, and leaving untouched the greater part of the globe

and its tenants, both vegetable and animal. The author has, perhaps, dwelt with unnecessary tediousness upon the arguments by which he establishes this conclusion. One of them is as easy to understand as it is irrefragable, if the facts upon which it is built do not admit of being gainsaid. It consists in the impossibility of reconciling the dimensions of the ark with the amount of space necessary to hold the pairs of at least sixteen hundred and fifty-eight species of mammalia, more than six thousand kinds of birds, and between six and seven hundred classes of reptiles. It is unnecessary to weary the reader with other objections, which come in as supplementary to the main argument. They add but little to its force; and in fact it wants no addition, except to him who questions the figures of the dimensions of the ark, or the certainty of the greatness of the numbers of distinct animals. To such, the amount of miracle necessary to be supposed in getting together the animals, and providing for them support during the hundred and fifty days in which the waters prevailed over the earth, may perhaps serve the purpose of inducing them to suspend their judgment, and reconsider the case. It is, of course, startling to have to give up an interpretation of Scripture to which one has been accustomed; and few persons, perhaps, are sufficiently strong-minded to distinguish at first between what Scripture really means, and what they have supposed it to mean. In the present instance, it will be a help to consider what we are told of the cause and design of the Deluge. No reader will be disposed to attribute much responsibility to any other animals that inhabited the earth. When God looked upon the earth and beheld it was corrupt—for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth—it is impossible to conceive that the expression applies to creatures who are not in some sense moral agents. Other creatures were fulfilling their destiny; it was man only that 'marred the sweet accord.' Man's sin is the only immediate provocation of God's wrath that is spoken of, and the purpose of the flood, if we may say it reverently, would seem to be as much accomplished by a partial inundation which should destroy all, save the eight persons, as if it had extended over the whole surface of the globe.

There is one other portion of this lecture in which we shall leave the writer to speak for himself, and the reader to exercise his own judgment; premising only that the author does not dogmatize upon the subject, but offers his view of the possible mode in which a merely partial flood might have taken place, as a conjecture.

'There is a remarkable portion of the globe, chiefly in the Asiatic continent, though it extends into Europe, and which is nearly equal to all

Europe in area, whose rivers (some of them, such as the Volga, the Oural, Sihon, the Kour, and the Amoo, of great size) do not fall into the ocean, or into any of the many seas which communicate with it. They are, on the contrary, all *turned inwards*, if I may so express myself; losing themselves, in the eastern parts of the tract, in the lakes of a rainless district, in which they supply but the waste of evaporation, and falling, in the western parts, into seas such as the Caspian and the Aral. In this region there are extensive districts still under the level of the ocean. The shore-line of the Caspian, for instance, is rather more than eighty-three feet beneath that of the Black Sea; and some of the great flat steppes which spread out around it, such as what is known as the Steppe of Astracan, have a mean level of about thirty feet beneath that of the Baltic. Were there a trench-like strip of country that communicated between the Caspian and the Gulf of Finland to be depressed beneath the level of the latter sea, it would *so open up the fountains of the great deep* as to lay under water an extensive and populous region, containing the cities of Astracan and Astrabad, and many other towns and villages. Nor is it unworthy of remark, surely, that one of the depressed steppes of this peculiar region is known as the "Low Steppe of the Caucasus," and forms no inconsiderable portion of the great recognised centre of the human family. The Mount Ararat on which, according to many of our commentators, the ark rested, rises immediately on the western edge of this great hollow; the Mount Ararat selected as the scene of that event by Sir Walter Raleigh, certainly not without some show of reason, lies far within it. Vast plains, white with salt, and charged with sea-shells, show that the Caspian Sea was at no distant period greatly more extensive than it is now. In an outer region, which includes the vast desert of Khiva, shells also abound; but they seem to belong, as a group, rather to some of the later Tertiary eras than to the recent period. It is quite possible, however, that,—as on parts of the western shores of our own country, where recent marine deposits lie over marine deposits of the Pleistocene age, while a terrestrial deposit, representative of an intervening paroxysm of upheaval, lies between,—it is possible, I say, that in this great depressed area, the region covered of old by a Tertiary sea, which we know united the Sea of Aral with the Caspian, and rolled over many a wide steppe and vast plain, may have been again covered for a brief period (after ages of upheaval) by the breaking in of the great deep during that season of judgment when, with the exception of one family, the whole human race was destroyed. It seems confirmatory of this view, that during even the historic period, at least one of the neighbouring inland seas, though it belongs to a different system from that of the Caspian and the Aral, covered a vastly greater area than it does now,—a consequence, apparently, of a more considerable depression in the Caucasian region than at present exists. Herodotus, as quoted by Cuvier in his "Theory of the Earth," represents the Sea of Azoff as equal in extent to the Euxine.

'With the known facts, then, regarding this depressed Asiatic region before us, let us see whether we cannot originate a theory of the Deluge free from at least the palpable monstrosities of the older ones. Let us suppose that the human family, still amounting to several millions, though greatly reduced by exterminating wars and exhausting vices, were congregated in that tract of country which, extending eastwards from the modern Ararat to far beyond the Sea of Aral, includes the original Caucasian centre of the race: let us suppose that, the hour of judgment having at length arrived, the land began gradually to sink, as the tract in the run of Cutch sank in the year 1819, or as the tract in the southern part of North America, known as the "sunk country," sank in the year 1821: farther, let us suppose that the depression took place slowly and equably for forty days together, at the rate of about four hundred feet per day,—a rate not twice

greater than that at which the tide rises in the Straits of Magellan, and which would have rendered itself apparent as but a persistent inward flowing of the sea: let us yet farther suppose, that from mayhap some volcanic outburst coincident with the depression, and an effect of the same deep-seated cause, the atmosphere was so affected, that heavy drenching rains continued to descend during the whole time, and that, though they could contribute but little to the actual volume of the flood,—at most only some five or six inches per day,—they at least *seemed* to constitute one of its main causes, and added greatly to its terrors, by swelling the rivers, and rushing downwards in torrents from the hills. The depression, which, by extending to the Euxine Sea and the Persian Gulf on the one hand, and to the Gulf of Finland on the other, would open up by three separate channels the fountains of the great deep, and which included, let us suppose, an area of about two thousand miles each way, would, at the end of the fortieth day, be sunk in its centre to the depth of sixteen thousand feet,—a depth sufficiently profound to bury the loftiest mountains of the district; and yet, having a gradient of declination of but sixteen feet per mile, the contour of its hills and plains would remain apparently what they had been before,—the doomed inhabitants would see but the water rising along the mountain sides, and one refuge after another swept away, till the last witness of the scene would have perished, and the last hill-top would have disappeared. And when, after a hundred and fifty days had come and gone, the depressed hollow would have begun slowly to rise,—and when, after the fifth month had passed, the ark would have grounded on the summit of Mount Ararat,—all that could have been seen from the upper window of the vessel would be simply a boundless sea, roughened by tides, now flowing outwards, with a reversed course, towards the distant ocean, by the three great outlets which, during the period of depression, had given access to the waters.'—*The Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 344—348.

The last work which we have placed at the head of this article, is the most complete exposition of the first three chapters of Genesis which we possess. Much theological knowledge, in the sense which we attach to Theology, was not to be expected from a Scottish minister, even of the 'Free Church;' but the volume before us is extremely creditable, both to the diligence in investigation, and to the fair and candid tone of its author. The author seems to have read all that has been written upon the subject, except the productions of professed theologians. He quotes from modern authorities of all schools, and has evidently spared no pains in mastering his subject.

Regarded as a controversial work, it has one fault, which may be thought to detract somewhat from the praise which we have awarded to it, of candour and fairness. The author underrates the difficulties of the subject, and seems content to rest on evidence which is inconclusive when it favours his own view. A remarkable instance of this occurs in his enumeration of the points of concord between science and revelation. He takes for granted the existence of a rare resisting medium, which, if it exists, must eventually bring the planetary motions to an end. Now this most readers know to be mere hypothesis, invented to account for the observed fact of the periodical returns of Encke's

comet being accelerated, and is not, as far as we know, confirmed by any other astronomical phenomena; and from this is gathered, not what, if the fact is admitted, appears to be the obvious conclusion, that the solar system is destined to come to an end, but that 'the universe is not eternal,' but had a beginning, and will have a conclusion. Again, the difficulty with regard to the priority of vegetable life is very much slurred over; and the author, not content with quoting a French author's testimony as to the advanced knowledge of geology which Moses must have possessed, to describe the process of development in creation, as he has done, goes on to make the bold assertions for which we confess we can see no evidence whatever, 'that not 'only geology, but all the kindred sciences, must come into 'requisition, and that, too, in almost their present perfection, if 'inspiration is to be dispensed with in the case.'[1]

It was his misfortune that he was not acquainted with the works of the Fathers of the Christian church, and that no one was at hand to direct his attention to what they had said. It seems as if the author's prejudices had led him to consult Protestant authorities exclusively, or almost exclusively. Now, if he had referred to Cardinal Wiseman's Lectures, a work which even a Scotch Presbyterian might have heard of, he would have learned something of the opinions of the Fathers, and might perhaps have been induced to inquire further into the matter. We can imagine the question asked, 'Of what possible use can the 'opinions of the Fathers be on a subject of which they are 'confessedly profoundly ignorant?' And the answer to the question is, that it is their very ignorance that is of such great value in the present controversy. After all that is said on the subject, there will always remain a lurking suspicion amongst those who are friendly to the cause, and an open avowal of belief on the part of the enemy, that the reconciliation of Science and Scripture is reluctantly allowed by believers in revelation, when the discoveries of science are forced upon them, and they are in a difficulty which they have no other means of escaping from. And then is there much of truth in the allegation, viz. that unscientific persons, who are firm believers in revelation, are naturally, and very properly, unwilling to give up an interpretation of Scripture to which they have been accustomed, though it really be erroneous, at the first note of alarm that is sounded. Neither has the geologist any right to expect that they should. It is even notorious, that amongst themselves, eminent men of science have been slow to resign theories which, after all, have been forced to submit, when the advancing tide of science has

[1] Creation and the Fall, p. 286.

overwhelmed them, and that they have tenaciously clung to them, when all but the inventors of the theory have been convinced of its inadequacy. No one, perhaps, ever investigated a subject of any difficulty, and which required hypotheses to be made, without feeling how very unwillingly he gave up what appeared to be a promising guess; and that the more so, the longer it had stood the test of answering the purpose for which it was invented. And it, no doubt, is with some reluctance that we surrender preconceived notions of interpretation at the bidding of this, or any other science. But we think the accusation we are speaking of loses much of its force in the present instance, if it can be shown that the views which are forced upon us by Geology, are exactly those, or in any way resemble those which were held by the great writers of the first centuries of the Christian church, long before any such interpretation of the book of Genesis was necessitated by geological science. Mr. Macdonald himself quotes S. Augustine, apparently at second-hand, as saying, 'It is difficult, if not impossible, for us to conceive what sort of days these were.' But though he alludes to 'the same peculiarity of expression' having also arrested the attention of several of the Christian fathers, he does not seem to be at all aware of the importance of this fact. We are not aware that the Fathers can be quoted in favour of the interpretation which makes the Deluge partial; but as regards the earlier chapters of Genesis, we find S. Gregory Nazianzen's authority quoted for the supposition of an indefinite period intervening between the creation and the first ordering of all things. For the Mosaic description being that of appearance, and not of absolute formation out of nothing, —S. Basil, S. Cæsarius, and Origen are advocates of the opinion, that the sun existed before the fourth day, but that its rays were prevented by the dense atmosphere from penetrating to the earth. We give these references on the authority of Dr. Wiseman, quoting them from the fifth of his lectures on the connexion between science and revealed religion. We are rather surprised that this accomplished divine has neglected to quote the notices of S. Gregory Nyssen, which are still more to the point; for whereas these authors appear to think the sun the original, and, perhaps, sole source of light, S. Gregory Nyssen very plainly implies a creation of light, anterior to, and independent of, the sun's light: and certainly the discoveries of modern astronomy have quite familiarised us with the idea of other independent sources of light, and that perhaps of a different kind from sunlight.

In concluding the subject of the bearings of scientific discovery upon theological truth, we must not omit to notice the contrast

exhibited between heathen systems of philosophy and religion, with the absurd speculations to which they stand committed,—and the truth, as it has been revealed in Holy Scripture, with its careful avoidance of statement on subjects with which it was not concerned. In the January number of this Review, we had occasion to notice the extravagant theories and ridiculous statements which are sanctioned by the system of Buddhism, and ventured to suggest, that this will, at some future day, cause its overthrow. We shall not be accused of falsely over-estimating the value either of treatises on Natural Theology, or on the evidence of the Christian religion; but whatever tends to upset systems opposed to the truth—whether such opposition be levelled against its mere elements, as in the case of the opponents of the individuality of the Supreme Being, or against the complete structure of revelation, as was the line of argument adopted in the last century—of course, indirectly at least, tends to increase the evidence for the Christian religion: and this is a point which we think may advantageously be made more prominent in future treatises on the Evidences.

ART. II.—*Lectures on the Right Use of the Early Fathers.* By the Rev. J. J. BLUNT, B.D., late Margaret Professor of Divinity. London: John Murray, Albemarle-street.

DAILLÉ, in his elaborate but unfair and sophistical work on what he pleases to term 'the right use' of the Fathers, holds, that whether as witnesses to fact, or interpreters of Scripture, they are worth nothing. Sanders, in his 'De Schismate Anglicano,' says, that 'the question is not whether we are to follow God or man; 'the Holy Scriptures or uninspired teachers; but whether on the 'whole it be not safer to trust to the guidance of the most ancient, 'holy, and learned Fathers of the Church, whether taken singly 'or altogether, than to follow in the steps of a few unlearned 'moderns.' Between the Puritan and the Romanist who is to decide?

Our own Anglican Professor, whose learned and very valuable work heads our article, may, we think, be well admitted to discharge this responsible office; as far, that is, as any individual teacher can be received as the final authority in a question so vast and momentous. We are at least sure that he has many of the gifts and attainments requisite for the due performance of such a duty, rarely to be found united in one man; a long and intimate acquaintance with his subject, unwearied industry, great powers of argument, much constructive skill, and a simple desire of eliciting truth; and from the vast repertory of learning which the lamented author has bequeathed to us in this valuable work, we now propose to select for discussion a few subjects which may appear to admit of further examination or to require additional support.

Professor Blunt does not take in the whole list of Fathers, but, following the plan of Daillé, confines himself exclusively to the Ante-Nicenes. His work is divided into two parts. The first part is chiefly, but not exclusively, employed in answering the objections raised by Daillé to the use of the Fathers, and the sophisms of his countryman Barbeyrac on the same subject. Of the second part, the first five lectures are occupied with the refutation of certain assertions of Gibbon. From the sixth to the ninth, is discussed the authority of the Fathers as witnesses to the power and constitution of the early Church and as assistants in ascertaining the canon and text of the Scriptures of the New Testament. In the tenth and four following is contained a careful and elaborate examination of their opinions on the doctrines of the Holy Trinity; the Atonement; the Sacraments;

Predestination, and other subjects which were afterwards called into discussion by Calvin and the Socinians; and in proving that they were wholly different to those which are laid down in the Anti-Christian systems, as we believe them to be, of those moderns. The fifteenth, and last, shows that much light has been thrown by them on passages of the New Testament, from the information they give us of the early heresies, which are not only alluded to by the Apostles, but which, if we may so say, almost at times mould their expressions.

Daillé compares the early Church to some ancient city, now so thoroughly ruined that it is impossible to distinguish with accuracy any one building in it.

'Do but fancy' (he says) 'to yourselves a city that hath lain ruinated a thousand years, no part whereof remains, save only the ruins of houses, lying all along here and there confusedly, all the rest being covered all over with thorns and bushes. Imagine then that you have met with one that will undertake to show precisely where the public buildings of the city stood, and where the private; which were the stones which belonged to one, and which belonged to the other; and, in a word, who in these confused heaps, where the whole lies all together, will notwithstanding separate ye the one from the other. The very same task in a manner doth he undertake, whoever shall go about, truly, and precisely to distinguish the opinions of the ancient Church. This antiquity is now of eleven or twelve hundred years' standing, and the ruins of it are now only left us, in the books of the writers of that time, which also have met with none of the best entertainment, in their passage through the several ages down to our time, as we have showed before. How then can we entertain the least hope, that amidst this so great confusion, we should be able yet to distinguish the pieces, and to tell which of them honoured the public temple, and which went to the furnishing of private chapels only? especially considering that the private ones have each of them ambitiously endeavoured to make their own pass for public.'—*English Version*, 1651, Part I. p. 149.

If this be a true statement, of course there is an end at once of all hope of good from any attempt to make way through ruins so confused, and paths so impenetrable; and we can only wonder that any man has ever thought of undertaking a labour so hopeless and so profitless. But the truth is far otherwise. We accept indeed Daillé's comparison, but we say, that so far from being the devastated wilderness he describes, the Church, of whatever age it matters not (for it is one and the same), is that 'city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God;' it is the 'city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem;' and He, its founder and chief corner-stone, will never suffer it to be so given over to the enemy as to become 'of a city a heap, of a defenced city a ruin, a palace of strangers to be no city.'

If Daillé, however, had intended to abide by his own words, he would have spared himself the trouble of composing, and his readers the pain of perusing, his work. As it is, he knows that

if the earlier links in the chain can be proved untrustworthy, the later ones will be rendered worthless; and accordingly he bends all his strength to the accomplishment of this object.

He divides his work into two parts. The object of the whole is to prove that the Fathers are no real, trustworthy authorities, either in the controversies with Romanists, or on any other subjects. His reasons are as follows. First, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to discover their opinions on the questions at issue; and, secondly, as they are not infallible, their opinions are not of sufficient weight to command acquiescence on subjects in which we neither can nor ought to believe anything but that of the verity of which we are certain. And he proceeds to prove these assertions by a series of reasons, in the force and applicability, and even occasionally in the essential truth of which it is difficult to think he himself could have had any confidence. Nor does it seem to have occurred to him that these two assumptions on which his work rests are inconsistent with each other. If we have a number of authorities, real or pretended, to a fact or opinion, and their testimony is, from whatever cause, so obscure that we can by no care or pains decide what they really would say—and this, if anything, is what Daillé means to assert—it remains for him to inform us what is the value of any after question of their fallibility or infallibility; and this he has not done. To enter upon the latter, you must tacitly, at least, abandon the former question. The former thesis is not true in fact; and the latter we wholly deny. It proves too much, and therefore results in proving nothing at all. Neither Daillé himself, nor any other man, say what they may, ever confined their religious belief to those guides alone whom they believe to be inspired. The argument of probability has ever practically weighed with mankind, as it ought to do. Nay, as Daillé puts it, it is impossible that we should have any religious guides or religious faith at all; for we do not absolutely *know*, as he requires us to do, that our Lord Himself was God the Son, or that His apostles themselves were inspired; we only believe it; but on that belief we are willing and thankful to act, and to risk the greatest stake we can risk, even our eternal salvation. Such knowledge as Daillé demands is not for this life, which is one of probation, not merely in fleshly ills and trials, but also in religious faith. According to him, S. Thomas was right; and faithful Christians coming after him are less and not more blessed than he, because having not seen, and therefore not knowing, they still believe. With such a fatal flaw in the very outset of his argument, the reader might well be justified in closing his work at once; and we are convinced that nothing but a foregone conclusion, and an utter hostility to the real

substance of Church teaching, could ever have given this work even the place it does hold in theological literature.

Professor Blunt has given as complete an exposure of its many fallacies, and morally, if not literally, untrue statements, as it deserves; perhaps a more complete one than such a book is worth.

Daillé, in fact, requires, as he avows, infallibility in his religious guides (and so far, at least, he is honest, if not reasonable); nothing short of this will suit him. For the infirmities of human nature, the lapse of memory, an error of reasoning, a mistake of fact; in a word, for—

> 'Maculas quas aut incuria fudit,
> Aut humana parum cavit natura,'

he can make no allowance. We do not see how, if his theory could be carried out (a thing that is simply impossible), there can be any history of the Church, or any trustworthy commentary on the Scriptures; or how in any of the great controversies, the Arian, for instance, or the Nestorian, there can be either a right or a wrong. None of the Fathers engaged in either ever, that we know of, pretended to infallibility; and no apostle has come back to decide the question. We do not see what right he has logically or consistently to praise S. Augustin and S. Jerome, or to blame S. Hilary or Tertullian. He admits himself to be liable to err, and if we are to be indeed his pupils, his teaching upon his own ground can only end in this, that we follow his opinions in no respect. We wish indeed that he had informed us whether he does or does not receive the directions of S. Paul himself, when he speaks not as an apostle, but as a private individual only.

One of Daillé's proofs of the assumed difficulty of learning the opinions of the early Fathers, is that we have so few of their writings, especially of those of the first three centuries. But he does not say whether or not he would have us on this account reject what we have and know to be genuine. We have their opinions, let us say, on so many points; we wish for them on others; but these, if recorded, are now lost to us; are we then to throw away what we have, because it is not more? to refuse a part because we cannot have all? Did Daillé himself, or any man in his senses, ever act on such a principle in the affairs of this world? He has, moreover, given us a list of extant works of Ante-Nicene authors, which, although imperfect, is still sufficient to form something of a record of the opinions of each age and generation. To further his own argument, he should have proved that at least some one vital truth, as we consider it, is known to have been without record, long

enough to cause it to become matter of doubt when it is afterwards found to be asserted. This he has not done; if we be asked why, we can only reply that it must be because he knows that among all the accidents which have happened to the writings of those earlier ages of the Church, whether 'by the injury of time, which consumeth all things, or the malice of men;' and all the errors, differences, and divarications which are granted to exist, which it would be irrational and preposterous not to expect in the volumes of fallible men, and which tend, indirectly at least, rather to establish than to disparage their general truth; there is no point necessary to salvation, nothing, in a word, which a 'Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health,' which cannot be proved to have been held as such from our own days to those of the Apostles themselves; no heresy perilous to the soul, but the holder of it, if he only search and look (and in many cases he who runs may read), may find ample warning against it.

But, as if conscious that this objection would not hold, Daillé suddenly shifts his ground, and informs us that if all other disadvantages were overcome, we still cannot be sure that even the writings we have are really those of the men whose names they bear: for corruptions are known to have been frequent from the earliest ages, and therefore, he says, forgeries may be presumed to have been so. Without examining the sequence of this conclusion, let us see how he deals with it and endeavours to establish it. He dwells on it and labours at it for more than twenty closely printed quarto pages. He wishes earnestly that a lost treatise of S. Amphilochius of Iconium, the friend of the great S. Basil, in which he discussed the forgeries that were in existence in his day, were now extant,[1] as he thinks it would be a great aid to us in distinguishing the true writings of the Fathers from their spurious imitations. But, to say nothing of the probability of such a work telling against Daillé himself, who could, on his principles, assure us that if the book were in our hands to-morrow, we had the very work of its author? Who is to test the test? Again, he supports his opinion by the authority of S. Jerome, who says that 'the transcribers write not what they find, but what they understand; and while they endeavour to correct the errors of others, they display their own.' This is a very fair specimen of Daillé's manner of arguing. The statement is very loose, and is moreover suicidal in result. Daillé applies S. Jerome's words in a sense quite different to that in which he wrote them. To say nothing of the partial corrective which S. Jerome in the last clause admits to exist, in

[1] P. 13.

the fact that incompetent workmen can never in the long-run deceive, but are almost sure to end in exposing themselves—our author would extend the remarks, which S. Jerome clearly meant of verbal interpolations alone, to the fabrication of entire works. Nay, the citation tells not in favour of his cause, but against it: for, if an unskilful copyist could hardly alter a few words or lines, how unlikely is it that he could forge whole works without betraying himself! Let us remind the admirers of Daillé of one instance in history in which the erasure of even a single word was not allowed, when discovered, to pass quietly and without notice. In the course of the great attempt at the union of East and West which was made in the 13th century, when Veccus was patriarch of Constantinople, certain Greeks who were opposed to the union, headed by the Master of Requests[1] of the Church of Constantinople, finding in a very ancient copy of S. Gregory of Nyssa's homilies on the Lord's Prayer, the words, 'The Holy Ghost is said to be of the Father, and is testified to 'be of the Son,' and being unable to reply to so plain a testimony against their own doctrine, erased the second '*of*.' The Master of Requests afterwards confessed to Veccus what he had done, and Veccus immediately called a council of bishops to consider the case. Their decision was that the erased word should not be restored, lest the newness of the writing should afterwards cause suspicion of forgery; but that a statement of the whole affair should be put on record, for the benefit of after times, with this decree of the council, the confession of the Master of Requests, and his petition for pardon; and the whole carefully lodged with the archives of the Church.[2]

It is not probable that in every case of the kind the same precautions could have been taken; but we have above an example of how a bishop might be expected to act, and how one at least did act, in such a case. Nor can it be supposed, on the other hand, as Daillé would imply, that any forger, or any number of forgers, could at any time tamper with the text of any Father they chose to object to, or publish any pieces they pleased in his name, without being discovered. There were, indeed, complaints in the fourth century that the Arians had erased certain texts from the New Testament, but no evidence that they had committed a crime so great, and, what would have weighed more with them, an impolicy so glaring, was ever offered: and it cannot be thought that if it had been publicly known that they had done so, the Council of Sardica, or the

[1] Ραιφερενδάριος. See Spelman's Glossarium and Du Cange on the word.

[2] Leo Allatius, Græcia Orthodoxa, I. pp. 366—374. The erased passage, with the context, was discovered by Cardinal Mai, in an ancient MS. in the Vatican, and is published in his Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iv. pp. 40—53.

Second General Council, or the Council of Milan, at which S. Ambrose presided, in 380, or that of Aquileia, in 381, or some of the Catholic Councils which were held between the first and second General Councils, would not have left it on record, and supplied the erased passages.

Again, can Daillé point to any one work which is of doubtful authority, but which, if certainly discovered to-morrow to be or not to be by a particular author, would in any way seriously affect the practice and belief of Christendom? The Epistle of Barnabas has, on the whole, the testimony of the ancients, from S. Clement of Alexandria to S. Jerome, to its genuineness; that is, they think it the work of S. Barnabas, the companion of S. Paul; but how significant, on the other side, is the fact, that it was never received into the canon of Holy Scripture: a position which, as Hefele well says, it could not easily have escaped, if the work of the apostolic Barnabas. Consider, too, what an almost unanswerable argument its contents, as a whole, form against such an authorship; to say nothing of particular mistakes of Jewish custom and ritual contained in it which a Levite could not have committed; and, lastly, the mention of the destruction of the Jewish temple as having taken place some time previously, whereas all evidence tends to prove that S. Barnabas died several years before that event.

So with Hermas' 'Pastor.' It is a question whether this singular work is the production of the Hermas mentioned by S. Paul, or a Hermas, brother to Pius I., who lived in the middle of the second century: but in truth the question is merely one of the curiosities of literature. Who, again, receives the interpolated Epistles of S. Ignatius, to say nothing of the forged ones to the Virgin Mary, to S. John, to Hero the Deacon, to the Philippians, the Antiochenes, &c.?[1] And why not, but because, in addition to the internal evidence against them, there has always been a mass of external evidence widely separating the genuine from the forged? Who has ever been deceived by the Gospel to the Hebrews, or any other of those apocryphal works which may be found in such collections as Grabe's 'Spicilegium?' Who doubts the spuriousness of the so-called works of Dionysius the Areopagite? Or who could believe, if he would, the account given by Suidas, as communicated by Dionysius himself to S. Polycarp, of his having witnessed in Egypt, with Apollophanes the Sophist, the darkness, or, as he terms it, the eclipse of the sun, at the crucifixion of our Lord?—

'What will you think,' he says in a letter supposed to be addressed to S. Polycarp, 'of the eclipse of the sun, which happened when our

[1] Cotelerii Patres, vol. ii.

Lord was hanging on the cross of salvation? For we were both' (Apollophanes and himself) 'at that time at Heliopolis, and we stood and watched the moon, as she was falling upon the sun' (*soli incidentem*, passing across the sun's disk in fact), 'in a stupendous and miraculous manner. Nor was that the period of their mutual conjunction. Again we watched her, from the ninth hour quite to evening, placed back again (*restitutam*), as at first, beyond the order of nature, to the diameter of the sun. Recall, moreover, to his recollection, another thing; he knew plainly, that the falling of the moon upon the sun (*lunæ incidentiam*) began as we watched it from the east, and extended even to the last line of the sun's diameter, and then suddenly turned back again (*resiluisse*). Lastly, this conjunction with the sun, and the clearing off again (*repurgatio*), did not take place from the same part, but from the opposite extremes of the sun's diameter.'[1]

Had the miraculous darkness been caused in this manner, by the moon leaving her sphere, and passing across to the extreme western edge of the sun's disk, and then returning again, there must either have been a fresh moon created for such an extraordinary exploit, or the old moon would have been missed from the place where she was, and a miraculous lunar darkness over a whole hemisphere must have resulted. Again, were the moon, as seen from Heliopolis, in such a position as at that place to obscure the sun totally, such obscurity could not have extended from that point farther than within a circle of about thirty miles' radius, unless the moon were not only brought back in her orbit, but much nearer to the earth. Thus, such a total eclipse could not have occurred in the manner described, both in Palestine and in Egypt. In this instance, therefore, as in most others of the kind, the account of the unknown author confutes itself; and we see, and are sure, that it could not possibly have been the production of Dionysius, whose name it bears.

We do not, therefore, deny that there were forgeries and interpolations in those times: of course not. What we contend for is, that the fear of receiving a work altogether forged or greatly interpolated, is much less than Daillé would imply. It could not have been easy in those days, it was probably less so even than it would be in our own, to palm off a copy much altered from works already in daily circulation and familiar use; or to bring forward, for the first time, without betraying the fabrication, a work which, although its reputed author might be dead and unable to disown it, should be accepted as genuine. Nor has Daillé attempted to prove that the known apocryphal works were intended by their authors to pass for anything but what they were—a kind of sacred romance; and the fact of their

[1] See the Bened. Ed. of Dionysius, with the diagram and dissertation of the *editors* in explanation of the whole passage.

true character having been well known in their own day, may be the reason why no one then thought it worth while to describe them as such in direct terms.

And when we come to the writings of the next age, how many, we would ask, are of doubtfulness sufficient to affect the reputation or render uncertain the opinions of their authors, real or supposed? The spurious are in all good editions carefully marked and separated from the genuine. There is, indeed, a class of patristic works, real or so called, to which, as we shall have to recur to them presently, we will merely allude here; the lives of certain saints and ascetics, *e.g.*, the Life of S. Antony, by S. Athanasius; of S. Martin of Tours, by Sulpicius Severus; of SS. Hilarion and Paul, by S. Jerome: which consist of incredible marvels, and have been thought by many to have been more or less tampered with. But these are very different things from serious doctrinal or dogmatic treatises which concern some momentous article of the Christian faith, or vital practice of the Church. In S. Justin Martyr there are a few pieces,—the 'Expositio Fidei;' certain questions and answers to the orthodox; a confutation of some opinions of Aristotle—which were once thought to be the production of that illustrious Martyr, but which have long since been proved, unanswerably and beyond a question, to be spurious: and one or two others are still doubtful. But whether S. Justin's or not, what, we would ask, is the value of these last, compared with that of the Dialogue or the longer Apology, about which no question can seriously be raised? Of Tertullian all we have is known to be genuine, except that short piece, the 'Catalogus Hæreticorum,' and a few poems. Some of the Epistles ascribed to S. Cyprian seem doubtful; but the interpolations in his other works are all carefully marked as such by Rigaltius, and after him by Bishop Fell. But S. Cyprian and Origen have met such able treatment from Professor Blunt, in his fifth and sixth Lectures, that we gladly refer our readers to those masterly dissertations. They will then learn that it is not so difficult as Daillé pretends, for a student of the writings of the Ante-Nicene Church to distinguish between the teaching of a Father of that Church, and the vagaries of some unknown forger and, perhaps, heretic in disguise. Nor do we see why we may not in a measure apply to the forgers and interpolators of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, as a whole, what Daillé admits of those who would endeavour to palm off their own productions as S. Augustin's, S. Cyprian's, or S. Jerome's. 'A man,' he says, in language more quaint and forcible than elegant,

'may know their true works at the very first sight merely by the style: those Gothic and rude spirits being no more able to counterfeit the

graces and elegancies of those great authors, than an ass is to imitate the warblings of the nightingale.'—P. 30, Part I.

It may rather, indeed, be a question, whether on the whole it has not, especially of late years, been the habit of men's minds to doubt overmuch; and therefore whether more genuine works of the Fathers have not been suspected to be forged or interpolated, than forged ones have been received as genuine. We are, at any rate, compelled to reject Daillé's third proof of his first thesis as that which examination in part fails to substantiate, and in part shows to be untrue.

'The writings which go under the name of the Fathers, are not all truly such; but are, a great part of them, supposititious and forged, either long since or of later times.'—*Introduction.*

But our readers will scarcely thank us for dwelling so long on this somewhat dry and technical part of our subject.

As to Daillé's fifth objection, that the writings of the Fathers are hard to be understood, from the difficulties of their language and idioms, their figures of rhetoric, logical subtleties, and peculiar use of terms, we suppose that in these days such an objection will hardly produce anything but a smile. It is surely neither impossible, nor extremely difficult, for a fairly educated person among ourselves to learn from their own pages what are the opinions of any Father of the Church on any question of real importance; for on such, when they speak, they do not speak doubtingly, or contradict themselves, or give different opinions at different times; when, therefore, the preliminary difficulties of language and phraseology are overcome, the result is easily obtained. Professor Blunt has some wise and very true remarks on this point, which, applying to Tertullian in the first place, are capable of being extended to other Fathers as well. He says, in words which we earnestly recommend to the attention of our younger clerical readers:—

'If you note down extraordinary terms or combinations as they occur, the chances are you will find something in the further course of your reading of the author, which will explain them; and thus you will be making a glossary for yourselves. . . . . You will perceive, too, ... that a passage which has been insuperable to-day, will give out its meaning to-morrow: your thoughts happening, in the latter case, to fall in with your subject better, just as you catch a pattern on silk in one light, and lose it in every other.'—*Blunt's Lectures*, Pp. 176, 177.

Daillé's whole work impresses you with the feeling that his rejection of the great body of Christian witnesses of the early ages, is really caused by their being fallible men: nothing short of absolute perfection will suffice him. He does not allow for *that* marked unity of theirs on all vital subjects, which exists *notwithstanding* their occasional minor differences, nor distin-

guish between the truths they enunciate as necessary to salvation, and their private opinions on matters non-essential. The Fathers, in fact, are not the subjects of plenary inspiration, but men liable to error; yet because they sometimes differ in their opinions, and occasionally even err, Daillé holds their testimony as to essential truth, to be worthless. That is, in other words, to state the matter truly: because in many things they speak according to the knowledge of their times, and therefore, *quâ* themselves, truthfully, they are not to be listened to. Daillé's requisition, therefore, demands that there should be no difference of opinion on any point, however minute; no change of sentiment; no self-correction; nay, not even any single instance of textual depravation. The Fathers and their scribes must alike possess (what the Apostles themselves had not) universal infallibity; minds and pens that could not err. And this, of course, it is absurd to expect: it is simply impossible; it would be even out of the course of God's moral government that it should be found. The question is not whether the Fathers of the Church might not, individually or as a whole, speak more faultlessly than they do; but whether being what they are, we are or are not to receive their testimony. Reject them, and what certainty have we of our possession of any one truth of Revelation? What other links do we find to connect us with the Apostles?

In one thing Daillé has forgotten how great an advantage he has given to the professed sceptic. If every depravation of the text is to bring suspicion on the work of which it is a part, how are we to put faith even in the Scriptures themselves? for the same disturbing causes have been at work with these as with uninspired books. Of course the answer is that such corruptions, however much to be deplored, bear no proportion to the entire work. It is a question of words or phrases against volumes; and the remedy is not always out of our power. If we take the trouble to compare one MS. with another, or even one printed edition with another, the error will very probably be corrected; or at least be proved to be an error, which is the next best thing: and after all, the real proportion out of the vast mass of patristic works which is seriously affected by such unavoidable obscurations is exceedingly small, and it would be to act contrarily to common sense and ordinary justice, to reject the whole because a portion here and there bore traces of corruption.

Daillé's doctrinal objections, like his textual, are for the most part unfair and sophistical. Some of these are on dogmas purely Romish; as Purgatory, Transubstantiation, the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the like, with which we have nothing to do: but as a specimen of the manner of his

treating the subject we will venture to point out one or two, which have escaped the notice of Professor Blunt, and then pass on to more agreeable and more important topics.

In Chap. iii. part 1, he is full of insinuations of wilful dishonesty, forgery, and deception, practised by the Popes Zosimus and Boniface, with the view of exalting the see of Rome; because they produced to certain African bishops some of the canons of the Council of Sardica for those of Nice. The arguments by which he supports his opinion are as follows. 1. The difference of time and place between the two councils; 'the one being held in 'Bithynia, the other in Illyricum; and the Council of Sardica 'being nearly twenty-two years after Nice, which would prevent 'the possibility of their being confounded together.' 2. The difference of the object of each council: 'Nice having been held 'for the explanation of the Christian faith, and Sardica for the re-'storation of two bishops (S. Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra) 'to their sees.' 3. 'That if the Sardican had been received as 'Nicene canons, the African bishops could not have been ignorant 'of the fact.' And, 4. 'That the collection of Dionysius Exiguus 'distinguishes the one from the other.'[1]

Gratuitously to impute evil motives is simply detestable; and this Daillé has here done to the two Popes, the objects of his accusation. It is undoubtedly the case, that Pope Zosimus, when appealed to by the priest Apiarius against his bishop, Uranius, who had excommunicated him, sent his legates to Africa to investigate the case; and that they, in the Sixth Council of Carthage, A.D. 419, produced three canons which they termed Nicene, in support of the Pope's claim to receive the appeal. The African Fathers replied that their copy of the Canons of Nice, which Cæcilian of Carthage, who was present at the council, had brought back, contained none such as these; and to make certain that there should be no mistake, sent to Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, for authentic copies of the original canons. Meanwhile Zosimus died, and was succeeded by Boniface; to whom the copies sent from the above cities, which were found not to contain the canons produced by Zosimus, were despatched.

The canons in question were in truth those of the Council of Sardica, held A.D. 347, twenty-two years after Nice; and the question is, whether Zosimus sent them as the canons of Nice, knowing them not to be such; or was acting honestly, but under a delusion. Daillé (and we may add, Basnage and Peter Marc), arguing from conjecture, take the former view; other historians and canonists, Baronius, Fleury, Gratian, Cabassutius, take the latter.

[1] Pp. 20, 21.

1. The truth, as far as the facts are now known, would appear to be, that Zosimus was not aware of the mistake he was making, but was acting as any other person in his position naturally would have done. Cabassutius tells us that the most ancient codex of the Romish Church, as is proved by the edition of Quesnel, included in one the Canons of Nice and Sardica.[1] The African Church did not know of the Council of Sardica; and the Eastern Church did not fully and formally receive it, as many think, till the Sixth Council in Trullo, at the end of the seventh century, where it is mentioned in the second canon together with other councils received by the East;[2] or not even, as Berard imagines, till the tenth or eleventh century.[3]

2. As a consequence of the above fact, the confusion of Sardican with Nicene canons did not commence with Zosimus. The synodal epistle of the Second General Council, as given by Theodoret, Hist. v. 9, refers towards the end to a canon of Nice, which is, in truth, the fifth of Sardica. The Sixth Council of Carthage, itself, repeats the seventh Sardican for a Nicene canon; and Leo the Great, with a council of Rome, in a letter to Theodosius, cites the fifth Sardican canon of Dionysius under the same title; and Cabassutius tells us the same confusion existed long after the time of Zosimus; Sardica being treated as an appendix of Nice by Isidore in the fifth century, by S. Gregory the Great in the sixth, and by Bede in the eighth.[4]

3. This is the more likely to have been the case, since it was not unusual in those times to add the canons of a smaller and less known council to one of greater reputation and wider fame. Baronius tells us that the canons of the Council of Milevis were subjoined to those of the first of Carthage, and those of Hippo to other African councils.[5] To this we may add that the body of canons known as the 'Codex Africanus' was probably a congeries of many councils.

But Baronius asks how the African bishops of S. Augustin's time could have been ignorant of the Council of Sardica, since it is mentioned by Gratus in the First Council of Carthage; and Peter Marc objects that the canons of Nice having always been known to be twenty in number, it would have been impossible to have added to them those of Sardica, which are twenty in the Greek, and twenty-one in the Latin version.

To Baronius many of the later historians would reply that 'at 'the time of Gratus, and down to that of S. Augustin, the Council 'of Sardica was known to the African Church only by name; for

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[1] Cabassut. fol. i. 153.
[2] Beveridge, Pandect. i. p. 158.
[3] Berard on Gratian, i. 140.
[4] Cabassut. fol. i. p. 153.
[5] A.D. 491. §§ 87. 88.

'the Donatists had made common cause with the Arians, and 'carried into Africa as the acts of Sardica those of the Arian 'assembly which seceded from it, and sat at Philippopolis; and 'hence, when Gratus made mention of Sardica, what he must 'really have meant was Philippopolis.' But we ourselves think the allusion of Gratus to the former council too definite to apply to the latter; besides that, he speaks of a law which we do find to have been enacted at Sardica, whilst there is nothing of the kind in any document that has come down to us of Philippopolis. We would rather suggest that Gratus, who from his language must have been present at Sardica, though his signature is not among those that are extant, had personal knowledge of that council, which, in the seventy years which elapsed before the Sixth Council of Carthage, was perhaps generally forgotten. 'Memini,' he says, 'in sanctissimo concilio Sardicensi . . . . . statutum ut nemo alterius plebis hominem usurpet.'[1]

Again, the canons of Nice were not always, nor indeed till very lately, known to be twenty in number. Here is a proof of it. Ruffinus, and Ferrand the deacon, who composed his collection of canons in the early part of the sixth century, and who does distinguish the Sardican from the Nicene canons, transfers the last canon of Nice to the first of Sardica; which canon is also wanting in the Codex Canonum of the Roman Church, found in the works of Leo the Great,[2] and those of Sardica are headed, 'Nicæn. seu Sard.' As Peter Marc's chief reason for concluding Zosimus to have been guilty of this fraud is thus entirely destroyed, we will not, without better grounds than his conjecture, do Zosimus the injustice of supposing that, regardless of truth, he acted from motives of mere expediency, and 'thought that as 'Innocent I. had said that the Church was governed by no laws 'but those of the Council of Nice, he was doing no ill to the 'Africans in substituting for them those of Sardica, inasmuch as 'the latter were merely the interpretation of the former.'[3]

In the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus published his collection of Greek Canons, from those of the Apostles to Chalcedon inclusive, with a Latin version.[4] He separated the laws of Sardica from those of Nice, an arrangement which was made in their respective collections by his contemporaries, Ferrand the deacon,[5] and John of Antioch,[6] with others of later date. It is true that he followed, as he himself said in his prefatory letter to Stephen, a more ancient version, which Beveridge conjectures to have been that

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[1] Capit. v. Conc. Carthag. Harduin, i. p. 686.
[2] Ad S. Leonis Op. Appendix, p. 16.
[3] De Concordia, lib. vii. cap. xvi. § 1.
[4] Beveridge, Pandect. i. p. 7.
[5] Baronius, Ann. 419, § 90.
[6] Beveridge, Pandect. i. p. 7.

found in the collection of Justellus, and which did distinguish the canons of Sardica; but Cabassutius tells us that there was still an older one, that 'vetustissimus codex' before alluded to, which was then in use in the Roman Church, and which united the two sets of canons. And supposing that the more ancient copy spoken of by Dionysius did distinguish between them, there is no proof that it was in existence as early as Zosimus and Boniface; or, if it were, that they were cognisant of it or its contents. It might very easily have been compiled from the facts that had transpired at the Council of Carthage relative to the two sets of canons. Assuredly there was for a long period more or less confusion about the proper place of the Sardican canons. John of Antioch, and Symeon Magister, as we are told by Harduin, put them before those of Gangra, Antioch, and Laodicea; Justellus, Dionysius, and Zonaras,[1] after them. And from the same source we learn that in a copy of the collection of canons by Isidore Mercator, preserved in the Jesuits' Library at Paris, and thought to be more than 800 years old, they are mentioned as 'canons of Nice;' and in a collection of Dionysius himself, of the same date, the title is, 'Canon Nicænus sive Sardicensis.'[2]

We have now established a kind of catena of testimonies to the fact that the canons of these councils were not generally distinguished from each other, either in the days of Zosimus and Boniface, or long after. For a canon of Sardica was already cited as one of Nice by the Council of Constantinople, held only thirty-four years after Sardica, and the same mistake was made by the Council of Carthage the year after Zosimus had sent thither his legates (and if the Church of Africa erred on the point, why might not that of Rome?), and by Leo the Great and his council in the year 449; and the 'Codex Canonum' of the Roman Church in the works of that Pope fails to distinguish clearly between the two; as also, notwithstanding the collections of Dionysius, Ferrand, and others, does S. Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century, and the Venerable Bede in the eighth, and Isidore Mercator in the ninth.

We think, therefore, that our readers will agree that Zosimus and Boniface cannot be convicted of the offence with which Daillé has charged them. When the disputed canons were produced, S. Augustin said, 'Let us observe them salva diligentiore inquisitione Concilii Nicæni;' and Faustinus, the Papal legate, advised the Council honestly to write to the Pope, that he also might inquire about the matter.[3] It does not strike

[1] Harduin, i. pp. 637-8. [2] Ibid. i. pp. 635-6. [3] Ibid. i. p. 1243.

Daillé that the fact of Boniface having followed the lead of Zosimus tends to give a character of honesty and truthfulness to the actions of the latter, and that they thus, in a manner, support each other; for it is not probable that any one Pope should feel himself bound to carry on what he knew to be a fraud of his predecessor; while it is clear, from the circumstances of Boniface's election, that no collusion could, by any means, have taken place. Indeed, it is possible that he may have known nothing of the particulars of a cause set on foot by Zosimus, to whose chair, at the time, he had no prospect, certainly no immediate prospect, of succeeding.

We, therefore, answer Daillé's three arguments thus:—

I. That Zosimus and Boniface, in tendering the Sardican for the Nicene Canons, did not act dishonestly, but mistakenly; and so far from its being safe to conclude with Daillé that they had no other copies of the Council of Nice than those we have, it is evident that their copies, and some others long after them, included in one the Sardican and Nicene. And when he asks, why, if the Popes thus confusing these canons thought the councils to be one and the same, they did not say so? the answer is clear. It is a question of canons, not of councils; and it does not follow that because they did not know the difference between the canons, they therefore thought the two councils one and the same, and thus acted dishonestly in not saying so.

II. It is clear from the African Bishops' own words in the council that though Daillé, with his usual self-sufficiency, says, 'they could not have been ignorant of the fact,' they *did not* know it; for they sent to Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, for information on this very point; and having no certain knowledge about them, they believed these canons, in part, at least, to be Nicene, for they quote one as such. Yet if we admit the assumption of Daillé, the African Bishops were guilty of the same fraud as these two Popes, and that against their own interest, and to the prejudice of their own cause. Nay, he would make them commit an absurdity peculiar to themselves, for whilst they were protesting against the claims of the Church of Rome by rejecting one Sardican Canon, they were surrendering to her their rights by admitting another. The fact that they cited one of these canons, which their copies of the genuine Nicene Canons could not have contained, and yet hesitated about another, clearly proves that they were in ignorance about them; and if they erred, why might not the Popes do the same? for both made the same mistake in fact, and in the case of the Africans the error could not have been the result of fraud, but must necessarily have arisen from mere want of knowledge.

III. This last objection, at least, is very easily answered.

The collection of Dionysius could in no manner affect the credit of these two Popes, for the simple reason that it was not made till a quarter of a century after their time.

We wish we could think that, when citing Dionysius as a witness, Daillé acted from ignorance or inadvertence. But, no: he has himself furnished the date of that collection, with others equally material; but in such a manner as to be of little use to an ordinary and superficial reader; hence, in bringing a charge which, he must have known, could not stand for one moment, he seems to have acted with a greater degree of prevarication and perversion of truth than the Popes he is so ready to accuse. It is strange, too, that he is wholly silent on the subject of Celestinus, the successor of Boniface, who disregarded the evidence of the true Nicene Canons when it was sent to him; and slighted the protest against all extraneous interference made by the African Fathers, when they had ascertained that the Council of Nice had given to the Bishop of Rome no such power of appeal as that claimed by Zosimus; and who was, in consequence, far more blameable than either of the other two. On this part of the question, however, it is no duty of ours to enter.

Many of Daillé's other objections are like the foregoing; apparently plausible, and, perhaps, at times, almost profound; but, when examined, found to be unfair, superficial, and either untrue in their manner of statement, or inaccurate. For instance, he objects that the consent of the Fathers on one particular subject, viz. the present abode and condition of the dead, is no proof of the truth of their opinion, because the Church of Rome, at the Council of Florence, ruled otherwise. On another subject, viz. the difference between bishops and priests, the Church of Rome is to be rejected; and he is so good as to give his *imprimatur* to S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Augustin, and others of no less note, because the doctrine which he assumes them to hold is one which happens to meet his own Presbyterian predilections. In a third case, the giving of the Holy Eucharist to infants, the early Church is reflected on for having observed such a practice; and the Church of Rome is condemned for innovating in her Tridentine Canon on a primitive custom. He and his admirers must have been strangely blind, both to honesty and consistency, if they thought such reasoning as this could, in any manner, advance the cause of truth.

On the subject of the place of abode of the dead, he says:—

'We have heard before Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and S. Augustine, affirming, all of them, that heaven shall not be opened till the day of judgment; and that during this space of time, the souls of all the faithful are shut up in some subterraneous place, except some small number of those who had the privilege of going immediately up to heaven.'—Part ii. p. 106.

This affirmation is wanting in accuracy, for it ascribes to S. Augustin an opinion which was not held by him. It is true that the Fathers before him believed one common τόπος ὑποχθόνιος, in which were enclosed together the souls both of good and bad. They represented Paradise, or the receptacle of the former, as separated from Hades, the abode of the latter, by a vast aërial gulf; in which, some thought, on first arriving below, the good turned to the right hand and the evil to the left. But S. Augustin was the first to express an opinion that the resting-place of the former could not be anywhere below the earth, but must be, not indeed in heaven, but in some supernal, or super-terrestrial, mansion; for he says, 'I never find the word *infernum* 'taken in Holy Scripture in a good sense, so as to include Paradise, 'or Abraham's bosom;' and he defined a twofold manner of presence of Christ in these two receptacles during the space of time in which his body lay in the tomb. In Paradise, he held that He was present in his Godhead *beatificante sapientia;* in Hades, in his human soul *judicante potentia.*[1] After his time, and from his authority, the opinion of the Church came to be greatly altered on the subject; and, at this day, the Greeks hold two distinct receptacles of departed souls, where each class is awaiting the resurrection and resumption of the body, when, but not before, the good will pass into heaven, thenceforth for ever to enjoy perfect fruition of the Divine Presence, and the wicked will be cast into hell. The innovation of the Church of Rome on this opinion was the teaching that the souls of the faithful, immediately on their leaving the body, pass into heaven and the presence and *consortium* of God, though they receive not the fulness of bliss until after the resurrection, when the body will participate with the soul in the glories and the bliss of its new abode.[2] S. Augustin says both more and less than they; more, in admitting the patriarchs before Christ to the fruition of the Godhead; and less, in denying that the souls of Christians are now, before the judgment, actually in heaven.

Their doctrine, assumed to be that of the Church from the first, has met strenuous defenders in Bellarmine,[3] Petavius, Perrone, and others; but it cannot be allowed that they have succeeded in proving the early Fathers to have held with the post-Florentine Church of Rome. The ancient liturgies are entirely against them, praying, 'that God would give Patriarchs, 'Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and especially the Blessed Virgin 'Mary, rest and a blessed memory:' a class of testimonies of

[1] S. Augustin, Epist. to Evodius, tom. ii. epist. 164, edit. Bened.
[2] Conc. Florent. Harduin, vol. ix. p. 954; Trent, sess. 25.
[3] Bellarmine, de Sanct. Beatit. lib. i. cap. 1–6. Petavius, de Deo, lib. vii. *cap. 13, 14.* Perrone, Tractatus de Deo Creatore, part iii. chap. 6.

which, most grave as it is, neither Bellarmine nor Petavius takes the slightest notice. And of the sayings of particular Fathers, which they bring in support of their view, none are decisive for them; whilst more than one, glosses apart, maintain, in fact, the opinion for which they are not cited.

The real difference between the Augustinian and Florentine doctrines at last, is not as to whether the souls of the just enjoy at present, in some degree, the beatific vision or not; for since S. Augustin allows this to such as were in paradise before the Incarnation, it is of course to be concluded that he does not deny it to those of the baptized: but it is one of *place*,—whether they are in paradise, or in heaven. If we may conclude anything from the personal history of S. Paul, which it is perhaps hardly safe to do, we would suggest that the third heaven, which he identifies with paradise, may be the very place to which Lazarus went, and which was promised to the penitent thief; and yet, as tradition would say, it is not that highest sphere of all in which the saints shall find their last repose, and where the beatific vision will be enjoyed in its fullest perfection. On a point on which no revelation has been vouchsafed us, and which therefore cannot be known, S. Augustin contents himself with a modest conjecture alone. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, requires her definition to be received as an article of faith.

But neither the doctrine of the Fathers nor that of the Church of Rome meets Daillé's approbation; hence his manner of treating them is to condemn the first because it is opposed to the second; and the second because, being itself and issuing from the Church that gave it birth, it is of course too monstrous to need refutation.[1] So that at last it is neither lawful to be within her communion nor safe to be without it. This manner of arguing, —and we say it with pain (but we cannot qualify our words),—is exactly what we should have expected to find in an avowed infidel, for its result is clearly to deny that there is any body of revealed truth in the world. For if one body of witnesses is to be refused because a later one has rejected their testimony, and if that later one is in its turn to be pronounced worthless because it has departed from ancient doctrine; it remains that individual opinion alone, and not the teaching of the Church, is the guide

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[1] 'Now I am verily persuaded, that there are very few points of faith among all those which the Church of Rome would have the Protestants receive, for which there can be alleged either more, or more clear and evident testimonies out of the Fathers, than for this. Forasmuch, therefore, as after all this it hath not only been called in question, but hath been even utterly condemned also; who seeth not that the consent of many Fathers together, although any such thing were to be had, upon all the points now in debate, would yet be no sufficient argument of the truth of the same?'—Part ii. p. 108.

to the doctrine of Holy Scripture, and to the facts of God's dispensations. We now gladly leave Daillé, and turn to the work of Professor Blunt.

In a volume of upwards of 600 pages, each of which is a perfect mine of learning, we are necessarily compelled to pass over much that is both important and interesting. It contains, however, amongst others, two subjects on which we wish to say a few words—the author's opinion of the miracles of the Ante-Nicene age; and the constitution of the Church under the Apostles and their immediate successors.

I. The subject of the ecclesiastical miracles has been discussed so frequently, and with so much ability and learning, that we cannot hope to add much to the knowledge, or assist materially the convictions of our readers; especially on a question purely of evidence, which this is, and on which the conclusions of one man's mind can seldom if ever prove decisive to that of another; but each must determine for himself. The writers on the subject may be divided into three classes. Some, like Bishop Douglas, have laid down canons, which tend at last to the rejection in fact of all miracles but those contained in Scripture; whilst others have gone as far the other way, and have implied, if they dared not openly avow, that we should receive all; or if they would reject any, it is not in accordance with, but in despite of, their system of belief. Others again, like Dodwell, have endeavoured to give laws by which we may be able in some measure to distinguish the true from the false.

Professor Blunt would come under the third class. He shows by a chain of witnesses, that the belief of the times of which he treats, in the existence of miracles, had never wholly ceased. Yet he, with Dodwell and others, who are conversant with the writings of those times, distinguishes between the greater miracles of raising the dead, healing the sick, recovering the lame, blind, &c., and the lesser one of exorcism; showing that the former were very rare, and perhaps soon ceased, whilst the latter continued long in full force.

There is in fact a mass of testimony quite overwhelming, in the first three centuries at least, to the existence in the Church at large of a miraculous agency, of the force and frequency of the exhibition of which, we in these days can scarcely form any conception. But at the same time, the very men who tell us of these extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost affirm, that there was at length a period when they began to be more sparingly poured out, and that at last, as far as they knew, they had ceased.

Thus, S. Irenæus himself speaks of the greater miracle of the raising of the dead being done in his time, 'only by necessity;' and with regard to the most common miracle—if such it really

were—of the deliverance of persons from demoniacal possession, comparison can scarcely be instituted between those ages and our own; for it may be, that as infant baptism is happily with us the rule, we are preserved from those terrible cases of demoniacal possession which undoubtedly prevailed in the earlier ages of the Christian Church. We do not often enough reflect on what or how many evil spirits may be deprived of their power to injure by the reception of that Sacrament; and in this respect it is not as if there were any different power in Churches; one Church has no more power than another. The test lies in the performance, and, so tried, the Church of Rome, the chief claimant of miraculous gifts, is found to be as little able to work an apostolical miracle as the Church of England professes to be. Otherwise why is it not done, not indeed at Rome or Naples, the seats, as she considers, of the faithful, but in the Protestant countries of Europe, or in our English colonies; or in London, or some other of our large towns?

If, then, in the days of the early Christians the laws of nature were thus continually surpassed—this, however, we should remember, is an hypothesis which has been strenuously denied—we cannot help asking why our modern times know nothing of these wonderful powers? Why does not the Church of these days, in some one or other of her branches, for the good of the infidel and schismatic, possess some of their marvellous control over the powers of darkness, in all their operations? The Apostles, at the time of which we are speaking, and their successors, were long ago dead, and there was no more any inspired body of men in the world then than now. And yet, as Dodwell says, as regards their miraculous powers, it is difficult to see what can be said of the age of the Apostles, more magnificent than of great part of the Ante-Nicene period. Were, then, all these wonderful accounts false? and, if so, what is trustworthy that depends on external evidence? Or did men live then under a different system of moral law and government to our own?

To say that these narratives are absolutely false, is but to escape one difficulty by creating another, and, in fact, a greater: for this is not only to throw discredit on the testimony of history, and the truthfulness of those many saints and martyrs who have recorded them, but, as is often said, it is also apparently to impugn the truth of our Lord's promise of miraculous powers to be lodged with his Church; a promise which, as far as we know, has never been withdrawn. But to this last argument, common as it is, we decidedly object. We know indeed that no man raises the dead, heals the sick, handles serpents, or drinks deadly things with impunity, now-a-days; and if these supernatural powers are not ours, this cessation

surely proves, that they must either have been intended by their Giver, though He did not say so at the time of their bestowal, to endure only for a time; or they are now in suspense, and might, on an occasion which He should see to be fitting, revive in all their original force even in us. If we do not admit this alternative, but hold, either that that promise absolutely ends with the Apostles, or that it has existed, as at first, and does exist now; what is left us, with the page of history which records the ecclesiastical miracles open before us, but either to reject everything therein described, or, to the triumph of credulity, and the no less grievous detriment of true faith, to receive all the fabulous nonsense that every miracle-monger has concocted, from the earliest times of such fictions to the pages of Jaques de Voragine, or the record of the miracles of S. Benedict, as lately put forth by Bishop Ullathorne and Mr. Formby?[1]

[1] We cannot congratulate Bishop Ullathorne and Mr. Formby on their joint production. In the first place, it assumes the Dialogues to be a genuine work of S. Gregory. This, however, as we need not inform our readers, has, on no slight grounds, been contested. And, secondly, where it gives any new idea of S. Benedict as a teacher and guide to Christian grace and holiness, it by no means raises him in our estimation; whilst his so-called miracles are a compound of absurd trash, and of profane parodies of those of Scripture. They may, also, for the most part, be found in that veracious compilation, the Aurea Legenda of Jaques de Voragine. The following is a specimen of them: The devil—who, by the way, is spoken of very frequently and freely—employed himself one day in throwing stones, and breaking a bell by which the saint was called to his meal. How it was known to be the devil we are not told. At one time S. Benedict meets him in the garb of a physician, and he proves to be on his way to take possession of one of the brethren, as he was committing the great sin of drawing a bucket of water. At another time, when the monks were building their monastery, there was a stone which they were unable to raise from the ground, and in consequence he was found to be sitting on it. S. Benedict was called, and by his prayers, and the sign of the cross, he drove the intruder away, on which the stone at once became manageable. S. Benedict visits his sister, and, when about to leave her against her will, she prayed so fervently, that there immediately ensued a storm of thunder and lightning: after which she shed such a shower of tears as 'to change the serenity of the sky to rain,' and cause such a deluge of water, as prevented him from quitting the place. Soon after, he saw her soul enter heaven in the form of a dove. It is not to the purpose to ask, as the admirers of such monstrous absurdities would do, what we should say if they were in Scripture? for it is a simple profanity to suppose that such trash could be found there. There is, however, one point which seems to us worthy of inquiry about the book: Did S. Gregory, if the author of it in the main, write it as it is? The English contains many miracles which Voragine does not. Did, then, the latter omit what he found in S. Gregory; or is the matter not in his collection an addition to S. Gregory, made since his day? It is well known that he refuses no statement, however monstrous, on the subject of those personages whose lives and actions he records, and this makes us suspicious of anything not found in his pages. Our own copy of S. Gregory, which contains all that is in Mr. Formby's version, is one of the third edition, bearing date 1551, that is, seventy-three years after the first of Voragine, which again was only three years after the first of S. Gregory; and, being so close to his informant, it seems less likely that he would have omitted anything of a nature to increase the marvellous character of his work. Is the book published by Mr. Formby and Bishop Ullathorne merely with the view of gaining credence for the miracles of S. Benedict, or with the ulterior

Dodwell has given us four very good and useful canons to guide us in our judgment of the primitive miracles. He would have us treat as spurious—1st, all which the ancients would have rejected; 2nd, all which have no permanent effect; 3rd, those which, though permanent, left behind no good results; 4th, those which have causes too slight and unworthy of God, *e.g.* for confirming an article of faith newly invented, or an ancient one which has been already sufficiently established by previous miracles. Weighed by such tests, the miracles in question will be found to range themselves under three heads:—those which we can without hesitation receive; those (by far the most numerous) on which we cannot safely pronounce either way; those which are without hesitation to be rejected.

Professor Blunt mentions the opinion of the late Bishop of Lincoln on the subject, as one which he himself had at one time felt inclined to adopt, but which subsequent reading and reflection caused him to abandon as unequal to the necessities of the case,—that the gift of miracles ceased with those on whom the Apostles personally had laid hands. There is, as Professor Blunt admits, too clear testimony in the history of the Church to the existence of miracles subsequently to the times of the immediate successors of the Apostles to allow of this conclusion. If so, there is evidently no reason, *à priori*, why miracles should not have been wrought in the fourth or fifth centuries, as well as in the second or third. We submit that there is no law or canon by which we can accept or reject all miracles in the mass, but each rests on a footing of its own, and requires a particular and careful examination apart from every other, by which it must stand or fall. Affecting the validity of the evidence to be brought will be the circumstances of the narrator's life, disposition, and accidental credibility as a witness. Was he over-credulous, like S. Gregory of Nyssa, the biographer of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus? Did he live near the scene and the time of the events he records? for marvels often gain much in the passage over a comparatively short distance, while a period of twenty, or even ten years, between the author of a supposed miracle and the narrator, would allow of a colouring, which would render it when put on paper a totally different thing to that which had happened; and fifty years would suffice for actual invention.

We will now proceed to a brief examination of a few of the miracles which we find in history, and their credibility. Eusebius relates two miracles, on the authority of Papias; the one, that he

object of tacitly carrying in their favour the doubtful question of the genuineness of the original? As it stands, it is significant both of what we come to if we take credulity for our guide instead of reasoning faith, and of the kind of 'miracles' the Church of Rome proposes for the acceptance of her children.

was informed by the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, who were then living with their father at Hierapolis, that a man had been raised from the dead; and the other, that he had received from tradition, that Barsabas, the successor of Judas the traitor, had drunk a deadly thing without hurt.[1] As regards the former miracle, it is no doubt trustworthy, for we have no reason to suppose that Papias was not a credible reporter of matters of fact communicated to him; but with the second the case is somewhat different; for although of course no believer in the truth of the Christian Revelation can doubt that Justus possessed the miraculous powers there ascribed to him, yet we have to consider that the word 'tradition,' as here used by Eusebius, may have a very wide signification. The accounts may have come through many hands, and have spread over a wide extent of country before it reached Papias. Eusebius also speaks with uncertainty of his works. 'There are reported to be five books of Papias.' He continues, 'that Papias had also related as having come to 'him from unwritten tradition, certain strange parables of our 'Lord and his doctrine, and other things still more fabulous; 'as, that after the Resurrection there was to be a millennium, and 'a bodily reign of Christ upon the earth.' He was evidently, therefore, as Eusebius signifies, a man of little judgment and much credulity; a circumstance which must clearly affect, in no small degree, the value of his testimony on a point of which he had no personal knowledge. We would conclude, therefore, that the first of these miracles is, for the reason given above, worthy of credit; but as regards the second, we submit that, not in itself, but as to the authority on which it rests, there is uncertainty enough about it, not indeed to justify us in saying that the probability is against it, but to prevent us from placing as much reliance on it as on the other.

The martyrdom of Polycarp is reported to have been dignified by three miracles. It is related, that when he was in the midst of the flames, they arched over him, in the form of a vault, and like the sails of a ship when filled with wind walled his body round. The persecutors seeing he could not be burnt, ordered the executioner to pierce him with a sword. On this being done, there forthwith came out a dove, and so vast a quantity of blood as to quench the flames.[2] Dodwell inclines to reject the story of the dove, as not being found in Eusebius, or Ruffinus; but we think the suggestion of Professor Blunt, adopted from Jortin, that there is an error in the reading, is worthy of attention. The Greek is as follows: Ἐξῆλθε περιστερὰ καὶ πλήθος αἵματος, κ.τ.λ.: and he proposes to substitute for it ἔξηλθεν ἐπ' ἀριστερα καὶ πλήθος αἵματος: thus, by the alteration of one

[1] Book iii. ch. 39. [2] Ruinart, p. 43.

letter, and the addition of another, removing what appears to be at best a meaningless prodigy, and harmonizing the text with itself.[1]

S. Justin Martyr bears his own personal testimony to the existence of miracles in his time; and S. Irenæus speaks of cures being effected, and devils cast out; of prophetic visions, and the gifts of tongues, and even of the dead being raised.[2] Tertullian also, Origen, and S. Cyprian, as Professor Blunt shows, speak to the same effect. Origen, however, implies that in his time they had become rare.[3] But we must remember that the Fathers of that period did not always possess sufficient knowledge of physical phenomena to enable them to arrive at true conclusions from what they saw. There is a notable instance of this in S. Cyprian. He tells us of the following incident as an undoubted miracle witnessed by himself. A young child was deserted by her parents, who fled and left her in the charge of her nurse. The nurse brought her before the magistrates, who gave her some bread that had been dipped in the wine of an idol sacrifice. The mother subsequently recovered the infant, and brought her to the service of the Church. When at its close the deacon, according to custom, offered the child the cup, she turned away her head, closed her lips, and refused it. The Deacon persisted, and forcibly poured the wine into her mouth, on which ensued singultus and vomiting. These results S. Cyprian considers as certain proofs of the Divine power and majesty; but the physician will see in them nothing but a distorted or exaggerated description of physical and mental phenomena. The child refused the wine, for most children dislike the taste of fermented liquor, and when it was forced into her mouth some drops of the liquid irritated the epiglottis, and may even have reached the larynx, producing, as it was sure to do, convulsive or spasmodic action, with cough, hiccough, vomiting, and in a word all the symptoms described by S. Cyprian.[4]

It would appear that cures, exorcisms, and dreams were occasionally causes of conversion. At least we learn so from Origen; and S. Jerome informs us that Arnobius was one of those who were thus made converts.[5] Of the last mentioned class of miracles Eusebius gives us an example, which happened at Rome, in the time of the Pope Zephyrinus. He relates that Natalius had allowed himself to be made bishop of the heresy of Theodotus, and was frequently warned by God of his error, in dreams. But when he paid no attention to these admonitions, he was at length beaten

[1] Page 369; and see his History of the Christian Church, p. 290, and Jortin's remarks, vol. ii. p. 57.
[2] Eusebius, v. 7.
[3] Dodwell, Dissert. II. in Irenæum, §§ li. lii.
[4] De Lapsis, p. 94. Fell.
[5] Dodwell, Dissert. II. in Irenæus, § lvii.

through the whole night by angels. In the morning he threw himself at the feet of Zephyrinus, and of the clergy and laity, confessing his sin and beseeching their pardon. Eusebius does not give the name of the author from whom he received the account of this miracle, but merely says he wrote, not long ago, against the heresy of Artemon, the follower of Theodotus.[1] It has been suspected that he was Caius, a presbyter of Rome; and if so, as Theodotus and Artemon lived at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, he, as their contemporary, would be a credible witness as to the fact of the appearance of Natalius in the above condition before Zephyrinus. But our readers will perhaps think it at least as probable that Natalius imposed upon Zephyrinus, or that some one had inserted the story into the work from which Eusebius cites it, as that angels should have been expressly sent from heaven for the correction of a heretic by such personal discipline. As for the reason for their treatment of him given by Eusebius's author, 'that our 'merciful Lord would not have one who had been a witness of 'his own sufferings to perish,' how could this apply to one who lived in the time of Natalius? And even had he been present, were all the witnesses of that stupendous event afterwards saved?

Before our readers make up their minds to receive this as a true miracle, they should take into consideration the fact that it is one of a type or class of miracles not unknown in its leading features in the third and fourth centuries, though quite unheard of in the earlier ages. S. Jerome, in his Life of S. Hilarion the hermit, tells us that when on one occasion he was praying, and thinking of something else, the devil leaped on his shoulders and scourged him. They will also remember that Eusebius's narrative of the angelic correction of Natalius, has its counterpart in the history of our own Saxon Church: for Bede relates that after the lapse of Eadbald and the kingdom of Kent into idolatry, on the death of Ethelbert, Laurentius, the first archbishop of Canterbury after Augustin, being about to leave the island in despair, was accosted on the night before his intended departure, by S. Peter, who not content with upbraiding him for his want of faith, proceeded to scourge him 'with apostolic severity.' In the morning he appeared before Eadbald, and gave him an account of the event; the result, as might be expected, being that Eadbald immediately repudiated his father's wife, whom he had married, and was baptized, with his whole kingdom. We question, indeed, whether it will not strike most people as somewhat improbable that S. Peter, after his death, should have had recourse to a

[1] Hist. v. 28.

mode of correction so extreme, and so unlike anything that is recorded of him when living; and they will perhaps feel disposed to class the account with those other incredible narrations that are to be found in the same venerable historian.

Having said thus much of the Ante-Nicene miracles, we might here conclude our remarks on the subject, but we trust that our readers will excuse us if we extend them to a few others, which have indeed the names of great men appended to them, but of the true value of which we conceive that but one opinion can be formed.

The Life of S. Martin of Tours, with some letters and dialogues, written by his disciple, Sulpicius Severus, is full of supernatural events, and contains more than one miracle: but although the author declares that he has stated nothing which was not derived either from eye-witnesses, from plain authorities, or from S. Martin's own relation, yet there is much which, from whatever source derived, will scarcely receive implicit credit. Thus, on one occasion, as S. Martin was returning from Treves, he met a vicious cow, which was under demoniacal possession, and had done much mischief. The cow rushed at S. Martin, who raised his hand, and commanded her to stop. She did so. S. Martin saw the devil riding on her back, and commanded him to get off, and leave her alone. The devil obeyed his word, and the cow—'nec defuit sensus in bucula,' are the quaint words of Sulpicius—perceiving herself freed from her tormentor, lay calmly at the Saint's feet; and at his command, rejoined the herd, 'quieter than a lamb.'[1] Sulpicius seems not to have exercised common discretion in accepting or rejecting the information he obtained from other people, and some of his 'plain authorities,' above mentioned, may have misled him. For instance,[2] he introduces Posthumianus, another disciple of S. Martin, and a traveller in the East, relating how he saw an ancient hermit, to whom a she-wolf came every day for its supper. On one occasion the hermit was absent, and the wolf (a more notable animal of its species even than Tom Brown's 'sorrowful wolf') entering his cell to see where he was, found five loaves of bread in a basket, of which it took one and went away. The hermit, on his return, discovered his loss, and soon guessed who was the author of it. The wolf, conscious of her wickedness, absented herself for seven days, when, at the prayer of the hermit, who bore his loss with much grief, she returned; but even then, to show her modesty and penitence, she would not come near, but cast her eyes down to the ground, and so entreated pardon. The hermit, pitying her confusion, called her to him, gently stroked her head, and gave

[1] Dialogue II. § 9.

[2] Dialogue I. § 8.

her a double portion of bread. If this is merely absurd, the sequel appears to us to be little other than profane.

'Intuemini quæso (concludes Sulpicius) 'Christi etiam in hac parte virtutem, cui sapit omne quod brutum est, cui mite est omne quod sævit. Lupa præstat officium, lupa furti crimen agnoscit, lupa conscio pudore confunditur; vocata adest, caput præbet; et habet sensum indultæ sibi veniæ, sicut pudorem gessit errati.'

The author who could gravely record such nonsense, cannot be considered worthy of much credit; and the insertion of this account in a dialogue of which S. Martin is not the subject, affects, to our minds, in no small degree the credibility of much that he has recorded of that Saint.

Many of our readers are no doubt conversant with the Life of S. Antony by S. Athanasius. This piece, as Dupin considers, and we think there is sufficient in the language and other internal evidence to confirm his judgment, is either spurious or greatly interpolated. It is full of accounts of supernatural events, chiefly of S. Antony's conflicts with the powers of darkness in the form of different kinds of wild beasts. We cannot but think that many of them, if not later inventions, must have been optical delusions; for instance: he sees on one occasion a monster whose upper parts were those of a man, but which had the legs and feet of an ass. On his making the sign of the cross and proclaiming himself the servant of Christ, it fled away so fast that it fell and died.[1] What, then, was this creature? It could not have been an evil spirit, because such is not mortal; and we know that there is no beast in any way resembling the above description. S. Athanasius says that the monks relate many other things, still more wonderful, which S. Antony did;[2] and here, perhaps, we have the clue to the mystery; for it is impossible to say what embellishments the story may not have received before it reached him; especially when there was no one accountable for them, and their author could not be traced or specified. At least those words show that S. Athanasius received his information from a source too vague and doubtful to allow us to put much faith in it, and he seems to have written them with some such feeling himself.

S. Jerome has also left us some wonderful accounts of the lives and actions of certain saints and hermits of Egypt and Palestine; and a few selections from one or two of these shall conclude the subject. In his Life of Paul, who lived in the desert 113 years, he relates that S. Antony having it revealed to him in a dream that there was a greater monk in the desert than himself, went to see him, and was met by one who was part man and

[1] Life of S. Antony, § 53. [2] Ibid. § 65.

part horse, called Hippocentaur, who informed him of the way to Paul's cave, and then gallopped swiftly away. S. Jerome says that he knew not whether it were Satan who took this form to terrify the Saint, according to his custom, or whether the desert, which is fruitful in monsters, produced this one.[1] May we be allowed to suggest that the demon or monster might have been nothing more or less than a man on horseback? S. Antony's final guide to his brother hermit, however, was a wolf. At the request of Paul, S. Antony went back for a garment which S. Athanasius had given him, and on his return found the aged man dead. When he was at a loss for a spade with which to bury him, two lions came and fawned upon him, and dug the grave for him.[2] We are told that S. Hilarion (the first of the monks of Palestine, as S. Antony was of Egypt, and his disciple,) was able to discern the different evil spirits by their smell. He once showed his miraculous powers in a somewhat unusual manner; by giving to a Christian charioteer the victory in a race over his pagan competitor.[3] Thereby violating, though no doubt unintentionally, the 62d Canon of the Council of Elvira, and the 4th of Arles; which disallow chariot driving to Christians, under pain of excommunication.

Yet although most of the so-called miracles of the age in question are, as we think we have shown by the specimens we have given, too preposterous for serious belief, Dodwell, whom we name as a most learned and trustworthy guide, selects some which he thinks may be received as genuine. Such are,—the cross of Constantine; the announcement to Licinius by the angel of his impending victory over Maximinus; that by John, the monk of Thebais, of the approaching victory and subsequent death of Theodosius; the prodigies that took place at the attempted rebuilding of the temple by Julian; and some others. 'Plura possum,' he continues, 'nisi in suspectæ fidei seculo ex-'empla quam cautissime deligenda esse censerem.'[4]

And, lastly, he gives some very forcible remarks on the differences between the ancient and the modern miracles. The latter, he says, are related of causes slight and unworthy of God: whilst so far from expecting them on every occasion, men are said in Scripture to tempt God, and to be guilty of great wickedness against the Holy Ghost, the Author of miracles, if they so much as sought for them on slight occasions. In their history, he

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[1] S. Jerome, vol. iv. p. 70.

[2] Ibid. p. 73.

[3] Page 80. Dodwell takes the same view as that we have here expressed on the truth of the miracles found in the Life of Paul by S. Jerome, S. Antony's Life, and the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus.

[4] Dissert. in Irenæum, § lxi.

continues, we see that they gradually ceased when the faith was sufficiently confirmed by those which had been done previously, and were not renewed except on new expeditions undertaken for the sake of the faith: whilst, on the other hand, most of the modern miracles are recorded to have been performed for the faithful, and very few for unbelievers. Not every miracle, however, we would suggest, even if performed under the above circumstances, although the most likely to be followed by the renewal of miraculous powers, is to be received. Bishop Douglas tells us that Ribadaneira's second edition of the 'Life of Loyola,' published in 1587, not only ascribes to him no miracles, but enters into an inquiry why so holy a man had not the gift of miracles bestowed upon him; while in the third edition of 1612, miracles are actually ascribed to him. In fact, then, an earnest inquirer of the Church of Rome, even with the light she professes to give him on the subject, would be at a loss what to believe; for so far from satisfying his mind, she herself is the source from which the difficulty springs. It has been said that

'It is not often that the *gift* of miracles is even ascribed to a saint. In many cases miracles are only ascribed to their tombs or relics; or when miracles are ascribed to them when living, these are but single and occasional, not parts of a series. Moreover, they are commonly what Paley calls *tentative* miracles, or some out of many which have been attempted, and done accordingly without any previous confidence in their power to effect them. Moses and Elijah could predict the result; but the miracles in question were scarcely more than experiments and trials, even though success had been granted them many times before. Under these circumstances, how could the individuals who wrought them appeal to them themselves? It was not till afterwards, when their friends and disciples could calmly look back upon their life, and review the various actions and providences which occurred in the course of it, that they would be able to put together the scattered tokens of Divine favour, none or few of which might in themselves be a certain evidence of a miraculous power. As well might we expect men in their lifetime to be called saints, as workers of miracles. But this is not all; the objection serves to suggest a very observable distinction which holds between the conduct of those whose miracles are designed to be evidence of the truth of religion, and of others though similarly gifted. The Apostles, for instance, did their miracles openly, because they were intended to be instruments of conversion; but when the supernatural power took up its abode in the Church, and manifested itself as it would, and not for definite objects which it signified at the time of its manifestation, it could not but seem to imply some personal privilege, when seen in an individual, who would in consequence be as little inclined to proclaim it aloud as to make a boast of his graces.

'The same peculiarity in the gift will also account for that deficiency in the evidence, and other unsatisfactory circumstances of a like nature, which have already been spoken of. Since the Divine manifestation was arbitrary, the testimony would necessarily be casual. What else could be expected in the cases of occurrences of which there was no notice beforehand, and in many cases no trace after, and where we are obliged to be contented with such witnesses as happened to be present, or if they cannot *be found*, with the mere report which has circulated from them? and where,

perhaps, as was noticed in the last paragraph, the principal parties felt it to be wrong to court publicity, after our Lord's pattern, and perhaps shrank from examination.'—*Newman's Essay on Miracles*, p. xcviii.

However plausible the matter, or beautiful the wording of this passage, Dodwell's opinion on the subject seems to us more trustworthy. 'I admit,' he says, 'that God has often used 'holy men, men of purified minds, as Origen says, as instru-'ments of miracles; but it was not always so in those of ap-'proved credit; for we read that those who are not otherwise 'good, but yet are orthodox, have performed miracles for the 'sake of the cause they were upholding: *e. g.* S. Matt. vii. 22, '23; S. Mark ix. 38, 39; 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. Even the Apostles 'themselves, men of undoubted holiness, deny that it *was* by 'their holiness that the lame man was made to walk. They, 'therefore, did not think that the witnessing to holiness was a 'cause sufficiently weighty for the performance of miracles: nor 'do we read in the primitive monuments of good faith, that any 'single miracle was ever wrought for that cause alone, or for the 'sake of any private person, however great, unless it appeared 'that in some way or other the public good of the Church was 'conjoined.'[1]

The author whom we have already cited, remarks:—

'It may be as shallow a philosophy to reject them merely because they are not such as we should have expected from God's hand, or as we read of in Scripture, as to judge of universal nature by the standard of our own home, or again, with the ancient heretics, to refuse to admit that the Creator of the physical world is the same with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.'[2]

The result of this argument, or rather fallacy, is not to increase faith, but to diminish it. It would be more likely to shock than to confirm the mind of an ordinary reader; for it ends, not in strengthening Church history as an auxiliary to Scripture, but in weakening the latter. It does not raise the one to the other, but sinks Scripture, as the inspired and infallible testimony in support of a class of facts of which we have no certain moral knowledge but from itself, to the level of a testimony which claims not any such exemption from the possibility of error. Thus the author's reasoning would never give strength to one whose faith was based on the Scriptures, but it might be fatal to him who was wavering between Christianity and infidelity.

II. On the constitution of the Church, Professor Blunt justly lays stress on the fact that antiquity is to be regarded as 'the handmaid of Scripture,' and as such is its true and only interpreter: 'taking up matters,' as he says, 'where Scripture has

[1] Dissert. in Irenæum, II. § lxiv. [2] Newman's Essay, p. 1.

laid them down.' From these premises, it results that he not only recognises Episcopacy as a form of Church government, but as the one Divine order gathered from the Acts of the Apostles (*i.e.* both the book so called and their deeds) to be that which our Lord, probably by injunction, left them during his forty days' stay on earth after the resurrection: and he cites the Ante-Nicene Fathers, not as polemical disputants on the subject, but as discovering the facts and opinions concerning it of their own times, and the times before them.

'What our Lord's injunctions' (he says) 'probably were, we have to gather from the course of events which followed, and from the shape which the Church began to take; the formation of it partly discovered in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles (for in these writings it exhibits a much more organised aspect than it did in the Gospels), and more fully developed in the writings of the subsequent Apostolic Fathers; these latter, however, be it remembered, not engaged in proclaiming and enforcing peculiar views of their own on the subject in the spirit of polemics, but simply betraying the structure which the Church had assumed in their time, its orderly uniformity, the elements of it, as represented in the Acts and Epistles, thus completed and filled up.'—Part ii. pp. 407-8.

The Fathers then' (he continues) 'understand the Church to be a body of persons called out of the world, amongst whom the doctrine is taught and the Sacraments administered, which Christ delivered, and which his Apostles and their successors perpetuated from generation to generation. This standing ministry they ever represent, right or wrong, as deriving its virtue and authority from the commission first conveyed to the Apostles by Christ himself, and passed on from them to those who did or should succeed them by imposition of hands, by vicarious ordination. They appeal to this succession as the test of the validity of that ministry, as the guarantee for the interpretation of Scripture sanctioned by the Church being Apostolical, and accordingly sound; no other interpretation having the same safeguard. They actually trace it down to their own times in some instances, and profess to abstain from doing so in all other instances simply as being withheld by the tediousness of the task, the succession in every Church being regular. Those who withdrew from this ministry, thus limited, they regard as withdrawing from the Church, falling away from the truth, and as guilty of heresy and schism. This ministry they uniformly describe as consisting of three orders, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. They do not assert it in direct terms only, though in direct terms they do assert it, but incidentally also. They evidently presume it on all occasions. Nor is it one father only that does so, but all; or at least, all who touch on the subject. The question does not rest on any narrow basis; but if any one testimony were withdrawn, ample would remain. Here, as in so many other cases, the fathers only take up a matter where the Scripture has laid it down. The dawn is in the one, the day in the other. We find Deacons mentioned in Scripture; we find Presbyters; we find Presbyters and Apostles as united in act, yet distinguished in order; we find those who were commissioned to rebuke some Presbyters, and to reward some others with double honour; to regulate the supply of ministers to the Church by a careful imposition of hands; one such superior person or angel having the superintendence in each local Church.'—Pp. 408-9.

Thus Professor Blunt admits, in agreement with what has been occasionally maintained in these pages, that the accidents of the

Church constitution were not finally settled in the times of the Apostles, or for some time afterwards; and seeing in the Jewish hierarchy the prototype of the Christian Church he quotes the words of S. Clement of Rome:—

'They, therefore, who make their oblations at the times appointed, are accepted and blessed, for, following the laws of the Lord, they err not. For to the chief priest are assigned his proper offices, and their proper part is assigned to the priests, and their proper services are imposed upon the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws of the layman. Let each of you then, brethren, in his own order give thanks to God with a good conscience, not overstepping the appointed rule of his gravity.'—P. 410.

And appends to them this wise, forcible, and, we may add, common-sense commentary:

'What could this illustration mean, when addressed to a Christian congregation quarrelling about their pastors, but a parallel between the Jewish and the Christian Priesthood? He then proceeds to tell historically of the Apostles' planting in countries and cities, the first fruits of their disciples as Bishops and Deacons: the term Bishops, here synonymous with Presbyters, the Apostles yet being alive, and consequently the terms Bishop and Presbyter being yet confounded; the three orders, Apostles, Bishops (*i. e.* Presbyters), and Deacons, corresponding to the High Priest, Priest, and Levite, of whom Clemens had spoken just before; as after the death of the Apostles, and the distinction established between the Bishop and Presbyter, the Bishop, Priest, and Deacon were the designations of the same.'—*Ibid.*

Professor Blunt, then, takes that view of Episcopacy which the Church at large, Greek, Roman, and Anglican, has ever taken. In the one form of government bequeathed to the Church (whether by our Lord in person, or by the Apostles, so far matters not, for the act of the one is the act of the other), he sees that which has truth and Divinity for its foundation, and he cannot admit any other. Had there been more than one form left, he would allow us to choose which to our judgment might be the most suitable in any particular case: but as it is, that there is one which can clearly trace its existence to a Divine source, is sufficient for him. He sees clearly that in all Presbyterian bodies as now existing, there was a point at which the authors of them forsook the government bequeathed to them, and created one for themselves. S. Clement's words cited above, and repeated in substance from S. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, teach him to see, after the time of the Apostles themselves, the Christian Altar, and with that of course the Victim, and the Priest: and thus the Christian Church is to him not merely a body analogous to the Jewish; but is that same thing perfected and enlightened with the Holy Ghost, the perpetual presence of Christ, and the life-giving Sacraments; and made universal instead of local: for since the Jewish had the same object as the Christian Church has now, namely, to convey in its measure the Spirit and grace

of God, and as there is but *one* God, and one grace to be conveyed, of course the Church itself, under whatever accidental differences, must, if a Church at all, be ever essentially one and the same.

Wherein, then, is the *jus divinum* of the Christian Church proved but in this,—that the inspired Apostles founded an order of things which those who came after them, strictly keeping to what had been left to them from that source, everywhere preserved as they found it; till the whole converted world showed by one order of government, one fundamental discipline, and one great original ritual, in how universal a type of unity all had been originally constituted? Indeed if we may institute the comparison, it might be thought that a Church founded by the personal presence of God himself has even a greater *jus divinum* than the Church of Moses.

It was a natural result of the reverence of those early ages for the least thing apostolical—word or action, precept, practical custom or tradition—that the first man who denied the essential difference in rank between Bishops and Priests in the Christian Church should be marked as seeking to introduce a doctrine and practice other than had come down from the Apostles. The same cause, too, accounts for the fact, that there was no Presbyterian communion existing; for those who would have no other than that which the Apostles had left, wanted nothing in addition to it. Yet if the idea that has in more recent times found its defenders were true, that both Episcopal and Presbyterian forms of government alike were left by the Apostles, and that both are therefore of equal virtue,—we should (all *à priori* objections apart, against the one Church having more than one form of government) surely have found the Fathers of the Ante-Nicene period as careful to record that such was the fact, as they are to make mention of Episcopacy as the form, and the only form, left by the Apostles, and for the same reason. For two equal forms being given, there is no conceivable reason why they should all everywhere have united to support and maintain the one, and to suppress the other. Thus the manner in which they mention Episcopacy, because it proceeded from the Apostles, shows how they would have mentioned Presbyterianism had it been able to claim the like parentage.

We cannot venture to say, of course, that to alter the government of a Church from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism does unchurch and cut it off from Christ; for this is more than we know. But we can and do say that no reverent mind would ever undo that which is clearly of apostolic authority, to exalt some private rule or ordinance in its stead. And even on this ground, no abolition of Episcopacy that has yet taken place can

by any means be justified; for, from what has it proceeded but from altered doctrines or wayward tempers? Nor, of course, could the Apostles in their day consult in each country or city the dispositions and predilections of neophyte proselytes, perhaps even of persons yet unconverted: whilst it was evidently no oppression on their part to erect one form of government and no other for all alike, to which those who would have their communion would readily submit, and from which the rest might freely depart. And lastly, if, as has been the case, it be objected that this view of Episcopacy would entail the presence of a perpetual revelation, we must be careful to inquire in what sense these words are used. If they signify a revelation that is perpetually being added to, we must reply that this conclusion can by no means be admitted. But if they are taken simply to mean, that the revelation having been once committed to the keeping of a body of men, that body afterwards requires perpetual Divine testimony as to its right to discharge its important and onerous office; this argument clearly tells not for the upholders of Presbyterianism, but against the opposers of Episcopacy. For while the latter form of government, by continuous existence, proves its own truth, no other that can be named has the same clear, universal, undenied, and undeniable evidence, or anything like it. Neither Blondel, Salmasius, nor any other champion or half-champion of Presbyterianism has ventured to deny the evidence that does exist for the apostolic authorship of Episcopacy, or has been able to prove the same for Presbyterianism. Thus the question in these days will, as of old, result in that of the faith of the individual inquirer. He who has real faith will now no more than then, require to go out to search for the body in question, but, recognising it still to be where it was said to exist by S. Clement, S. Ignatius, S. Cyprian, and others, in the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Church, he will, in proportion as his faith is strong and his heart is single, suspect and avoid all other forms of ecclesiastical government, whatever they be in themselves, or by whomsoever championed and supported.[1]

The subject with which we will conclude our notice is the mention made by Professor Blunt of Origen. We think this part of his work is scarcely so happy and successful as the rest. There are, we are aware, many and peculiar difficulties in treating of this subject. So many of Origen's books are lost, and those which remain have been so tampered with, that it is difficult, or rather almost impossible, to form a decisive opinion as to whether he is, as some maintain, on the whole to be regarded as an orthodox Father; or, as others think, the precursor of more than

[1] See Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, vol. ii. p. xiii.

one of those heresies which, after his time, destroyed the peace, and almost imperilled the very existence of the Church. Even his position in ecclesiastical history is doubtful. We might say that, like his teaching, it is twofold. At one time he upheld the truth of Christ's Divine Personality and Proper Divinity, against Beryllus of Bostra, and confuted the dictum of certain Arabians, who, like some of our modern Socinians, said that the soul died and was corrupted with the body, and would be raised again with it; and at another he was banished by his bishop as one in whose doctrine he had no confidence. There was also that act of self-violence which, through its imitators, troubled the Church for centuries after his own time, and required such formal and stringent laws for its suppression. And he is said to have been, if not the founder, yet closely connected with the subsequent Syrian school of divines, Diodore, the Arians, Theodore the interpreter, Nestorius, and others, who were condemned with him in the Fifth General Council.

Origen, then, is to be regarded as one of the greatest—perhaps, on the whole, the greatest phenomenon of Church history. True, on the one hand, that his works have been tampered with by heretics, and on the other, that Ruffinus says he has himself altered at least one of them, his Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, wherever it appeared to him to detract from the majesty of the Trinity;[1] yet the divarications and their frequency, which exist in his writings, seem, as a whole, beyond the power of a mere interpolator. They are of their very essence: and their withdrawal would involve not merely an alteration of the text, but its entire reconstruction. In one page we meet with statements, which, considering the time at which they were made, leave little or nothing to be desired; in the next, we find something that is less in harmony with the Christian faith than with the repulsive tenets of Aëtius, Marcellus of Ancyra (as supposed) on Christ's Humanity in Heaven and future Kingdom; of Macedonius and Apollinaris.

Professor Blunt's method of treating the subject is to give extracts from Origen's writings, tending to prove the soundness of his faith. But this can scarcely be conclusive whilst, as opposed to sayings of one class, it is possible to produce others of a contradictory tendency; and we wish we could adopt the professor's suggestions as sufficient to account for such diversity as exists in Origen above any other ecclesiastical author. These are, his familiarity with philosophers and heretics; his rapid manner of composition; his frequent journeyings; and lastly, the fact of the tamperings with his writings by friend and foe already alluded to. Granting these, there is still much,

[1] Huetius, lib. ii. § 2.

especially in his Commentaries, which is evidently the emanation of his own mind, and the expression of his own pen alone, and which can in no manner be reconciled with the system of doctrine afterwards laid down in the Nicene and Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creeds.

Nor can it be wondered at if we of these times think variously on his merits; for he was held in very different estimation by the greatest Fathers of the Church soon after his own age. S. Athanasius appeals to him against the Arians as maintaining the co-eternity of the Son.[1] On the other hand, S. Basil speaks of him as one 'not altogether sound on the Holy Ghost;'[2] and S. Epiphanius and S. Augustin class him and his followers among formal heretics.[3] Lastly, S. Jerome, no sparing or unprejudiced adversary it must be admitted, accuses him of holding the Son to be a creature; of affirming that the Father is not seen by the Son, nor the Son by the Holy Ghost; that the Son as compared with the Father is not perfect truth, but only the image or representation of truth; nor absolutely good or bright, but only so in relation to us; and of placing the Holy Ghost third in dignity and honour, holding him to be merely a creature. S. Jerome also adds many other errors on subjects of lesser moment, which he, like Professor Blunt, ascribes to heathen philosophy; *e. g.* he gives from Origen a citation which contains something like the metempsychosis of Pythagoras and Plato, and which maintains, with an audacity the semi-Pelagians never dreamt of, a previous existence, from the actions in which, the individual in this world is either a vessel of honour or dishonour, adding, that if one who is of the former class here does nothing worthy of his name, he will be degraded in another age to the latter, and *vice versâ*.[4] He also, according to S. Jerome, holds that the body will be destroyed entirely, and that we shall hereafter be without it, as we were at first. But this, at least, cannot be received, since, as Eusebius records, he maintained the contrary in the Council against the Arabians. S. Jerome, however, returns to the notion, as connected with Origen's doctrine, of the state of heaven, angels and demons.

Huetius is of opinion that all the earliest heresies on the Holy Ghost are to be traced to Origen, and that what is Catholic on the subject has been added by Ruffinus. Origen certainly does say, in his Commentary on S. John, chap. i., that the Holy Ghost was, and must necessarily have been created, but yet is the most honourable, and the superior in rank, of all other things that were created by the Father through the Son; not having the title of

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[1] De Syn. Nic. § 27.
[2] De Spiritu Sancto, § 29.
[3] Her. 64, 43.
[4] Epistle xciv. to Avitus, tom. iv.

Son, because the latter alone had the nature of a Son, from the beginning; which the Holy Ghost appears to want. Yet he had previously spoken of the Son himself as little other than a creature; for on the words, 'All things were made by (διὰ) Him,' he says, in a statement which, years after his own time, would have placed him among the Arians, 'If all things were created 'through (διὰ) the Word, they were not created by Him (ὑπὸ), 'but by some one better and greater;' and who can this be but the Father? This seems to throw light on what we read in S. Epiphanius, that Origen held the Son to be of the Father's substance, but still that He, like the Holy Ghost, was created: his doctrine herein differing from that of the Arians only in that the latter held the Son to have been created ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, or of matter, whilst he held Him to be a portion of the Father's essence flowing from Him.[1] He concludes that Christ was called the Son only by grace, an assertion which was reproduced in the same terms by the Arians. Thus a similarity, and a dangerous one, does exist between the doctrine of Origen and of the Arians. And if it be urged, in extenuation of some of his objectionable expressions, that he probably intended to express a personal subordination rather than an essential inferiority of the Son to the Father, and of the Holy Ghost to both; there are still many passages in his works which cannot be so explained, and which therefore compel us to the conclusion that his faith was not uniformly that of the Scriptures and the Church Catholic. There is one assertion of his in particular which has given rise to much suspicion, partly, because it is of a very dubious character in itself, and partly, because certain of the Arians afterwards borrowed it from him: viz., that the Son does not *see* the Father, nor the Holy Ghost the Son.[2] Of this notion, as held by Origen, two explanations may be given:—1st, That of Ruffinus, which is adopted by Bishop Bull, that the Father being Spirit, it cannot be said that the Son sees Him, but rather that He comprehends Him. 2ndly, That in his Commentary on S. John, viii. 2, Origen himself says plainly,—

'We may hold that certain men were eyewitnesses from the beginning of the Word, of whom S. Luke speaks, i. 1; and we may, therefore, maintain the Son to be an eyewitness of the things with the Father, according to which it is said, "No man knows the Father except the Son;" they to whom the Son will reveal Him not yet being eyewitnesses: the following expression clearly showing that the Son is an eyewitness of the things in the Father: "The things that I have seen with the Father, those I speak."'

But, both S. Jerome, in his Epistle to Avitus, and Justinian, in that to Menas, directly assert that the Son's knowledge of the

[1] Her. 64, § 4. [2] Ibid.

Father was thought by Origen to be only in degree; for he says, in his Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, that

'As it is written, "The Father who sent Me is greater than I," the Father is in all respects greater in knowledge than the Son, since He knows Himself more perfectly and more fully than He is known by the Son.'

Lastly, we will cite those words of S. Jerome, which so well distinguish between what is trustworthy in his writings, and the contrary:—

'Sicut interpretationem et idiomata Scripturarum Origeni semper attribui, ita dogmatum constantissime abstuli veritatem.'—*Ep.* 39, *ad Theoph.*

We have said but little on a subject which is almost inexhaustible; but enough, perhaps, to show that Origen must at least be read with caution. We should not, however, forget a fact, which, if it cannot be urged to his entire acquittal from all heterodoxy, must at least tell considerably in his favour, viz. that more than one of his own immediate pupils, S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, his brother Athenodorus, and others, were in their day bright lights of the Church. Origen's condemnation in the Fifth Council forms a very interesting and important feature in his history; but it is one on which it is beside our purpose to enter at present.

We could have wished, did our space permit, to say somewhat on Professor Blunt's concluding chapter on the subjects stated at the beginning of this article: as it is, we are compelled to pass them over. We cannot, however, avoid expressing our wish that it had fallen within our author's design, when stating the opinions of the Fathers as opposed to those of Calvin on the subject of predestination and reprobation, to have pointed out the radical difference which exists between the latter and S. Augustin. The clue to this difference is the doctrine of Sacramental grace. Whoever rightly apprehends this doctrine, knows at once that their two systems are wholly irreconcilable: the Augustinian being based on Sacramental grace, and the Calvinistic repudiating it. The leading feature of the system of Calvin is to hold an absolute decree based solely on the omnipotence of God, and intended merely to display his different attributes to man; which as made, must be carried out; so that the fate of man hereafter depends on the will of God alone, and in no degree on himself: the result in this life being, that, as his inward feelings and convictions decide, he is either to admit the most unbounded and undoubted confidence, and assurance of salvation, as being in a condition from which no wilful sin of his own can cast him out; or to fall into the profoundest depths of despair, as one who (having been from all eternity enrolled among the lost) can by no efforts of his own, by no love, no zeal,

no fear or trembling, work out, or do any one thing toward working out, his salvation; the great mark of sanctity (according to S. Paul), humility, being with Calvin the assurance of hopelessness. S. Augustin, on the other hand, whilst he acknowledges certain Divine counsels and resolves, which, as being the result of God's perfect foreknowledge, are beyond our attainment, yet would have no one on whom the seal of baptism has been impressed, believe himself to be other than an elect child of God, or doubt, or give way to despair, but work actively and hopefully, though with humility, since on his own exertions, and not on any secret, hidden decree, must depend his ultimate condition. Thus the two systems at once diverge, and never can be harmonized; the vague but common idea that the Calvinistic doctrine is but a continuation or development of the Augustinian, being equally baseless and incorrect.

We here take leave of Professor Blunt's valuable work. That it will eventually become a standard authority on the subject of which it treats, and a text-book to students of the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, we have little doubt. At the same time we would remind our readers that, after all, it is not in these authors that we are to look for the most full and perfect enunciation of the articles of our faith. These are only to be met with after the rise of the great heresies of which the object was to destroy the faith of Christ, but which, as overruled by Divine Providence, ended with giving us a fuller development, and a more perfect and exact knowledge of its mysteries. Not that we should by any means neglect or undervalue the Ante-Nicenes; since, if not the most perfect exponents, they are, after the Apostles, *the* historical witnesses of Christianity. For those deeper, wider, and more comprehensive doctrinal statements, the result of a fuller and more perfect realization of the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, which, as it was originated by their frequent encounters with heretics and heretical subtleties, it was impossible, in fact, that the earlier Fathers could have given, the student will always turn to the pages of S. Athanasius, S. Cyril, S. Augustin, and, after them, to S. Hilary, S. Basil, the two Gregories, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostom, and that cloud of witnesses whom it pleased God of his good providence to raise up, as the needs of the Church required, and to endow with such a measure of his grace as enabled them fitly to perform the parts assigned them for His glory and the good of mankind.

ART. III.—*Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, D.C.L., M.P. for the University of Oxford. 3 vols. 8vo. Oxford: at the University Press. 1858.

THERE are some dark periods in every history, spots isolated often from each other, and interrupting the connexion between tracks long ago opened up. They form an obstacle in the path of every historical inquirer, and a ready instance to all who wish to ridicule the notion of such a thing as certainty or credibility in such investigations. But some of these are obscure simply from want of any landmarks at all, others from the well-founded doubt that those landmarks which we possess may be themselves delusive. The former are like the sands of some estuary, like the Dee or Solway, hard and safe to the touch, but exposed to the sudden inroad of spring-tides sweeping over the expanse without note of warning, and obliterating every trace of the traveller's footsteps. The latter more resemble a quicksand, under which the waves creep stealthily, till the man finds the spot to which he had run for safety, itself betraying him to destruction. There are three methods of investigating obscure periods of the first kind. The historical critic either may pursue his way right across them, making every tuft of reeds, or imbedded fragment of rock, a centre for fresh explorings, leaving all things as they were, but learning what they were; or he may turn aside from the real scene, and examine it as reflected in a glass which catches all the prominent points, whether sound footing or dangerous turbaries, and ignores every low-lying hollow; or, lastly, he may, without denying the existence there of solid historical truth, assert the impossibility of discerning the little true from the much that is false, or even our right to affirm that what was hard and solid beneath our feet to-day, will not be a treacherous swamp to-morrow.

Mr. Gladstone's grand object in his recent work is to uphold the first method, so far as regards the period illustrated by the Homeric poems, and, more especially, the Iliad. He has no occasion to deny that some portions of history may be unsound in their very foundations; that, in them, what truth there is has been irremediably involved and entangled in falsehood. His principle, as pursued in these volumes, will scarcely appear to be necessarily or actually opposed to that implied in Sir G. C. Lewis's severe assault on Niebuhr's 'Studies from Roman History.' The

noble lays of early Latium had been underlaid with a sort of illusion of grave historical plausibility by writers whose mind and style allowed of no distinction between early and late. They pared away all those more monstrous inconsistencies of tales of invented marvels, inserted in a setting of real circumstances, which would have been perpetual living landmarks by which to test and assay the inherent morsels of truth. Further, they tricked up the whole with fragments of legend and tradition, gathered up piecemeal from every side, that nothing might be lost, as one might tack together a ballad of bits of 'Chevy Chace' or 'Brave Mary Awbree.' But the Iliad and Odyssey are not registers of forms imagined by the fanciful eyes of a rhetorician in the smouldering embers of ancient poesy; they are no spectral mists, out of which a Livy standing on a far off eminence has pictured the shape and substance of the fens from which they rise, the lines and tracks through which he presupposes they resemble; they are, Mr. Gladstone urges, whether we care to trust to the facts they contain or not, the creation of a mind which existed amidst similar scenes and circumstances.

Whether in one man were concentrated all the marvellous genius of which these poems are the result and proof, or the heart of early Greece threw up, in its mighty throbs towards development, a whole band of illustrious bards, still there would be the same authority, derived from internal evidence, of perfect consistency between facts of character, and history, and society. Only because he is a poet, because historians now and poets are no longer the same; because the Middle Ages, in their darkest epochs, ever had a relatively enlightened caste, elevated above the sentiments and uncritical imagination of their countrymen, and which thus kept history distinct, though often by an imaginary boundary-line, from the ballad, is it that we refuse to Homer the name and place of Father of History. Herodotus adulterates with fable the whole substance of the circumstances, as well as the incidents which they unfold; Homer invents deeds and their doers perhaps, but they all act, or are performed, within the sphere of his experience, and in conformity to its laws. But in the days of Herodotus there existed poets as well as chroniclers, and so in the times of our Williams of Malmesbury and Henrys of Huntingdon; in those of Homer, prose was still an undiscovered art. Certainly, if he were not an historian, the age must be left to manage as it may without one; the place he is not allowed to fill can hardly be kept vacant for those who have borrowed their all from him, giving nothing of their own but conjectures.

The question, it must be remembered, is not whether the deeds recorded were actually performed, and by the men to whom they are ascribed; whether such an one was slain by Achilles, or Ajax

felled Hector with a spear. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, avows his personal belief in the precision of the leading narrative, in the truthfulness of every shade of character delineated as belonging to an Agamemnon or a Helen, and the veracity of the account of the whole of the war; but, he justly remarks, the historical character of the poems does not depend upon the accuracy of details such as these, but on the credibility of the description of the political and social life of the race and age. He might even have gone a step further, and waived all discussion of the problem, whether the age depicted were that both of the poems and the poet, or of the latter only. The inference, that he must have lived under, and witnessed the actual working of, the institutions and fashions, with the colour of which every line is penetrated, furnishes reasons enough why, apart from æsthetical considerations, he should be most carefully studied.

When one reflects upon the vividness and minuteness of the whole dramatic course of the composition, and compares it with the vagueness of Virgil, or the unblushing Tudor tone of Shakspeare, alike whether the plot were Roman, or British, or Plantagenet, the proposition that such must be the inference seems almost too self-evident to need proof. Yet Homer is looked on by us generally, not as a medium of the gravest political and philosophical instruction, but only as a poet. No fault can be found with the quality of the admiration paid to him. To be the chief of poets is to be the chief of writers. But he has been stinted as to quantity. The place which Herodotus holds among historians, the same in kind, but in a higher degree, is in these volumes challenged for the bard. As the former is admired and loved as the teacher, both of words and things, so the latter deserves to be reverenced, not merely for the sentiments he awakens, but also for the new facts he contributes to the history of humanity. To be with Virgil an author whom it is all but compulsory to *take up* at an examination at Oxford, which is purely one of style (and that too a distinction hardly won for him in the last few years), may well arouse Mr. Gladstone's surprise. It is not as though the alternative were between curtailing the right of the philosophers and historians of the golden age of Greece and Rome, in favour of a crowd of poets demanding a monopoly of attention for *scholarship*, and a moiety as narrators of facts. Not a single other poet, studied at the English universities, can claim to be regarded save as a poet. Surely, if motley legends, part truth and part fairy tale, of Tartars, and Cossacks, and Ethiopians, deserve, as undoubtedly they do, to be studied for the picturesqueness of the relation, and the chance glimpses they show us of old and

primitive times and peoples; if Livy's sad spoilings of simple Latin ballads rank, as of course, in the obligatory list of *histories*, it is standing with perverse pertinacity upon names, to exclude therefrom 'this primitive representation of the human race, in 'a form complete, distinct, and separate, with its own religion, 'ethics, policy, history, arts, manners, fresh and true to the stan- 'dard of its nature, like the form of an infant from the hand of 'the Creator, yet mature, full, and finished in its own sense, 'after its own laws, like some masterpiece of the sculptor's 'art.' (Vol. i. pp. 6, 7.)

There *might*, possibly, have existed two objections to making Homer a regular subject of study from the historical point of view. First, the text might have been overspread with errors and doubts; and, secondly, his testimony might have been dependent upon, or controverted by, a multitude of witnesses of equal claims to authority. But neither objection *does* apply. The 'Homeric bubble schemes,' as they are aptly called, Payne Knight's, among the rest, have been long ago exploded. The facts of the case, it is forcibly urged, are that the poet was reverenced as the great teacher even in the pre-historic times, as in the days from Solon down to Alexander; that prizes were bestowed on those who could rehearse him most faithfully; and finally, that Pisistratus might have fixed the order of the books, but certainly did not compile them. And if it be so, what more solid reason, it is asked, can be discovered for doubting the loyalty of the earlier time, in guarding and transmitting the text in its integrity, than would apply against the later too? Not only do the very *obeloi* of Aristarchus leave the mass of the poems untouched by a doubt, but we have Lucian's evidence that, in the sceptical age of the Ptolemies itself, a party firmly held to the faith that the stigmatized verses were themselves all genuine. But the most satisfactory testimony of all, is that of the version itself. Interpolations and intrusive glosses must have been self-confuted by a crowd of petty inconsistencies. And, as there are no domestic traitors lurking in the text itself against his authority, so, as a depositary of the history of his own times, he stands by himself without a rival, or even, with the exception of Hesiod, a single companion. If all the fables of the Cyclic poets, and that maze of genealogies, with their numberless links in the chain connecting the human hero with the god-parent of his line, which Mr. Grote so sagaciously interprets as a result, not of a craving after the pride of ancestry, but rather of a humble awe of approaching heaven too closely; if all these were to be treated as on an equal footing with the Homeric traditions, every student, to handle the investigation, must have the acuteness and patience of a Niebuhr.

But the credibility of the other legends is not even homogeneous with Homer's. The mass of them had been filtered through the corruptions of the tastes and sentiments of a later age; many had been patched together from several different sources; some are the apparent offspring of national vanity. Only a very few have been embodied and kept entire in the works of men like Herodotus and Thucydides, scrupulous registrars of antiquity, though hardly antiquarians; and even these, before they came into their hands, adulterated by the chance fatherings of four or five hundred years. Whatever authority supplementary tales about Homeric events and heroes may have, must depend entirely upon their harmony with the evidence of Homer himself. They can then only be admitted to illustrate him, when they have first proved their parentage from the same sources with those from which he drew (as Theseus did his), by producing the secret tokens which the great poet himself may recognise.

Mr. Gladstone, after arguing the point of Homer's right to rank as an historian, proceeds to convert his evidence to the practical purpose of elucidating various points in early Greek history; and so, by a justifiable process of reasoning in a circle, to demonstrate the grave utility of an hypothesis from which flow such results. Commencing with a denial of Mr. Grote's right to prejudge the subject, as though the character, political and social, the arts and the institutions which we discover in the Hellenic race, at the opening of what is held to be their historic era, were an ultimate fact, the highest at which we can arrive, he sets forth what are the contributions, few indeed, but never faint or obscure, which Homer brings to the attempt to decompose and analyse that wondrous Greek people and its earlier ages into their constituents and creative agencies. He himself, and his genius, it is asserted, were Hellenic, 'with that largeness and unimpaired universality of type' which belongs to human character as drawn by him, and especially to his Achilles and Ulysses,—each master in his own province, greatest of warriors and statesmen, and each unlike the other, though concerned with the same subject-matter; one supreme in the battle-field, the other in the ambuscade; one the most impassioned of orators, the other the most persuasive; the one glowing in the flower of youth, the other in the maturity of middle age,—both together demonstrating 'that all the materials of Grecian greatness were in their poet's time fully ripened.' From his Hellenic blood would come the passion for the chase, and the justling of chariots in the field; and from the same, the enthusiasm for maritime enterprise and adventures, and the burning curiosity, akin to the Phœnician spirit, but with a much less dominant

tendency to pursuit of mercantile gain, which breathes from the sister Odyssey. His 'Muse' is a 'Diapason, embracing with its 'immeasurable sweep things small and things great, things 'sublime and things homely, all objects that human experience 'had suggested, and all thoughts that the soul of man had 'imagined or received,' presenting to us 'that Greek mind full, 'varied, energetic, lively, profound, exact, which was destined to 'give form for so many ages to the genius of the world.'

But, in the Iliad and Odyssey, we are told, are discoverable undesigned traces of another and earlier race, not merely in the relics of the formal ritual of Dodona, and material remains of Cyclopean walls and hill fortresses, but rather vestiges of a people still existing, but with its sovereignty transferred to another. The chiefs who fought in the van almost unsupported were of Hellenic stock; but the mass which lent weight to the battle-shock and war-cry was Pelasgic. The huge Larissas scattered throughout their country were not built by Perseids and Pelopids. Apollo, and Jove, and Proserpine, and Vesta were not first adored by them. Before the royal pageant reflected from earth on to Olympus had found worshippers, Jupiter throned, solitary and alone, on gloomy Dodona had a priesthood and solemn rites. The Hellenic immigrants did not find the land covered with forests and tenanted by wild beasts, but carefully cultivated by their forerunners. *These* loved the plains and agriculture, whence perhaps their name, Pelasgoi, or Pelargoi, *i.e.* tillers of the field, before the others had come down from their mountain sojourn in Thessaly. From *them* their conquerors borrowed the terms of peace, the idyls of Arcadia, and the forms of a regular religious system; but the Hellenes themselves, if we may rely upon Niebuhr's hypothesis that only the words common to Latin and Greek are certainly Pelasgic, brought in the vocabulary of war and state policy, and the profounder language of thought matured by and in action by land and sea. It was, too, from their own spirit that they learned to embody their ideal of earth in a varied picture of heaven, and to give every grove and river, and every principle, as well of the mind as of external nature, its administrator and keeper. Of their founding were the earliest national games, those of Hellenic Elis and the Isthmus, badges of a 'confederacy of common origin,' not only religious high festivals; theirs was the passion for the Palæstra and hunting. From them came all the *accomplishments* of the Greek character, and the fine balance of every part which has made it a model for all times. But beneath this surface extended, far and wide, a basis of another national phase, different, but not contradictory, and capable of harmonizing and amalgamating with the newer element. It was not Homer's

business to unravel, by anticipation, our antiquarian puzzles. He wrote of Greece and Greeks as they were before his eyes. Still, he testifies sufficiently to the existence of two races, neither more nor fewer, in his country, and to the submersion of one race in, rather than its dispossession by, the other. In accordance with the general character of the Pelasgi, he indicates by the peculiar expression, 'Pelasgic Argos,' that in the broad plain of Thessaly in the north, this primitive tribe had taken root too deeply to be eradicated by the invaders from the surrounding hills. In the south, the political dependency, and pastoral character of Arcadia and its poetry, with the claims of its people to the dignity of Aborigines, prepare us for the conclusion, which names and epithets in the Iliad aid, viz. that there, too, was the race firmly settled.

Mr. Gladstone appears inclined to suppose the Homeric poems more exclusively Hellenic than we believe to have been the case. Surely, of all States later Athens was by far the most thoroughly the representative of Greek civilisation, and in the genius of Æschylus and Plato we cannot help recognising the different aspects of the Homeric type modified, whether for the better or the worse, by the lapse of centuries and change of circumstances. Yet Athens was the representative also of a Pelasgic stock, on which had been engrafted, not so much the race, as the institutions and tastes of the Hellenic lineage. However readily we may allow the greater preponderance of the Hellenic constituent in the composite Greek nation, as argued in these volumes, the richness of Homer's mind, its inexhaustible variety, and power of appreciating all sides and modifications of human nature, necessarily suggests to the mind the union, before his time, of two noble races in one. To explain the fact of the resemblances, and mutual capacity for comprehending each other's ideas and institutions, found in the chiefs of the two armies, and the apparent sympathy between leaders and followers in the Greek camp, the latter being, according to the theory we are discussing, for the most part Pelasgi,—finally, to explain the poet's intuitive power of grasping the conception of the purer Pelasgic spirit which Troy displayed, it is not enough to admit that Hellenic and Pelasgic were akin, and not mutually repulsive; we must also believe that their affinity had already been tested in combination. If they had not joined, before his epoch, to make one race, when did they join? Greece composite, Hellenic and Pelasgic, must have been already in Homer's time, and in his picture of the war, *un fait accompli*, before the immigration of the rough Dorian Hellenes (so unlike the mixed Achæan race), which would have postponed the process of coalescing indefinitely, if it had not been now already

consummated. In the combination the former supplied the organizing energy, and much too of the substance; but part, at all events, of the material in the Agamemnons and Achilles, and in the bard himself, was more ancient and primitive. Hesiod may be merely and simply Pelasgic, but Homer appears to have the portion of Hesiod, as well as much besides. Indeed, we do not see how, except on this supposition of an amalgamation by this time of the two tribes, Mr. Gladstone's theory of the liberty of the masses in the camp can be explained. The basis of the army, the common soldiery, was, it is alleged, supplied in a great measure, but yet not wholly, by the sturdy passive bravery of the old inhabitants. It is surely opposed to probability that the princes of the conquering race should have submitted to flatter, and have tolerated the expression of opinion by a multitude still completely separate and isolated from the invaders; the very idea of the indispensableness of the host's assent to the ratification of a measure, seems to us contradictory to the notion of continued race-demarkation.

The conclusion that the population of Greece was composed out of more races than one, seems to us indisputable. There is a high degree of probability in the further argument that it was made up of two only; that 'Leleges' and 'Caucones,' and such appellations, merely apply to branches, and 'Cadmeian,' and the like, to the same people, as subjects of the house of the alien Cadmus, and not to stocks; and, finally, that no one name is used in the poems with more than a limited and local application, or which has 'the mark at once of great antiquity, and of covering a wide range of the country,' except the Pelasgic, mythical and indeterminate as it has been the fashion to consider the very existence of such a people. Three names, indeed, there are—*Danaans*, *Argives*, and *Achæans*—used by the poet of the bands assembled before Troy, and registered in what Mr. Gladstone terms the Doomsday Book of Greece. But they, though comprehending the Pelasgic soldiery, embrace them not with reference to their native blood, but their condition as inhabitants of the then Greece,—of Greece, that is, as divided by the conquerors into Hellas for the north and the centre,—the home, in short, of the Panhellenes,—and Argos for the Peloponnese. Schoolboys are in the habit of looking on these things as mere synonyms, employed by the bard in company with ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη and its brethren, to help out a verse and swell sound. This comfortable doctrine our author does his best to overthrow. He shows that these appellatives may be used in some measure interchangeably of the same nation, but yet as looked at from different points of view. 'Danaan' is only applied to the Greek as a warrior, and seems to serve as a sort of poetic catchword, like 'Cambrian,' or

'Gael,' or 'son of Albion,' and to act as a preface to prepare the mind for a more impressive and elevated tone. Possibly, the poet had first so applied it; it certainly had a cloud of strange associations around it, appealed to in the Supplices of Æschylus, and gathered from legends of some great hero whom, like Brutus in Geoffrey of Monmouth, or Æneas and Diomed in the annals of Italy, an alien people had welcomed as their king.

Next, with a wider significance, comes 'Argive,' a name contemporary with the advent of the Perseid dynasty, not derived from any political traditions of the nation, or from race, but revealing by its reference to the geographical character of their new seats, that the Hellenic Highlander had now descended from his hills, and, with the lands, assumed the peaceful pursuits of the Pelasgic Lowlander, and even a kindred name. But the poet's favourite title for his countrymen, used nearly four times as often as 'Argive,' and five times as 'Danaan,' and a term deduced mostly from tradition, not the physical nature of their possessions, nor from the nation's habits, but from race and blood alone, is Achæan. Headed by the house of Pelops, the Achæans had gradually extended their sway over the country, till, with the occupation of the Peloponnese and the throne of the Perseids, it became, in some degree, coextensive with Greece. Under the standard of this sovereign tribe, whether with political equality or no, as well Pelasgi, as the other branches of the Hellenic stock itself, arrayed themselves, so that 'Achæan' alone is ever used in the collective sense, which, after the immigration of the Dorians with their less mixed Hellenic blood and customs, was engrossed by the latter name. Sometimes it is applied particularly, sometimes generally, but it always signifies one fact, viz. subjection to the Pelopid chief, whether the subjection of the conquered to the conquerors, of petty settlements, overshadowed by the influence of a mightier people, to their powerful neighbours, or of the conquerors themselves to their own native captain. When used specifically, it seems to express the last relation. The three names may, then, be distinguished thus, viz. 'Danaan,' as meaning the soldiery; 'Argive,' the masses; and 'Achæan,' the chiefs. They manifest in these their special significations, the order and relation of the political strata, dynasty supplanting dynasty, and tribe tribe, as they displayed themselves to the eye of Homer.

'The succession of names is, in effect, of itself almost a political history. For the names of nations are not arbitrarily changed, though such things have been done to particular cities within the dominion of particular states. The names of races, especially of races disposed, like the Greeks, to knit themselves closely with the past, are cherished as a material portion of their patrimony. When they alter, it is for some great and commanding political reason. Such as, for example, if some tribe or family, previously

not advanced beyond its fellows, in some great national exigency, become invested with the responsibility of acting for the whole body, and thus grow to be as well its representative and organ in all external relations, as also the representative of its inward life; or where some conquering dynasty and host have by the strong hand entered in upon prior occupants of the soil, and reducing them to dependence, or to servitude more or less qualified, or narrowing the circle of their possessions, have taken into their own custody, together with the best lands of the country, the whole range of public affairs, and have imposed laws upon the vanquished, and imparted to them manners. In this case, the different elements are welded into a political unity by a power proceeding from that race, which, among them, has possessed the greater physical and martial force. But unless there be more than the merely convulsive effort of conquest, unless deep roots be struck into the soil, and sharper furrows drawn upon it than the sword alone can carve, or than the wave of a mere deluge traces—unless, in a word, there be a predominant organizing faculty, the effect will not be permanent; and the crude mass of mere strength will sink down amid the surrounding milder, but more enduring and more prevailing impulses. In some instances it has been so; the body, which has been stronger in the hand, has proved weaker in the intellectual and moral, that is to say, the enduring elements of power. The undying, yet daily influences and sympathies of peace wear down the convulsive vibrations which the shock of war and conquest have communicated to the social fabric. Victory must end in possession, like toil in sleep. Possession implies the dispersion of the conquerors, and, in such cases as these, their free intermixture with the vanquished. Ties of neighbourhood, of commerce, of marriage, ties belonging to all the transactions of life, are gradually multiplied between the new comers and the old; and by a gentle process, experience and opinion gradually decide, not imperiously in the spirit of party, but insensibly for the benefit of all, what laws, what manners, what language, what religion shall predominate. The fate of the name follows that of the institutions and habits with which it was connected; and the old designation prevails ultimately over the new, or the new over the old, in proportion as the older inhabitants have contributed a larger or a smaller share towards the common national life, resulting from the combination; in proportion as the newly arrived receive more of impression than they impart, or impart more than they receive.'—Vol. I. pp. 438, 439.

In this, in Homer's time, royal Achæan race, Mr. Gladstone discovers evident traces of a primitive and patriarchal form of government gradually disappearing in the Post-Homeric age, but in the poet's generation not yet quite passed away. He argues that certain definite terms are employed in the poems, not as epithets, but strictly as titles definitely referred always to the same personage, and to the same combination of attributes. One of the most suggestive of these is the phrase, *King of men*. It may mean no more than prince or monarch, and yet it is undoubtedly curious that this vague expression is only used of six persons in the Iliad, and that all these six, though otherwise most unlike in character and position, do agree in some fixed points. Agamemnon, Anchises, Æneas, and the obscure Augeias, Euphetes, and Eumelus, all alike boast of Zeus as the source of their families, of an uninterrupted inheritance of sovereignty,

and of the headship of some ruling house of the Hellenic, or of the kindred, at all events, the analogous Dardan stock. A title, surely most exalted and imperial, for it is the supreme badge of Agamemnon, the great captain of the host, must have been withheld from Priam, Achilles, Diomed, Nestor, and Menelaus, while conferred on men mentioned only once or twice, and that passingly, for some special *historical* reason.

So far we are glad to follow the steps of this most accomplished Homeric critic. We also admit that he shows with sufficient clearness a curious analogy between the character and institutions of the Achæans of the poems and the Persians of Herodotus's narrative, as well as a certain resemblance in the relation between, respectively, the Hellenic and Pelasgic peoples, and the Persian and Mede. His proof of the origin of the Hellenes is not equally satisfactory. The evidence of the coincidence of the names 'Perseus and Achæan,' with those of the Asiatic nation, and its reigning family the Achæmenids, seems to us not at all strong enough to bear up an ethnological theory. Our objection is independent of the truth or falsity of the conclusion itself. That may rest on other grounds. It is an objection to this plan of collecting so large an inference from such vague features of likeness. The Eastern word denoting friendship, from which come both the words Achæan and Achæmenid, is one which might naturally attach itself to any two distinct tribes, with a similar tendency to clanship. So the like use of a name denoting legitimate, as opposed to usurped sovereignty (*βασιλένς*), and like simplicity in worship, as contrasted, respectively, with the Pelasgic and Median formal rituals and professional priesthood, like personal modesty, hospitality, love of display, of poetry, and music at the feast, the chase, and a capacity latent yet, but of occasional manifestation even in Achilles and Juno, for savage cruelty; in short, all the particular resemblances adduced might flow merely and wholly from the general analogy always subsisting between nations alike Highlanders in origin, and holding analogous relations to an inferior but more peaceful population. The attempt to prove the identity of an European and any one particular Asiatic nation, is like a search after the philosopher's stone. We wish Mr. Gladstone had indicated the facts without forming them into an hypothesis. We doubt whether on this point he can be considered to have relieved himself from Dr. Latham's implied ban on Pelasgic investigations.

The early theology of a race is, like its ethnology, a dark and perplexing subject-matter. But Mr. Gladstone, we fancy, is more at home in this; and all the conclusions at which a mind like his arrives on such topics must be absolutely and in themselves valuable. His object throughout the entire work is to

raise inquiry, to show the student that Homer is not an exhausted or barren field; that there are myriads of possible vistas, fair temples, glimpses of blue sea and far mountains, which he may open up in the oldest poem in the world. Perhaps this absorbing feeling that there are novelties in old Homer, and the craving to awaken the consciousness of others about the same, may be the cause of the propensity in the book at times to anticipate the discovery of data, and to bring into too startling contrast the spirit of Greece and Rome, and the different ages of Greece itself. The tendency is excusable. The inclination to confuse together all that has happened within certain boundary-lines of history is one which is always requiring to be resisted and fought against. Not only among boys, but among thoughtful and highly educated men, exists, not a belief—for whenever they consider the facts, it vanishes—but a species of tacit assumption that to confound the institutes and conceptions of far removed centuries of antiquity is no violent offence against truth; that the difference between the age of Victoria and the early days of George III. is very much greater than between the epochs of Homer and Demosthenes. The conscience which would be horrified at representing the manners of the reign of Alfred and the Presidentship of Mr. Buchanan as identical or equivalent, bears easily the lightly confessed guilt of borrowing an attribute of a Roman deity to patch up the torso of an Olympian. Homer's mythology has suffered severely from this popular incapacity of recognising the landmarks of the chronology of two or three thousand years ago. Men try to conjure away the gaps made by time and circumstances in Greek theology from Achilles to Pericles, and to reconcile, in heedless good faith, the nationally, as well as chronologically, incongruous religious systems of the two sides of the Hadriatic. The dissimilarities rather need to be brought into light, than have the contrasts of light and shadow mingled inextricably by cross lights and cross shadows.

The Homeric theology is a novel scheme to those whose attention has been monopolized by the refined system of the sceptical golden ages of Athens and Rome. The clue through the labyrinth and its key are to be sought not in the after development, when new feeders had poured into the main channel, but in the times nearer the source, and the memories common to both ages of Greece alike. Venus in the Iliad is seldom, if ever, the goddess equally potent in heaven and earth. It is her single duty to care for the safety of Æneas and Paris, and, in their calamities, to be herself exposed to rude material suffering. Others, like Juno, preside in a freer and more sovereign fashion over the destinies of a particular nation, exulting in its prosperity as a testimony to their own power, but not personally compromised by,

or identified with it in the day of its adversity. Some, but obscured and overshadowed by these more appreciable agents, seem nothing but pleasant fancies, born of fair scenes, the spirits of mountains and of rivers. Some, again, are the impersonate qualities of the intellect, or elements of nature. Only a very few have no such narrow or specific reason for their being, but stand out from the rest with a purer manifestation of deity than Jupiter himself, the organs of a divine universal will.

Something incongruous and unsystematic in this theology at once strikes upon our instincts. Even in the carousings of Olympus, the conclave of divinities seems but a pageant. Father Ocean and the nymphs of Sea, and the river gods, who do a great part of the actual work of keeping the universe in being, do not feast there; and Jupiter, among his mutinous offspring, occupies a much lower rank and attributes than in the spontaneous prayers of mankind. Its members have nothing of benignity, or, in lieu thereof, any quality suitable to the supposed serenity of their atmosphere. Imagined for a sort of formal cause of Greek life, in the result they are little but exaggerations of its material aspects, and by the side of the grave councils held in Agamemnon's tent, show as ill in their assemblies in bosky Thessaly, which, designed for deliberation, always end, as they began, in wassail, as did the wrinkles and pimples of Brobdignag beauties in the eyes of Lemuel Gulliver. Eating and drinking are not capable of gaining majesty from intensity, and the image of Juno and Minerva indulging as freely as Mars in revelry which 'knew no surfeit,' has something in it intrinsically distorted and grotesque. They only become tolerable when engaged in action. Then simple exaggeration conveys an impression of the ideal, and Mars raising the battle-shout, ruffianly soldier of fortune as he is, puts on something of the heroic. When Vulcan pants with ministering to the goblet, as he pants over the forge whence was to issue Achilles' gleaming armour, or even Jove's thunderbolts, the extremity of the profanation of man's intuitions of divinity is so excessive as to defeat its own ill effects. It becomes impossible to think of him as a deity degraded; the image is only that of a blacksmith. But, when strong in the countenance of the Queen of heaven, he, the Fire-god, threatens to launch the lava-flood, and parch up the streams of Troas, we see that the bard's fancy has itself caught fire, and produced a heroic conception, but still one hardly divine.

But along with the human qualities, which sometimes sink to what would be a low level upon earth, sometimes rise to the height of a monarch's irresponsible wrath, indications lurk here and there of a yet sublimer height, of a deeply seated, though rarely visible consciousness of the Divine as opposed to, or apart

from, the human. In the spectacle of Apollo descending in silent anger, like Night, from the crest of Olympus, while as he strode the arrows clashed ominously in the quiver on his shoulders, there is the heroic element. But when, in answer to the prayer of the desolate old priest, and to chastise the insolence of the great captain of the host, these arrows fly abroad, and do their noiseless mission among the armed throng, we observe a perception of the silent working of divine anger, and of the penalties upon man's forgetfulness, though constructive only (*i. e.* through acquiescence in their lord's irreverence) of the respect due to heaven. The heroic is the human ideal, the Divine can be felt only and hinted at. Phœbus sways from the citadel of Troy the fortunes of the fight, controlling the fury of Diomed and Achilles, without fear of the prowess which drove Mars and Venus screaming from the field; his aspect blinds and stupifies the soul of the victorious Patroclus. Vows are paid to him by Trojan and Greek alike, and he always escapes personal humiliation in the brawlings of Olympus. There is something mysterious both in his powers and in his origin. A mortal mother bore him, but his divinity raised her to the skies. Persecuted with her and his twin sister, by the native occupants of Olympus, insulted by the creatures of earth, he vindicated his place *there*, and established his prerogative *here*, as the interpreter, not between earth and Olympus, that neutral ground between earth and Zeus the lord of that terrestrial heaven, but between man and Zeus as God. He needs no chariot, as Juno, to bear him through the nations; he does not brandish the spear; but the terrors of his voice are as supreme on the field of battle as when he and Diana decimate kingdoms with a pestilence.

Athene, or Minerva, is another protest against the human and heroic phases of Olympus. With less of the serene sway of an umpire in the fight than Apollo, she is the spirit of the whole. Warriors are inspired by her with valour, and kings with counsel. She acts upon the mind without any sensible medium, and space and time yield to her occasions. If Phœbus awes more, she effects more; and even the interior recesses of Tartarus are pervious to her behest. Jove seems hardly to be his own master. These two strange beings have a joint stewardship over his will, and their ministry constitutes Homer's Providence.

Upon the evident isolation of these two from the rest, Mr. Gladstone grounds a distinction between the two sources of Hellenic theology. He shows that the pure but political character of Juno is merely the ideal of the human, but with nothing Divine; *that*, on the other hand, we instinctively refrain from applying

the term 'Heroic' to Phœbus and Pallas; and that, in estimating their nature, all measure fails us. The intellectual elevation of Juno, and the mad brute fury of Mars, he ascribes to the same origin, Invention. The shadow of the Mystery of the Trinity, which he perceives in the tripartite division of the universe between Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, and the Divine element in Apollo and Minerva, he derives from the 'Tradition' of mankind, who had not yet lost the idea implanted in our first parents, of something far above, and not to be compared with, man's excellence. He argues boldly, that this belief was our original portion upon earth; that the elder patriarchs were the stock from whence, growing more and more misty, it descended to early Hellas. He denies the necessity of relying for proof of such an acquaintance with true religion upon vague evidences of a connexion, through Phœnicia, between the guardians of Revelation and the Greeks, and challenges for the heroes of the war of Troy a right of inheritance in these primitive tenets.

In the second volume, the ordinary inhabitants of Hellas are distributed into three classes: the first including Pallas Athene, Phœbus Apollo, Latona, Iris; the second, Jupiter, Neptune, Aidoneus (*i.e.* Pluto), Diana, Persephone; the third, Juno, Mars, Mercury, Vulcan, Venus, Demeter, Themis, the Sun, Paieon, Dione, Hebe, Eris, or Strife, Dionysus. Six additional classes embrace those of vague personality, or only local functions. Their office is like that of the old burghers, before the consolidation of the English constitution, who waited upon the king's council of peers, to hear of the sovereign's necessities, to explain what portion of the public burden the commerce of their towns could best bear, and to carry back the final resolutions, not of themselves, but of the feudal barons. In this outer circle, we find the name and uncertain attributes of Father Ocean, and of Father Kronus, called by Latins Saturn, beings inferior to the rest as active powers, and seemingly hopelessly vanquished, yet first in order of existence; and, as it were, the material causes of these, Æschylus's *οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί*, even of Zeus their head. And there are Destiny, and Sleep, and Terror, and Rumour, shapes either representing powers of nature great enough to imprint themselves upon the mind as ideas, or ideas which, born within us, have projected the shadow of themselves upon external nature. In both, the mythological has hardly as yet appeared, the concrete has hardly as yet grown out of the abstract; so that they still retain the faculty of entering into and animating different forms. Terror is now the son, and now the chariot-horse of Mars; and Strife herself, the potent Eris, is sometimes merely an attribute of that great wielder of war, rather than its goddess, Minerva. In the same distant relation to Olympus,

though more subordinate and local, are the graceful forms, more fully developed in later Greek mythology, the winds and rivers, and the nymphs of forest and fountain; while, further off, but with a personality rather more distinct, we see the mythological creations, the ministers of doom, Fates and Furies and Harpies. Yet even they are more in consonance with the Olympic system than those figures of the outer geography, revealed in the Odyssey, and which seem, though humanized, and, at the same time, spiritualized by Greek grace and love of the tangible, to be convicted of being, as, we fear, are our own northern fairies, adumbrations (Phœnician) of the tradition of the Evil One.

The line which Mr. Gladstone draws between a few of the Achæan gods and the rest, is broad and dark indeed. He argues not that Homer's Greeks enjoyed an imperfect knowledge of the divine attributes in the mass, but that complete ignorance on most points was conjoined in them with as complete illumination on others. On the contrary, we should have rather supposed that the whole idea of gods, with the emotions of man, rather than the purer but less rational instincts of nature, is so far traditional; while, in all its phases, it is overgrown with the dense underwood of invention. A primitive mythological religion could hardly have arrived at such a clearness of outline in its different parts, as Mr. Gladstone's hypothesis supposes. Mr. Ruskin denies that objects seen in nature ever have a distinct outline or edges; they are defined by shades. So to us it seems to be with the early Hellenic theology. That was not a theology which had grown up suddenly, like a scheme framed by philosophers. It was a religion which had sprung from the heart of the race, which was as varied as the nature of that race, and in which invention and tradition were not nicely distinguished. The poet gathering from every quarter seldom rejected, but always endeavoured to harmonize and combine. All the strata of popular belief are thus reproduced in his verse. In one legend, he found the consciousness of the divine (not merely the superhuman); in another more clearly manifested the animalism of a human conception of the Inconceivable. Both became blended in his song, into one nature with several aspects. Jupiter on the lonely peak of Dodona, is a very different being from the same wrangling on Olympus. Nay, the two characters sometimes approach yet nearer in action. How far apart is the fine image of the King of gods and men weighing, like Fate, and the only Fate known to Homer, the life and spirit of Hector and Achilles, in the scales of what must be, from the weak tyrant recounting so gratuitously and garrulously his loves, before an assembly of his sons, and in the presence of his consort. True

it is that, as Mr. Gladstone says, Apollo and Minerva stand out far above and beyond their fellows. But as even Minerva is sometimes degraded into a sulky lass in the halls of her sire; and as Apollo condescends to play the minstrel at the banquet of the gods, now satiated with contentiousness and nectar, so we should look for a suggestion of the loftier aspect of the popular idea of deities, even like Mars and Eris, to other scenes than those copies of the rioting of earth. There the divine was systematically debased, to make the picture as consistent, plausible, and tangible as the Hellenic mind, with (spite of its fineness and sensibility) its craving for the materially *real* even in the *ideal*, required it to be; and which qualities it tended, in the scenes upon Olympus, to elaborate for itself out of the dim but more ethereal tradition.

In fact, the difference between those called the deities of Tradition and those of Invention, seems to us, though very great, yet to be a matter of degree. Any nice deduction of the attributes of special gods from the source of Revelation, appears sophistical, so far as it tends to make a few the *sole* depositaries of the celestial nature, and to render barren the rest of the field of theology, reducing the conception of the remainder of heaven to the conception of mere human beings, rather divested of mortality than endued with faculties implying immortality. Along with very much that is degraded, much more, in truth, of degradation than of the heavenly mingling with and overspreading the pure idea, there still is a substratum of the divine and universal, as opposed to the particular and local, of the invisible swaying through the medium of mind, as opposed to the palpable employing the machinery of spears and war-chariots. It underlies the whole, like some old geological formation, cropping up only at rare intervals. It is this which bursts forth so frequently in the representation of Zeus as to force Mr. Gladstone to see in him the ingrafting of Invention upon Tradition. It is this also which, though so much more thickly covered in with mythological additions, still may be discovered in the majesty of the queen of Olympus, to whom the gods rise up with reverence; who holds over a whole nation the broad shield of her protection. At her summons, the goddess of Wisdom herself, according to our author the most divine being of Greek theology, arms for war, spite of the threats of Jove. So far from the circumstance that the elder goddess does not assume the spear and panoply of war, being a sign of inferiority, it really indicates that Athene is but her instrument and organ, as she is of her consort. Only once does she herself engage personally in the quarrel. At all other times she acts by the ministers of the Sovereign Will.

As Mr. Gladstone has not, we conceive, made sufficient allowances for the poet's endeavour to express by analogies—as *e.g.* by the political genius which he attributes to Juno, his intuition of that celestial dominion over the affairs of earth which he felt,—so in the two rightly prominent figures of this scheme of the Homeric theology, he appears to have changed the fitting relation between them in dignity, and, to borrow part of a phrase of Dr. Clarke's, in *quantity* of divinity. Certainly, in accordance with his theory of the existence of an absolute distinction between the persons of Olympus, as traditional, and as inventive, and not merely between their attributes as belonging to the one or the other class, the goddess would be the loftier character, as the purer and freer from taint of evil. But, on the hypothesis that contradictory qualities are naturally found together through the entire breadth of Hellenic theology, the quality and the amount of divinity which we can find in a deity, would be a better test of his or her relative rank, than innocence and freedom from vice. There is something most sublime and pure, we confess, in the delineation of Pallas Athene. She is one in will with her father and sole parent, not as lord of air and sire of gods, but as the being to whom men prayed even then as God. Invincible and chaste, supreme even in the dreary realms to which even Jupiter's immediate empire does not extend, not bounded in power by the limits of any one or more natural agents, as specifically committed to her charge, but using and controlling all at her desire, she exhibits certainly little of the Pantheistic element of the Hellenic system. At the same time, we find less in her character and attributes of what appeals to faith, less of the moral and spiritual, more of the intellectual and abstract. If Terror, and Pain, and Strife are wanting in divinity, as single impersonations of human feelings, so in some, though a far less degree, Minerva herself is a grand and very successful attempt to impersonate the higher intellectual instincts, if we may conjoin the two words, and to oppose to the purely animal the purely rational. She is at once too independent of Jupiter and Olympus, though acting with them, and rarely in collision with her father, and too much a tutelary patroness, waiting like a shadow upon certain heroes. Achilles has half unsheathed his sword to slay the ruler of the people, when the viewless presence of the goddess hovers over him, like the voice of prudence, and checks his blind fury. She chides the tardy and praises the zealous, just as their own conscience might have done; and, in the long and tedious wanderings of Ulysses, where danger is, there is she, serenely and quietly pointing out the way to escape. She does not smite the Cyclops, or menace Scylla. Even in the elder poem she does not beam forth the star of war. Her intervention is through the agency

of man's wisdom, which she has prompted, and is not miraculous. In vivid contrast with this somewhat cold but pure abstraction, which is as cold, in a different way, as Oceanus and the Winds, is Phœbus Apollo brandishing plague and pestilence against the victorious host which had spurned the petition of his priest, or coming down, with all his father's delegated majesty about him, to stay the fall of Ilium till the appointed hour. He does not borrow the breeze to whisper his message, but is a presence, which, though unseen, men can feel and bow before. Ever dealing out to man reward or punishment, he is yet something apart from man, and not to be confused with the still voice of an individual's inner nature. In Minerva in the field, we discover nothing to excite to worship: her favourite warriors talk as familiarly with her as with their own thoughts. In Apollo there is everything. And so it was, that in the later times of Greece, before the revival under Socrates, while, in the general deterioration of the popular religion, Minerva did not escape, but fell into the herd of deities, with a dispensatory power over some high but yet particular gifts, and while, in the period penetrated by philosophy, she remained unremarked, notwithstanding the respect paid by both ages to the works of Homer in all their bearings, at both periods the worship of Apollo went on undiminished, in the one preserving in Greece the idea, and the, for those times, salutary mystery of a present Godhead, caring for and willing to communicate the will of Heaven to man; in the other and later, fully recognised by philosophers, and, though with attributes interpreted otherwise than by the poet, not allegorized out of individuality.

We have used the terms, *the general deterioration of the popular religion* in later Greece. But we do not mean by this expression to signify entire assent to the view indicated in the volumes before us, of the high relative superiority of the theology of the poems to that of the educated and philosophic minds of Athens. We are very ready to allow that the general tone of morality was purer in the age of the Trojan war, and that the masses were more pious. But we believe the philosophers' interpretation, from the days of Pericles downwards, of this mythology, was an actual improvement upon the Homeric, though still, as being left further in the rear by the increasing intellectual growth and amplification of the *material* appliances of civilisation, not productive of so good a moral training in these later as in the earlier and ruder times. It was, perhaps, in consequence of Mr. Gladstone's inclination to lay, we think, excessive emphasis upon the division of the traditional from the inventive elements in his author's system, and to make absolute purity from the human, rather than the number and quality of the manifestations of divinity, the test of the rank of any one figure in the Olympic

pageant, that he should compare somewhat unfavourably the mythology of the historical with that of the heroic age. But the Athenian *savant*, while he reverenced the primitive simplicity of the system which he found in this his great national record, probably did not feel, nor had he a right to feel, that his own was, in itself, less pure. The divine in the earlier creed may startle us, not because of its intrinsic intensity, but from the contrast between it and the gross materialism of Olympus at large. The scheme seems to us more divine, because, being simpler, it displays the elements, human and celestial, less in a state of solution. But if this be a merit, it is one which belongs more to the poet's place in time than to his genius. And if the process of deterioration was, as to the conception of heaven, from his time downwards, continuous, what authority is there for placing him in the golden mean? Perhaps earlier minstrels, with more of the Pelasgic nationality, gave a still purer view of their age, as their Jupiter is sublimer than the social King of gods and men.

Again, if the religious degeneracy of subsequent ages be so evident, has the poet no share in the reproach? He it was, says Herodotus, who invented the genealogies of the gods, and the plague spot of Olympic revels and wranglings is as black in the Iliad as in Aristophanes. We do not mean to attribute to him any exceptional or peculiar religious debasement. Sometimes we see him even drawing back from his lower conceptions, and, in his loftier flights, teaching that humility to Heaven is not inconsistent with magnanimity in man. Achilles, the ideal hero, never fights with Olympic deities, once only even with a power of nature, and that one scarcely amounting to an impersonation. Diomed, the regular soldier, harshly assaults and beats off the field the gods of War and Love; but Achilles fearfully buffeting with the angry waters of Scamander is a far nobler spectacle, and meant to be so, than the other triumphing over Divinity. Certainly, however, the poet, though often rising above the level, yet in his capacity of the interpreter of old Greece to the new, and the medium between them, fixed the animalism of deity, and, in creating by his genius out of the Father of Gods an ideal of the political hero, disturbed the traditional majesty of Jupiter. He produced a deity, in selfishness and passionateness, and in supremacy (which, though sometimes resisted, is still theoretically undisputed), the celestial counterpart of the great Pelopid chief. Discrepancies existed already between the inventive and the traditional: these he did not aid in removing, except by utilizing both alike as instruments of poetry, and so, partly confusing them. His Olympus was too selfish, his realm of Proserpine too dreary and shadowy; his Minerva too abstract and cold; only his Apollo is, with an alloy of the human, truly

divine, with the will and power both to succour and chastise. He did not give his nation enough for their faith to rest upon, and the nymphs of sea, and forest, and water, in his theology only occasional agents, were sought out as a supplement to his scheme, and invested with attributes more present and life-like (though less suggestive of the supernatural, the natural interpretation of their functions being too obvious):—

> 'In despite
> Of the gross fictions chanted in the streets
> By wandering rhapsodists . . . . . .
> . . . . . a Spirit hung,
> Beautiful region! o'er thy towns, and farms,
> Statues, and temples, and memorial tombs;
> And emanations were perceived.'

Still Homer is the text-book; these were but the interpretations. Little more were the Gods of Epicurus, selfish as those of the Iliad, even yet colder, and with none of the partisan spirit of sympathy for tribes or individuals displayed in Olympus; but, at the same time, more intellectual and less grossly sensual. It was not a high type of religion which represented Deities with the characteristics of opium-eaters; but it was not lower, looked at with reference to the believer, than one which exhibited them as often displaying the traits of evil and malicious angels. The true conclusion seems to us somewhat different from that to which Mr. Gladstone has come. The later system, that is, was, we believe, the natural development of the earlier, modified with the growth of civilisation and the changes in external circumstances. So far from being worse, it was more refined, and in outward semblance, and in some measure, in reality purer. The traditional in Phœbus Apollo of Delphi was not lost, the inventive in Thracian Mars was softened down and allegorized; the introduction of the universal agency of local deities was the necessary filling up of a void which could be no longer supplied by the ordinary persons of the Homeric theogony. At least, the powers whom Socrates deemed it his duty to worship, and the gods of Epicurus himself, could not have been much worse, if they were no better, than those of Thessaly. In short, as the later, finer, and more abstract scheme would not have been intelligible in the earlier times, so the earlier scheme, with its more undisguised immorality, would have been, and was, so far as it retained its antique form for the populace, much more pernicious in the subsequent than its own age. The change, therefore, arose not so much out of any radical revolution in the national disposition, whether for the better or the worse, as from the modifications necessitated by the externally increased delicacy of a more advanced social stage.

We believe the disposition to contrast too vividly the Heroic and Historic ages arises partly from the loss of the intervening steps of historical data, which, if extant, would have shown the religious, social, and political sentiments of Greece gradually developing and experiencing modification, but without actual gap or break of continuity, or revolution, into the spirit of the Periclean and Socratean epochs. The distinction between them seems so entire, the traits of either so mutually contradictory, because they are separated by an unfathomable gulf of obscurity. We observed above (p. 231) that History contains many *dark periods*, and yet that there is a method of investigating even these. We did not mean to apply the epithet 'dark' to the Homeric epoch, but to the wide wilderness in which that is set like an oasis, and which the object of these volumes is to survey by the aid, and from the vantage-ground of the poems. The position in the world's history of the War of Troy is perfectly unique. It is neither the end nor the beginning of a period of greater clearness, neither a time brightening upwards into more complete lustre, nor one fading into comparative obscurity. On the one side, from it to the migration of the Hellenic race, stretches a to us altogether black waste of many generations. From it again, to the first rays of historic light in Greece, is an interval only to be measured by centuries. Within its narrow bounds all is definite and calculable. The gods indeed come down and fight and altercate among men; yet the material is not dimmed or rendered vague by the mythical, but rather the mythical reduced beneath the laws and rules of the actual. Neither is it from the fewness of the figures, and the interests, that all within that distant space of time seems so distinct and tangible. We think we know well the age of the Heptarchy and the Plantagenets, when we think of Ethelbert and Bertha receiving S. Augustin, or of Robin Hood killing deer by moonlight in Sherwood Forest. These are only scenes from history; they seldom form a landscape; or if they do, it is one only of swelling downs and blue distances. But the camp before Troy, or the court of Alcinous, we do not only see as in an ever-changing kaleidoscope, they are there before us, various indeed and multiform, but so that the diversity comes not from the want of one ruling principle of unity, but rather the existence of a centre whence issue many rays. We are not passive in the spectacle, but can move through the whole at our will and leisure, choosing what we will examine now, and what hereafter, and able to conceive of ourselves as dwelling there.

With this abundance of light thrown about the narrative, the question whether the actors in these great dramas were *indeed* contemporary with the circumstances in which they are

placed, becomes much more unimportant than if the illustrations they imparted to the times were scanty and struggling through mists, and only useful as elucidating a historical fact, the war of Troy. It is enough that it must be allowed that the heroes are placed in those circumstances and conditions of existence with which the poet was best, as being personally, acquainted; and the picture cannot but be, to all intents and purposes, a picture of a real age, because he could not have described so minutely and in detail any but his own. But fidelity in describing real scenes of life is not the sole, or even the principal merit of the Iliad and Odyssey. A requisition for compliments on the accuracy of some poems and paintings might be answered in the spirit of the Spartan, who, to the invitation to eulogize the portrait of a pig, rejoined that he did not care to look at a pig even when alive. But Homer's matter is as noteworthy as his manner and method. The system he depicts deserves, Mr. Gladstone observes, careful study as a repository of political ideas. The corruption and pure Machiavellianism of much of the political philosophy even of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, had not yet perverted at its source the Greek intellect. That profound and inborn passion for politics which made Plato and Aristotle, in an age when the sceptre was departing from the genuine Hellenic race, cling still to the faith that the primary duty and prerogative of the teachers of Greece, as a land self-governing of course, and governing others by a natural supremacy, were to make the science of government the coping-stone and the key-stone too of practical philosophy, is conspicuous in the Iliad of Homer. The war itself had been begun, and was being conducted with all the solemn rites of international law. Heralds were respected, though there was yet no public opinion of a league of nations to avenge the violation of their sanctity; and other nations, besides the Trojan, suffered, only because they had thrown off national neutrality in favour of their offending neighbour. In the regulation of internal arrangements, we discover plainly sketched a constitution, not, any more than our own, or any proceeding from a nation's practice, described on paper, or limited by certain lines; but, nevertheless, one perfectly well defined by negatives, and the violation of which all were prompt to punish. This constitution, discoverable from the poems, is at once too congruous to be merely imaginary, a phantasm traced by ourselves out of smoke, and too undesignedly consistent to have been invented by the poet for a political end, as the conservative theories of Æschylus in the Eumenides, or the Polities of Plato.

The period embraced by the poems appears to be the debatable ground upon which meet the evanishing hues of the patriarchal,

and the deepening shades of the government by usurpation or election. The régime seems constitutional, in regard to the number of the great men, but a form of aristocracy in which the nobles are all chieftains, ruling territories of their own, rather than influencing the sovereign in the administration of his, and with gradations of subordination, not regular as in the idea of feudalism, but more resembling the practice of the latter system. First came the imperial sway of a dynasty like the Perseids, the family of Minos, or the Pelopids, a supremacy over a number of chieftains. But all these chieftains were not all on one footing of inferiority to their suzerain. They were all *ἄνακτες*, but some were sovereign princes. Agamemnon combined in his own person three very distinct classes of prerogatives. He was of right the commander-in-chief of all national armaments. 'More by his sway than in obedience to the oath they had sworn to Tyndarus,' were the Greek leaders persuaded to combine against Troy. But, while from this point of view resembling a German emperor of old, he was also a sovereign prince, *βασιλεὺς*, over his own hereditary dominions, just as, and no more than Achilles and Idomeneus were over theirs, or as were the Hengists and Charleses of the Saxon and Hapsburg lines over their private patrimonies. Lastly, certain dominions were attached to his throne, not from hereditary associations or free choice, but as tributaries, conquered by force from the old inhabitants of the land. Besides these claims to respect, Atrides was also *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*, with whatever connotation that title might have of traditionary kingship over the Achæans.

Not all the chieftains of the army were *βασιλεῖς*, any more than were all the rulers of the German empire kings or grand dukes. But even when that boundary-line has been traced, another still is to be remarked breaking up into sections the rank of ordinary *ἄνακτες*. One division of these appears as owing subjection to some local head, as Sthenelus to Diomed, or to the head of the Pelopids, the imperial Agamemnon himself, in his character of prince over specific territories, another subordinate rather to the State or Empire looked at as an abstraction, than to the Captain of it, for his personal sovereign claims. In these respects, the closeness of the parallel between Greece under the Pelopids, and the Germany of the Middle Ages, surprises one; but the resemblances are those which most naturally arise whenever a race has conquered, and occupied its seats piecemeal, and each division of it has had to fight foot by foot for its possessions. Whenever, that is to say, a people has been originally united as one under one sovereign, and then has been broken up by the exigencies of circumstances, such as danger of assault from many quarters, necessitating the concession of virtual

independence to each section, the original submission of the chieftains to the supreme head of the nation will become more and more a mere tradition, till the gradual consolidation of the race, or accident, has given this ancient superior once more the real rights of one. Then, the half obsolete prerogatives being laid claim to, and the claim being supported by competent power, all the members will probably be compelled to recognise the theoretical validity of the requisition, and the weaker constituents will be reduced to practical submission, varying according to their relative strength. Still their obedience will have the appearance of being the respect extorted from an equal in rank rather than the instinctive submission of natural subjects. For the semi-independent tone of the Achæan princes, and for the varying degrees of inferiority in which they stood to their suzerain, we can find parallels in all the feudal kingdoms of Middle-Age Europe, and, for the same reason, viz. similarity of circumstances. Norman England is the single exception; for there the title of king and noble to their privileges rested on the same footing, and commenced at the same time.

Homer, in the Iliad, marks carefully the inequality in the rank of the chiefs; Agamemnon and Menelaus, Nestor, Ulysses, Idomeneus, Achilles, Diomed, and the two Ajaces occupying a far higher position in the host than any other leaders. They form the council; theirs alone is the title of 'Jove-nurtured,' and theirs is the sovereign sceptre. Still, even at the date of the expedition against Troy, the significance of the title of *βασιλεὺς* was fading away. The great weight and preponderance of the Pelopid suzerainty had impaired the independence even of the greater provincial powers; so that it is in their double relation to Agamemnon as his council of war, as well as officers under the captain of the nation, that they are ranked. Thus, while extraordinary territorial power still gave its possessors a right to ascription in this inner circle, an Oilean Ajax or an Idomeneus was placed there, though perhaps actually from this consideration, with apparent reference rather to his possession of the qualities of a councillor or a warrior, on a principle, that is, which admitted to the same rank the wisdom and the strength of petty princes like Ulysses, and the gigantic heir-apparent of Salamis. Territorial influence gave a presumptive title to admission; but it was, of course, open to be overbalanced by other reasons. Where a populous State had, from any cause (in the case of Athens and Bœotia, perhaps domestic convulsions), lost its natural weight in the Greek confederacy, its leaders were excluded from the cabinet. The Athenian and Bœotian leaders with their fifty vessels, and Agapenor with sixty, never have the name given them; while about a few, as Meges and Eurypylus, the poet seems to hesitate.

It may be objected that personal distinction is the only point in which all the βασιλεῖς agree; that, therefore, this must be taken for the only basis for their title and precedence. That is not a necessary inference. Naturally, in those early times, personal merit would be a species of negative condition for a sovereign; but we need not suppose, either that the bard has invented ideal characters for his greater chiefs, or that the hereditary principle was commonly violated in favour of men endued with sagacity or valour, because these sovereign princes of Agamemnon's council display a collection of brilliant qualities. They do not, in fact, possess any inconsistent or portentous excellences, but represent the general Hellenic type, with the exception of one, who is always spoken of as an exception and a marvel. The consciousness of their rank and obligations, and of what was expected from them, would tend, as of course, to make what were national characteristics approach in them the ideal. Some are wise in council, others are mighty in strength, or of wondrous beauty, all are heroic in action; but only one unites all these attributes in an extraordinary degree. Achilles, the lion of battle, sings to his lyre the deeds of the great men of old; he melts to tears without feeling humiliation, when bereft of his friend, or at the picture of the desolate old age of his father; he is munificent and lavish to his friends, and hospitable alike to all. But, of the rest, some are sufficiently blunt and stolid, others too self-conscious. They are no prodigies. Their great merit is that, in demeanour and temper, they are generally thorough gentlemen (καλοικἀγαθοί), noble in thought, and prompt to realize conception in action. The assemblage of great and amiable qualities in the camp, one hero being endowed with one, and another with another, is not the poet's dream, though it is his art that life is so exactly portrayed, and that every side of the Hellenic type is there represented. Just abstract the ultra-refinement, the scepticism, and obtuseness as to international morality from the great men of historic Greece, the warriors of Thermopylæ and Salamis, even of the Peloponnesian war, and the stock of the heroes of the Iliad is recognised in the *personæ* of Herodotus and Thucydides. In short, that to these chief leaders against Troy, *in the aggregate*, are attributed by the poet the highest personal qualities, must not be regarded as an argument against their historic reality, or a proof that their pre-eminence was personal, and not political. Because they shone as all-accomplished warriors in Asia, we are not to suppose that they were not in Greece *hereditary* priests, lawgivers, magistrates, and the wealthiest of their land. To describe George II. as the greatest captain of his age, might throw an air of fabulousness over the whole of a narrative; but, in pre-historic times, the chiefs of the

people are most likely to deserve to be so, because they alone in an age of little leisure for their subjects, and few opportunities of enlightenment or the exertion of high faculties, have had the largest and richest sphere.

Next to these, the heads, that is, of the great members of Agamemnon's empire, or the men whose personal attributes had made that independence, which was in the case of other Greek lords imaginary, real and actual, come in the Iliad, with the same relative personal superiority to the masses and inferiority to the 'kings,' the ἄνακτες; a word which, we think, may be rendered 'seigneurs.' At home, these constituted the aristocracy of the country; but an aristocracy, as we have explained above, not in the sense of a court, but of a caste, whose members were scattered up and down the land, each with a distinct government. Many of these, like the sub-kings so often mentioned in the early narrative of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy, may have been originally independent leaders of smaller sections of the race, gradually absorbed, often for protection against more powerful neighbours, into subordination, more or less direct, to the "emperor." Others, again, would be more like the barons of the great provinces of a feudal kingdom, deputies and lieutenants, whether of the sovereign in his special territories, or of the great princes in their dominions. At home, a portion of their time would be spent in their own districts, a portion at the court of their immediate superior; feasting, as the princes of Phæacia and the Ithacan lords in the absence of their ruler, at his table, off the produce of the customary gifts, to which they had themselves contributed, and of the ample demesne made hereditary in his family. Within this class would be an almost infinite variety of grades, extending from the feudal baron, with his allotted *royalties* and *franchises*, to the simple squire, ruling his household on patriarchal principles. At the extreme end of the social chain came the menial and agricultural serfs, and with them, in a condition not much higher, the hirelings, answering respectively to the negro slaves (though with the comforts incident to a primary stage of society, when master and men work together) and the more degraded white labourers of a southern plantation in the American States.

Probably between the free labourers and what we may term the class of gentlemen farmers, comprehending all up to the sovereign prince whose boast it was that he could draw the straightest furrow, as well as lead in war, a place should be left for a peasant proprietary. It was not within the poet's scope to enlighten us as to the social condition of such a rank, if it existed. He was a minstrel, singing in princes' palaces of the exploits of the heroes of the Achæan race. Hesiod might tell

of the pleasures and pursuits of the peasant farmer, and dilate upon the injustice and insolence of kings devouring their subjects' hard earnings, and selling injustice for a bribe. It was not, we think, merely, as Mr. Gladstone supposes, that monarchs in this the heroic age were exceptionally unsullied, but that their conduct to their own fellows would commonly be equitable, at least, that into a description of the relations of the rulers among themselves, which, even without the bard's consciousness, war poetry of his date must be, tales of iniquitous dealing with inferiors would scarcely enter. Partially, doubtless, the period closing with the expeditions against Troy was purer and more innocent than that which followed. That event, as well as the course of time, would help to pervert the patriarchal order. Itself a sign that the centralizing sway of the Pelopids had become more direct and absolute, it created new and artificial bonds among different states, and estranged the affections of the subjects at home from their absentee princes. The elevation of petty rulers, like Ulysses and Telamonian Ajax, into a loftier relative position than that to which their territorial power gave them a right, was but an indication of a general revolutionary process. As a class, the great landowners would keep their pre-eminence, but their dependence on their sovereigns would become continually more palpable, and they would feel themselves being converted into officers and lieutenants of the prince, from barons and magistrates.

In accordance with the spirit of liberty which Mr. Gladstone discovers in the Greek host, notwithstanding the aristocratic form, was the wonderful development of oratorical power. As much as war was it the subject of training, and an area for the acquisition of glory. There are examples of every type, the 'precocious tact and power of expression' of Telemachus; the 'laconic ease' of Menelaus; the 'soft and silvery' eloquence of Nestor; the 'mighty words, driving like snow-flakes in winter,' of Ulysses; the 'blunt hearty energy' of Ajax. Mr. Gladstone eloquently appeals to the undesigned testimony, from the emphasis laid in the poems on this gift, against Mr. Grote's theory of the 'degradation of the mass of the people before the chiefs.'

'How could Homer have conceived thoughts like these, if the government in his eyes had rested upon either force or fraud! Moreover, when he speaks of persuasion, and of strength or valour, of the action of the tongue and that of the hand, he clearly does not mean that these elements are mixed in the ordinary conduct of a sovereign to his subjects; he means the first for peace, the latter for war; the first to be his sole instrument for governing his own people, the latter for their enemies alone.

'If, again, we endeavour to estimate the importance of speech in the heroic age by the degree in which the faculty was actually cultivated,

we must take the achievements of the poet as the best indications of the capacities of the age. The speeches which Homer has put into the mouths of his leading orators should be tolerably fair representatives of the best performances of the time. Nor is it possible that in any age there should be in a few a capacity for making such speeches, without a capacity in many for receiving, feeling, and comprehending them. Poets of modern times have composed great works in ages that stopped their ears against them. "Paradise Lost" does not represent the age of Charles the Second, nor the "Excursion" the first decades of the present century. The case of the orator is entirely different; his work, from its very conception, is inextricably mixed up with practice. It is cast in the mould offered to him by the mind of his hearers. It is an influence principally received from his audience (so to speak), in vapour, which he pours back upon them in a flood. The sympathy and concurrence of his time is with his own mind joint parent of his work. He cannot follow, nor frame, ideals; his choice is, to be what his age will have him, what it requires in order to be moved by him, or else not to be at all. And as when we find the speeches in Homer, we know that there must have been men who could speak them, so, from the existence of units who could speak them, we know that there must have been crowds who could feel them.'—Vol. iii. pp. 106, 107.

The argument is forcible, but we cannot think that the point is made out that 'the king was only the standing representative 'of the community,' and that 'the greatest ultimate power which 'he possesses, is that of influence upon his subjects collected 'there (in the Assembly), though the combined medium of their 'reverence for his person, and of his own powers of persuasion, 'that (viz. the Assembly) being the true centre of the national 'life and vital motion;' unless, indeed, the sole active constituent members of these meetings (for we do not question but that, *theoretically*, the whole people gathered there) be allowed to have been the ἄνακτες, a restriction which Mr. Gladstone is altogether unwilling to admit. We, however, readily concede that the stress put upon the art of persuasion and eloquence is amply demonstrative of the non-existence (but then only in Homer's own time) of the *despotic* supremacy of any one house over the other princely families of Greece.

In two very interesting chapters, those entitled 'Ilios' and 'Thalassa,' we have expositions of the poet's digressions into description of what was not Hellenic, and, therefore, more or less beyond the bound of his own every-day experience. In the former he brings into clear relief (not without a certain, but, we think, no undue tendency to *Hellenism*) the contrast between the Greek mythology and the Trojan, with the inferior personality of the latter, and its propensity to dwell upon the elemental deities, Vulcan and Earth, and the Rivers, as material media of nature, rather than gods and nymphs with flowing hair; the dimness of its vision of a future state, and Asiatic solemnity of ritual worship. There are many of the same figures in the

theology of both nations; but they play different parts, as though Homer had merely translated the names of strange gods, and their strange attributes, by those which were most analogous in the religion of Greece. The morality of the two peoples differs as their mythology. The same theoretical doctrine of the right of property and of domestic law is discovered; but in Troy we find it modified by the Oriental temperament—Priam has his seraglio of wives and concubines without reproach;—and also by the want of the strength of well-developed public opinion. The relations between the subjects and the rulers seem not cemented by free choice and the nation's insight into the utility of obedience, but are closer or laxer according to the temporary accident of the incline of power on the one side or the other. Paris's crime, adultery, appears to have been regarded as capital in Troy. His brother denounces him as deserving raiment of stones—the people detest and execrate both his violence and his cowardice. The nobles impotently demand the restitution to her home of his bride and the plunder. Public opinion speaks loudly enough and clearly enough; but there seems to be no popular will to execute its decisions. Still this is not the consequence of the absolutism of the monarch protecting a favourite son. The nobles are as bold and haughty in their demeanour to him as any of the Achæan princes to *their* suzerain. They all have the mien rather of allies, as many of them are called, than of subjects. Their assemblies are far more intemperate and anarchical than those in the Greek camp. Each lord seems to claim perfect equality in the conduct of the battle, and a clear right to abuse the commander-in-chief. And still, with all this, nothing is done. The nation, in fact, had made the crime of Paris its own. It had not the moral courage, or perhaps it had too much of an innate disposition to loyal reverence of the king's house, even when involving the nation in its guilt, to confess the injury done to Greece, and to resign the spoil carried off from Sparta. The fine moral sense of the poet makes him lay emphasis on all which can evidence the national participation in its prince's iniquity. He meant to show how an individual's sins may be adopted by a people as its own, and must then bring home to the whole state general humiliation. The want of balance in the temper of Troy extends through all its institutions. The troops' dissonant clamour, as contrasted with the Achæans' harmonious war cry, the restless discord of the leaders with the orderly obedience of malcontent Greek chiefs when in the field, the probable primogeniture of Paris, the splendour of his way of living, his title of 'King,' and privilege of gross selfishness, with the far superior personal authority and presumptive heirship of Hector, the self-arrogated independence of Æneas, and isolation

of the Lycian contingent, all indicate a striking national distinction between the two great Leagues, the more striking for the many points of resemblance. At the same time, if there is less of the political and national, a less vivacious imagination, and less of individual power and ability to stand alone, there is, we believe, in the government of Priam more of the patriarchal, and in the spirit of the Trojan host more of the nobler attributes of the citizen soldier, as Mr. Gladstone allows that there is, in the character both of Hector and his father, far more domestic tenderness and sensibility than in the hostile champions. The Achæan princes are heroes; but Hector and his few compeers are, and are meant to appear, patriots. The apparent inconsistency in the somewhat exaggerated summing up that the picture of Troy is one of 'a state of things more 'resembling the dead level of the present Oriental communities 'subject to a despotic throne, *though such was not the throne of* '*Priam*,' may be, we think, explained by the consideration that the tie between sovereign and people at Troy was more intimate and paternal, though less political, and with inferior organization, than that, for instance, which bound his Achæans to Agamemnon. It is the mass of his subjects who seem to sympathise with the sorrows of Priam's household; in the delineation of the fortunes of the Hellenic army the chiefs monopolize the whole space on the canvas.

In the chapter entitled 'Thalassa,' *i. e.* the Outer Geography, through which we wander in the Odyssey, the poet has not even the clue with which, in dealing with Trojan customs and institutions, the analogy of the Pelasgic element in his own country supplied him. 'An intense earnestness,' it is well said, lights up the waste, and makes all the parts of the scheme coherent and plausible, though, as matters of fact, altogether unreliable. Vague tales of Phœnician suitors were mainly the raw material of this portion of his geography. These he would endeavour to arrange and connect by the help of accounts of the phenomena of the winds, in relation to these semi-mythical regions, communicated to him, probably, from the same source. The result of these details worked up in his own mind, would, Mr. Gladstone infers, be first a belief in the existence of a tract of sea extending from Greece to the Black Sea, and washing the north of Thrace, Epirus, and Italy; and secondly, a doctrine that the ocean communicated with the Mediterranean by one mouth only, and that this was in the north-east, being, in fact, the Straits of Yenicale. Using these two assumptions as a sort of beacons, the poet, we are told, proceeded to fix and give a geographical position to the isles and promontories dotting the marsh-like chaos of the Tyrian strangers' stories. Yet what a

life-like picture has he evoked out of this geographical fantasy! It is certainly a mere dream; yet as certainly does it belong to the region of geography, and requires to be judged by its laws. The more light that is thrown on the wanderings in the Odyssey, the greater is our astonishment at the bard's genius. The beauty of that wondrous chain of adventures haunts the student from boyhood to old age. We make it, often unconsciously, the metre and gauge by which to assay all other fairy tales, and we trace every one to this, which seems to have anticipated all the aspirings of imagination. We allow it, as of right, preeminence in that rank which contains Ariosto and the Arabian Nights; investigation makes us recognise in it the merit, too, of Swift and Robinson Crusoe.

Along with the gigantic power of acquisition manifested in both poems, the grasp of mind, and vast capacity of conception by which the abyss between every point in the science of the age was bridged over, and all combined, as it were, into one system and manual, it is curious to remark an almost infantine weakness on some points. The elements of mathematics and the simpler distinctions of colour appear to us part of the innate furniture of the human mind. We can scarcely even comprehend the obtuseness of irrational animals on matters seemingly merely sensational. Yet Homer, who was by no means a poetical Claude Lorraine, or Newton, a master in his own art, but, either naturally or habitually, crippled as to the perception of other things, uses arithmetic as though merely to keep the mind from too near a contemplation of objects, and colours as the sun does a cloud, *i. e.* to give variety to the landscape, rather than distinctiveness. He never even ventures into calculations. The factors of the sum are given; but nothing more. Prometheus' gift of the art to man, *ἀριθμὸν ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων*, assuredly would not have provoked Jove to jealousy, if the great poet's inability even to apply 'thrice' and 'four times' with any accuracy, can be deemed a test of the skill of his generation. When he arrives at 10,000, he appears to get bewildered; the Myrmidons are called *μύριοι*, though really but four thousand men. A man's wealth and munificence are extended to a hundred or a thousand, because the narrator could wield these even numbers most readily; and hapless Minerva, in her guise of ordinary woman's form, is condemned by the bard's inaptness at figures to bear about with her on her ægis a ton and a half of gold. Even in the catalogue, where the intention is to show the relative force of the different states, the numbers are equally vague. Every division of the fleet which exceeds twenty is made to consist of complete decades without odd numbers, with but one exception, and no one clear rule is laid down by which we can

sum up the list for ourselves. There are even grave reasons for believing that the length of the war itself, viz. thirty years, is only a poetical figure for a long and tedious space of time. All this Mr. Gladstone explains by the theory of the gradual improvement of special faculties with the progress of a race. He shows that with ourselves, when we get beyond millions, ideas become uncertain, and that no practical distinction exists between the conception of a billion and a trillion. So, he argues, in Homer's time, the same region of mistiness would be reached before a thousand had been counted. Many would, we fear, explain the inconsistencies in a less reverent way, by considering the fact that Homer was a poet, and wrote of facts poetically, as being the only key wanted to the mystery. We think it may have been even his veneration for truth and fidelity which forebade his ascribing definite numbers to what time and vacillating tradition had put beyond the reach of accurate calculation. This higher motive, at all events, does appear to be the explanation of the sedulous avoiding of anything like exact calculations of space in his account of Ulysses' wild voyagings. When certainty was unattainable, he preferred to be silent.

Mr. Gladstone accounts for his author's inconsistent use of colours, on the principle which he applies to the subject of number. He appeals to the indiscriminate appending to objects of every possible hue, of the same epithets, and denies that poetical licence of metaphor can explain the multitudinous incongruities. His conclusion is, that 'Homer's perception of the 'prismatic colours, or colours of the rainbow, which depend on 'the decomposition of light by refraction, and *à fortiori* of their 'compounds, was as a general rule vague and indeterminate;' that this resulted from no defect in his organization (for, even allowing the fact, which is most doubtful, of his blindness, his delicate apprehension of form proves that his observation of external objects had been most careful, and his memory abounding), but partly from the differences of an Oriental climate, which gave for the white and red of Western complexions, olive cheeks and black hair, and spread over the face of nature an uniform bronze tint, for our fresh, bright green; and partly, from the want of that practice in distinguishing colours, which the arts of painting and dyeing make habitual to us. In the place of colour, we are told, he had a system founded upon light and darkness, *i. e.* 'the quantity of light, not decomposed, which falls upon an object,' with glimpses of a different mode of viewing things by means of ideas drawn from the metals. It would lead us too far to enter into the question of the absolute truth or erroneousness of these conclusions; they are, at all events, supported by a large and illustrative collection of facts

from the poems themselves. We think, however, some allowance should be made for the close reliance of a poet like Homer, on the phenomena of nature as they were presented to him from time to time. The freedom, also, which the absence of classics or anything which could be called a literature gave him from the trammels of any fixed connotation for natural objects as to colour, and, besides, the imperfection of language, which affixed the name of the most prominent constituent to what was an assemblage of many different tints, are conditions unknown to us, but under which *he* wrote. Had any poet dwelling at the foot of the Thessalian hills, simply recorded each change of nature, in the poetry of the moment, without seeking to explain the diversity of the application, or fearing criticism, should we not have necessarily discovered in his verse many of these seeming inconsistencies?

In addition to the care Mr. Gladstone has bestowed on illustrating Homer as an interpreter of the facts, historical, social, and geographical, of his age, the history of poetry is largely indebted to him for a masterly analysis of the plot of the Iliad, and of the characters of the more illustrious heroes and heroines, together with an estimate of the poet's relative rank as compared with his rivals, the authors of other national epics, Virgil and Tasso. His demonstration of the elaborateness and completeness of the plan of the earlier poem, and of the marvellous manner in which almost every phase of character is illustrated by some one of the *personæ*, and yet not one repeated, is so clear, that the exposition may perhaps be pleaded by cavillers against the main object of the volumes, viz. the bringing forward more prominently the entire historical credibility of the poems. It might be urged that all but an impossibility is involved in the supposition that the real events of a real war should have fallen into such exact and beautiful order as to furnish the character and plot of such an epic, or that the actual leaders of the two hosts should have been of so just and graceful a variety of character, and yet with such rare recourse, by the poet, for the sake of exciting interest, to meanness or vice. With this fine analysis, however, we may well rest content with the advantage we reap from the inconsistency, if such it be.

We are not sure that Grote's theory of the division of the earlier poem into an Iliad and an Achilleid, the latter including the first, eighth, and last fourteen books, is *refuted* by the arguments brought forward in the chapter entitled 'Aoidos.' It is the inherent weakness of any argument on what an author meant by his plot, that it is necessary to prove a negative, viz. that he did not mean it to have a double significance. But we do think the stated inconsistencies which primarily led the eminent his-

torian of Greece to this view are satisfactorily explained in these volumes. More especially, it is clearly shown that the offer to Achilles of restitution and reparation, described in the Ninth Book, may have been narrated by the same poet who goes on to recount the continuance of the wrath of the offended warrior, and for the simple reason, that this tender was in effect insufficient. Gifts were promised, and pity for his countrymen invoked, but no confession of the wrongfulness and insolent tyranny of the sovereign was either authorized by the latter, or offered by the ambassadors. Homer intended to make every event, and all the interest of the Iliad, centre round the Wrath of Achilles. Diomed's gallantly achieved triumphs, and Ajax's indomitable obstinacy in stemming the rush of the Trojan host, alone, were all meant by the bard to indicate how indispensable a condition of success, which such efforts could not secure, was the presence of the son of Peleus. He designed to represent Greece suing to its champion, and confessing that, without him, it must succumb to criminal Troy. But it was necessary also to avoid couching the petition in such terms as to put Achilles flagrantly in the wrong for his obduracy. He desired to give the angry hero an apparently decorous pretext for still remaining apart and isolated, that so his exaggeration of offended honour, sinful in the abstract, though relatively to his nation not wholly unjustifiable, might at length rouse the resentment of the mysterious Erinnyes against his implacableness, and bring about the avenging of his countrymen whom he had let perish by the spear of Hector. The track opened by Mr. Granville Penn is finely followed out, as to this the guiding clue of the plot, and we cannot do better than quote Mr. Gladstone's own words :—

'Retributive justice inseparably interwoven with human destiny (for thus much the Erinnus signified) tracks and dogs Achilles at every stage. Take him, for instance, as the Ninth Book shows him, at the very summit of his pride. It is in no light or joyous mood that he repels the envoys. Who among readers does not seem to *see* his spirit writhe, when he describes the hot and bursting resentment in his breast, the stinging recollection of the outrages he has undergone? Even by the irrepressible curiosity, which compels him to mount upon his ship for view, and to send out Patroclus to learn the course of the battle, Homer has shown us how false was any semblance of peace, that he could even now enjoy in his giddy elevation.

'The rampart is pierced, the ships are reached, the firebrand is hurled, and the first Greek ship burns. Achilles must not depart from his word: but his restlessness now conceives an expedient, the sending forth of Patroclus to the fight. At the same time, he takes every precaution that sagacity can suggest: he clothes his friend in his own armour, exhorts the Myrmidons to support him; above all, enjoins him to confine himself to defensive warfare, and not to follow the Trojans, when repulsed, to the city. What then happens to him? that which often befalls ourselves: that when we have turned our back upon wisdom, wisdom turns her back upon us. Achilles insisted upon the disaster of his countrymen. When it came,

it constrained him to send out his friend; and the calamity he had himself invoked was death to the man that he loved better than his own soul.

'And why did Patroclus die? It was not that Achilles imprudently exposed him to risks beyond his strength. He was abundantly able to encounter Hector. Hector had no care, so long as the battle was by the ships, to encounter this chief. And Achilles had enjoined him to fight by the ships only, lest, if he attempted the city, a deity should take part against him. Patroclus disobeyed, and perished accordingly. As Achilles had refused to follow the laws of wisdom for himself, so when he carefully obeyed them, they were not to avail him for the saving of his friend. Heaven fought against Patroclus; Jupiter, after deliberation, tempted him from the ships, by causing Hector to fly towards the city; and the counsel of Achilles was now baffled as he had baffled the counsels of others; the dart was launched that was to pierce his soul to the quick.

'Thus his proud will was doomed to suffer. The suffering is followed by the reconciliation, and by the climax of his glory and revenge in the death of Hector. How in these books we see him moving in might almost preternatural, with the whole world, as it were, and all its forces, in subjection to his arms! But he has only passed from one excess of feeling into another; from a vindictive excess of feeling against the Greeks, to another vindictive excess of feeling against Hector. The mutilation and dishonour of the body of his slain antagonist now becomes a second idol, stirring the great deep of his passions, and bewildering his mind. Thus, in paying off his old debt to the eternal laws, he has already contracted a new one. Again, then, his proud will must be taught to bow. Hence, as Mr. Penn has well shown, the necessity of the Twenty-fourth Book with its beautiful machinery. Achilles must surrender the darling object of his desire, the wreaking of his vengeance on an inanimate corpse. On this occasion, as before, he is subdued: and both times it is through the medium of his tender affections. But in both cases his evil gratification is cut short, and the authority of the providential order is re-established. The Greeks pursue their righteous war; the respect which nature enjoins is duly paid to the remains of Hector, and the poem closes with the verse which assures us that this obligation was duly and peacefully discharged.

'With these views I find in the plot of the Iliad enough of beauty, order, and structure, not merely to sustain the supposition of its own unity, but to bear an independent testimony, should it be still needed, to the existence of a personal and individual Homer as its author.'—Vol. iii. pp. 393—396.

We have attempted to give a general summary of this remarkable work, noteworthy in itself, and yet more so when we consider that it is the production of one of our most active statesmen, of one who does not think himself absolved from the obligation of investigating and forming an opinion upon any single branch of the art and science of politics which may help to make or mar human progress. We have not expressed undoubting faith in the details of the volumes. We do not mean to do so now. Some of the conclusions are not, we think, warranted by the vagueness of the only premises which could be produced in their support; others are arbitrary, and many seem to us the generous exaggerations of an enthusiast, on a subject which excuses or demands enthusiasm. But of what work, in which a topic is treated from a new standing point,

may not the same be said? The absolute merits of the book are many, enough not to make us change our opinion of the quality of the author's genius, but to enable us, as it were, to complete our view of it. It shows great general knowledge of the subject, and patient investigation, raising on the basis of old acquisitions a still more thorough and exact acquaintance with the theme, old and new stores alike being lighted up by a pleasant freshness of ardour in the study. The style is vigorous and animated, rising, on proper occasions, into eloquence, though perhaps, at times, evincing as is natural in the debater, a slight redundancy, or effort at putting the same topic in too many points of view. To eulogise the author's subtlety and general capacity for grasping a question in its integrity, would be out of place here—or anywhere. These volumes display those qualities fully. But their prominent feature and main praise is the *method*, the boldness, thoroughness, and fidelity with which Homer is made to elucidate his own age, and to demonstrate his own rank as a historian by his own single testimony.

We hope Mr. Gladstone's example may produce a revival, in our Universities, of Homeric studies, increased attention to the great poet's *manner*, and, now at last, a commencement there of curiosity respecting his *matter*.

It is strange how easily and tranquilly classical students have been in the habit of lulling their judgment into a posture for acquiescing in the pictures of society in the Iliad and Odyssey, as some every-day spectacle, as though there were no practical distinction between the state of things in the nineteenth century and the primeval times of Greece, as represented in those poems, or as though the to us novel scenes in the Camp, Phæacia, and Ithaca, were *only Homer's way*, and an eccentricity of genius. This capacity for not feeling surprise at contradictions to our own usages and sentiments, does not demonstrate the flexibility of the intellect, and its ability to adapt itself, but an intellectual lethargy. If 'Homer and the Homeric Age' help to dispel so morbid a serenity, Mr. Gladstone will have attained his object, and received his reward.

ART. IV.—1. *The Sunday School Teacher.* By the Rev. JOHN TODD, of Philadelphia.

2. *The Sunday School.* By LOUISA DAVIDS. London: Printed for the Sunday School Union.

3. *The Sunday School Teacher's Hand-book.* Ward: Paternoster Row.

4. *The Sabbath School and Bible Teaching.* By JAMES INGLIS. Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis.

5. *The Teacher's Companion.* By R. N. COLLINS. London: Houlston and Wright.

6. *The Church of England Sunday School Quarterly Magazine.* Church of England Sunday School Institute, 41, Ludgate Hill.

WHILE the press teems with the theory and practice of national education; while learned men descant and dispute on the one in substantial volumes, and school inspectors unfold the other in works equally large and heavy; while the school books and lesson books of different societies leave no detail unexplained, setting each rival system in exact distinctness before us, one great institution, the only education of universal application within reach of the poorest, would seem to the casual observer,—the chance inquirer, to be without a literature. Which of our readers, desirous to know something of the working of Sunday Schools beyond his own parish or town, would know where to look for information? whom to apply to? how to get at any trustworthy facts? At first it seems as if there were no books, no exposition of a system to be met with. In his own experience he sees no community of practice; one school is no guide for another; nobody can tell him anything beyond his sphere of immediate observation, which, perhaps, differs so completely from his own, as to induce a doubt of his informant's discernment, till a third witness has a totally different history to disclose, and has arrived at quite contrary opinions from both. He concludes, then, that it is a system without organization beyond the simplest one of teachers and learners; each school a close borough, a distinct society jealously watchful of its independence, and resenting all alien inspection. Strangers may enter our National and British Schools, nay, are invited to witness examinations on stated days. The timid mistress and pupil teachers are liable any moment to be called

upon to exercise their craft before a chance curious visitor; but who ventures into the Sunday School to stand behind the chair of the Sunday School teacher? Each teacher's system and doctrines may, if he chooses, be a secret between himself and his scholars. We doubt—for here we speak without sufficient general information to be confident—if the boldest pastor ever ventures on a tour of inspection round his Sunday School room, listening to the course of instruction as it is carried on in his absence.

For want, then, of positive data, our inquirer's discoveries in this department only teach him that the institution has chameleon-like qualities, and varies in its aspect with every fresh locality, and even in every school-room. And so it does, but not quite for want of a literature and a system,—at least we, who are fresh from the perusal of the works at the head of our article, would feel it impossible to ignore efforts, views, and plans, set forth with such confidence of tone and in such lofty flights of language. A system has been set forth with force and precision enough, and with sufficiency of detail. Nor has it wanted readers and disciples; but the fault seems to be, that all that is said authoritatively flies over the heads of those who are expected to carry it out, and thus, we must suppose, fails in affording practical direction or guidance, and leaves the teacher virtually to his own discretion, such as it is. Not that we wish to raise alarms on this score; though it is curious to note the liberty, nay licence, that may exist, unsuspected, side by side with the most inquisitorial investigation, and in the very same field; to contrast the trained, catechised, sanctioned teacher of the week-day scholar, the creature of system, whose mind has been in the hands of an active, watchful superintendence for years, over whose opinions bishops and committees have presided and perhaps sat in judgment; with the substitute Sunday supplies to the same learner; with the Sunday School teacher whose qualifications have probably never been tested by the simplest examination beyond perhaps that for confirmation, who has gone through no ordeal whatever, who has been accepted solely on his application for the office, accepted and generally welcomed eagerly, his disinterested good-will being taken as guarantee for all those other requisites, which, probably, can never be investigated. This voluntary offer of service, and ready, unconditional acceptance, is, we believe, the ordinary mode of a Sunday School teacher's election in our Church; we suspect it to be the same with Dissenters, from certain casual admissions in their books; indeed, our own small experience points to an absolute indifference to qualifications or fitness, which, we trust, is never paralleled in our own communion. It is to a body thus

constituted that the works before us, Church or sectarian, are addressed, and the task imposed on them, whether by man or woman, Englishman, Scotchman, or American, is one and the same, and expressed uniformly in the same formula,—the *conversion* of their scholars. Neither sex nor age mitigates the burden of the commission, or clothes it in less awful, overwhelming language. A girl of fifteen, who wishes to help little children to learn to be good, has her task put before her in no lighter colours. Then and there she must 'convert' those infants, and 'save their souls.' Any humbler aim, any notion of doing good short of this supreme result, is denounced as unfitting her for the work. And, moreover, she is taught to consider the task an easy one.

Now, of course, there is a point of view—abstracting ourselves from time and looking only at the ultimate end of all our labour—in which it may be said that there is no good done, and no happiness worth a thought, separate from the accomplished fact of salvation. But we, who cannot read the heart, must work step by step, and rejoice in small hourly conquests over evil, and aim at certain immediate effects, and labour to instil a true faith, and right principles, and good habits, without presuming to anticipate the end, nor to grudge our labour in improving the present hour, leaving results to a higher disposal. At first the more ambitious tone of these books seemed to us assumed as a stimulus to exertion, as though boys and girls would be excited to greater efforts by being put on this elevation, and set impossible tasks, and taught to think their small service one with the preacher's and missionary's work, in *call*, in authority, in responsibility, in magnitude of result; and we felt how sad it was that every impulse given to youthful devotion should be a stab at Christian lowliness and humility; but we are inclined, on further thought, to attribute this line of argument to a different and sincerer cause. The recognised authority in this branch of study is the Reverend John Todd, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Philadelphia: to him all our writers defer, and quote especially from him on this subject of conversion. Our readers might, perhaps, wonder how his dictum came to have such weight, so that thoughtful practical men slip into his words when they approach this topic; but, probably, the very weaknesses of his style have won him a standing amongst the class to whom he especially addresses himself, for young readers of circumscribed education and ambitious aims are likely to be at once taken with high-sounding language, and attracted by what their elders would pronounce puerilities; and he has, moreover, the advantage of having formed a distinct *idea* on the subject, which he develops with considerable ingenuity and consistency.

Every ardent zealous sectarian must acutely feel the want of a centre of unity. He is cut off by his principles and practice from a visible Church, *i.e.* a recognised paramount body with peculiar gifts; this delightful image is forbidden to him. His own communion is, even to himself, only one of several bodies, of exactly equal authority and religious privileges, and he feels it has been almost a chance with him in which denomination he enrolled himself: therefore, whatever latent Church feeling he may possess as a social being finds no vent there. But still it is a craving of his nature which very generally must have some relief; he must picture to himself some universal brotherhood where all band themselves together under one name, where all are united in one common society that offers salvation to its members. With many the Bible Society is their Church; with others, the Temperance cause. Mr. Todd's Church is the 'Sabbath School,' and a very complete Church he makes of it, answering in all its gifts, and members, and offices, to the most rigid definition of the fold of Christ. It is represented by him, and by the writers who follow in his steps,—amongst whom we would particularise the author of a Prize Essay entitled 'The Sunday School,' issued and warmly sanctioned by the London Sunday School Union,—as an institution of Divine origin, with rites of sacramental power, served by a priesthood set apart for the work of prayer and preaching, to all whose efforts is attached a supernatural efficacy, who are also empowered to probe the heart and conscience of their flock by private individual close question and scrutiny, for which purpose they are enjoined to make themselves acquainted with each member's domestic ties and private life; and who are, lastly, pastors and flock, blessed with periodical visitations of the Holy Spirit in their corporate capacity, as being all members of the privileged body. All these points are more or less elaborated, but the question of the conversion of the scholar, with the more obvious means to this end, are necessarily the most prominent.

We are not aware of having encountered the word Baptism, or anything that can be interpreted into an allusion to that sacrament, in any of the volumes before us. The rite is absolutely ignored, but, with some points of difference, admission into the Sunday School unquestionably takes the place of that ordinance in the minds of all these writers; the main difference only being that, whereas unworthy ministers may duly administer the Sacraments of the Church, the minister of the Sabbath School, *i.e.* the teacher, works not so much as a channel as by his own conscious instrumentality. Most of our authorities are Dissenters. It may, not improbably, be the case in America, that few of the children under discussion have been received into

Christ's Church, and we know that this is also the case with large bodies in England. But even in Mr. Collins' work (dedicated to Canon Dale), which is sensible and practical whenever he writes from his own experience, the same tone is thought necessary, and Mr. Todd's formula quoted. In the Church of England Sunday School Magazine we find the same phraseology. Every child admitted into the School is, in their sight, a heathen: we never meet with another contingency as far as the child is concerned, though we do find Mr. Todd guarding against the natural inference from this fact with regard to the parents, by saying: 'The teacher should not 'accustom himself to suppose that the teaching and example at 'home must of course be wrong.' But this implies what is the practice; while parents who keep back their children from very early attendance at the Sabbath School are regarded in a darker light than that in which we view those indifferent people who withhold their children from Baptism. Take the opinion of the Sunday School Union, as put forth by Mrs. Davids, on this point:—

'In considering these exclusively *parental* duties, we assume the position which is, unhappily for England's youth, far from realized in practice, that all the children of the church, all the young people in the congregation, *irrespective of age or station*, ought to be found connected with the Sabbath school as *scholars*. The late excellent Dr. Leland, after an experience of many years, said, "I have no hesitation in declaring it to be my settled conviction, that Sunday school instruction is to children what the preaching of the word of God is to adults." If this be true, and we believe it is true, what right has any parent to deprive his offspring of a mean of grace so suited to their tender minds, and so likely, under the Divine blessing, to save them from eternal ruin?'—*The Sunday School*, p. 67.

And again, the argument of parents teaching their own children is thus set down; a parent is supposed to say:—

'"*I assemble my children on the Sabbath day, and instruct them myself.*"—Be it so; it is well. There are, however, but very few, even of Christian parents, that have the inclination or ability requisite for regular and efficient Sabbath school tuition at home. We would respectfully ask, Can a child of four, and one of fourteen, be advantageously trained together? Must not the instruction be too advanced for the one, or too puerile for the other? Do not all merely home-taught children lose every advantage derived from the power of numbers, and the contact of mind with mind?' —*Ibid.* pp. 68, 69.

Again:—

'The parent will compel his child to attend a place of public worship, but only *wishes* him to attend the school; practically showing that he does not consider the Sunday school so likely as the sanctuary, savingly to impress his mind with the truths of the Gospel.'—*Ibid.* p. 72.

We cannot wonder at the earnestness of these invitations to

this ark of safety, 'this heaven-born system' (as the Essay expresses it), 'the glory of our age, the bulwark of our faith,' when we see the promises attached to it, and the wonders wrought there.

'Let the teacher ever remember that he has the wisest system of instruction put into his hands which has ever been invented. Other systems classify as well as they can: but the grand characteristic of this system is, that it gives him power of reaching every mind, catering for every mind, studying each one, adapting instruction to each one, and making deep, permanent impressions on each one. The teacher has a power to reach, mould, and shape the immortal mind of each pupil, perhaps far beyond that of any other human being. The parents may love the child more, may know his disposition better; but perhaps they do not understand or love religion, perhaps are ignorant, perhaps have so many imperfections themselves, that their instructions are unheeded; but the Sabbath School teacher is above all this, and he may have a control over the destiny of each child far beyond that of anybody besides. For what has God thus placed each of these children in your hands? That you may lead them into the fold of Christ; that you may labour and pray for the conversion of every child committed to you, and not feel that your duty, anxious duty, is performed, so long as a single child remains unconverted.'—*Todd's Sunday School Teacher*, p. 26.

'The soul of the child is empty, and you may fill it with the treasures of life.'—*Ibid.* p. 45.

'Each teacher has some six or eight children committed to him, and he can teach them and form their characters as no other human being can.'—*Ibid.* p. 244.

'Here we leave her, from Sabbath to Sabbath, to pursue her interesting task, and train these infants for glory. Some of these will be under her care for four or five years, and all of religion they possess they will owe to her.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 152.

'It is not to be a long time before the taste, the literature, and the genius of the earth, will be, to a great degree, nurtured in the Sabbath School.'—*The Sunday School Teacher*, p. 119.

When we next quote statements of actual conversions, and the means used for this end, we would wish to guard ourselves most carefully from any suspicion of want of faith in the efficacy of prayer in the lowliest servant of God, or in the grace of the Holy Spirit to apply those prayers to the salvation of the object prayed for. It is unquestionably the duty of all engaged in the service of others, to pray for them with hope and fervour, and to apply all the powers of their mind and soul to furthering their highest interests. But what we object to in the following extracts is, the sacramental efficacy of prayer as applied to one exclusive peculiar field of labour. There is no Scripture sanction for the following tone of promise. It is placing teachers—a young, inexperienced, frequently ignorant class, in a false position, to buoy them up with unfounded expectations; it is turning them off from their mate employment, which is to teach the children put und

care, not to pry into their minds and curiously probe their consciences. If this inquisitorial investigation is thought unsafe in the hands of experienced ministers of God, what must it be when the questioners are boys and girls who can know nothing of character or human nature, who are urged upon a task for which it is impossible they should have any aptitude, who, raw and untried as they are, are expected to interpret expression, to read hearts, to follow all the inner conflicts of feeling? What mischief to the scholars if these examples ever prompt to imitation; what far greater mischief to the teachers. For after all, we have confidence in the stolidity and impenetrability of English childhood, whatever American children may be. It is not so easy to work on an ordinary Sunday-school child either for good or harm. But youth is a more excitable age, and those young persons who undertake the gratuitous office of instructor, are likely to have minds open to impressions, and eager for stimulants to keep them up in a difficult and perhaps irksome duty. What effect must it have upon many of these to be told that on them devolves, instead of on fathers and mothers, the task of instilling into the infant mind the first thought of religion—on them devolves, instead of the pastors of the church, the ministry of reconciliation; to hear themselves addressed over and over again as ambassadors of Christ; to be told that they are the mediums of conversion; that they must receive every scholar as a child of wrath, that they are to make it a child of grace. We do not profess to have much experience of the working of schools where this strain is enforced, but it hardly needs experience to know what must be its fruits, so far as it bears fruit at all, so long as it is not mere unintelligible talk read by young people without thought, comprehension, or intellectual acceptance of any kind. So far as this perversion of natural order works at all, its effects must be injurious. To ordinary minds you can hardly do a worse service than indoctrinate them with an undue sense of their importance. You cannot turn a girl of sixteen into a minister of the gospel, as these books try to do; but you can make her a very insufferable girl. You cannot by high sounding exhortations change a young apprentice into a steward having in his treasure things new and old; but you can, perhaps, impregnate his fancy with the notion that he is one, and so upset heart and brain, unhinge and spoil his whole nature. And if clergymen find a spirit of insubordination rife in their schools, as we know is the case sometimes, this is a literature which may well produce such results, though very far, we believe, from the writers' design, who, on the contrary, have to labour to give the pastor his right place in this anomalous system, which, in fact, puts him on one side altogether, and,

according to their view of the subject, secures the eternal salvation of each child, before his work and influence can be once brought to bear upon it.

But we must give our readers examples of the tone of exhortation common to all these publications, even the most practical; the universal inculcation of the principle, that the teacher is to accomplish a certain work, the greatest change that can befall an immortal soul, without reference to any other instrumentality or teaching whatever.

'Very many times, I doubt not, the teacher loses the past labours perhaps of a whole year, in consequence of not having the immediate conversion of every child constantly before his mind.'—*The Sunday School Teacher*, p. 25.

The teacher should have 'an unconquerable desire after the immediate conversion of *every* scholar.'—*The Teacher's Companion*, p. 190.

'It is a very solemn consideration, that the most inexperienced teachers must be set at once to the very highest work—*To save souls.*'—*The Sabbath School and Bible Teaching*, p. 137.

'The conversion of the children must be constantly present to the teacher's mind. Let us remember that every child who is not converted is in danger of eternal ruin, and that these our scholars, gentle and winning though some of them may be, and however closely they have twined themselves round our hearts, are, if not believers, every one on the way to death. To these very children let us offer the pardon of their sins, the renewing of their hearts, and the salvation of their souls. Let us give ourselves and them no rest till Christ be formed in them the hope of glory.' *Ibid.* pp. 46, 47.

'We would, nay, we must, pursue a widely different course, if Sunday schools are ever to fulfil their mission, regenerate the human race.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 242.

'The *object* of a Sabbath school is not to teach the children to read, not to implant good habits, not to instruct them in the truths of Christianity, in hopes that they may be converted in after life. The Sabbath school does effect all these, and much more; but useful as is the art of reading, valuable the formation of right habits, all-important the boon of a Christian education, neither is the object we would aim to attain. They are necessary adjuncts, the means to the end, and not the end itself, which is only arrived at by the *conversion of the children's precious and immortal souls.*'—*Ibid.* p. 16.

'Do, on each Sabbath, whatever can be done on that day to secure the salvation of each pupil.'—*The Sunday School Teacher's Hand-book*, p. 44.

Prayer is put forward as one main means by which these mighty results are to be obtained; prayer in a sacerdotal capacity, stimulated by a promise of success, peculiar to this sphere of labour, which one and all of these writers guarantee, on we know not what warrant; certainly not by the example of Apostles.

'It needeth but that Sabbath school teachers ask for the salvation their children, and God is willing to grant it.'—*The Sunday School*

'We ask, in all sober earnestness, Have you ever wept bec children were unconverted? Has the fact of their being ene and on the road to destruction, caused you more heartfelt gri

disobedience and waywardness to yourself? Have you ever prayed for them? not a mere general petition, that God would bless them; but have you ever prayed for *each one* by name with groanings that cannot be uttered; with an intenseness of desire, that can be satisfied with nothing short of attaining the blessing?—*Ibid.* pp. 295, 296.

'Do you labour, year after year, without seeing your scholars converted to God? The reason is probably to be found in your want of prayer. Notice the following curious fact: "A writer says that he witnessed a revival in a Sabbath School of which he was once a member. It was principally confined to those between the ages of seven, and twenty. A large number professed an interest in Christ. But all were of one sex, all were girls. Although some of the boys were considerably impressed, yet not a single individual of them was known to have been converted. One after another of the little girls gave her heart to the Redeemer; while the boys, members of the same families, their brothers, lived on in sin, the enemies of God. What does this mean? How is this to be accounted for? Does not the following fact explain the mystery? The teachers of the little girls came apparently from their closets, from the very presence, the audience-chamber of the Most High. Their hearts seemed glowing with love for their Saviour, burdened with a sense of the worth of the soul, and the immense responsibility which rested upon them. They warned and entreated their scholars on the Sabbath, and repeated their instructions during the week. A rich blessing followed, a blessing proportioned to the fidelity of the teachers."'—*The Sunday School Teacher*, pp. 103, 104.

'But it will be further objected, that this view of the matter is contrary to experience; for, if it were true, why might not a Sunday School teacher ask for and obtain the conversion of his whole class, or a minister of his whole congregation? The answer, I conceive, is, that the thing *might* be done, *provided a man of sufficient faith could be found to do it.*'—*Church of England Sunday School Quarterly Magazine, October*, 1857, p. 322.

'A young lady, who, from timidity, had refused to become a teacher, was at length persuaded to take a class: there were nine scholars in it. She deeply felt the responsibility of the office, and earnestly prayed for assistance. Her mind was impressed with the idea that these girls might fill important stations in society, and, if converted, their influence might do extensive good. She desired their salvation with intenseness; and, addressing them from the fulness of her heart, warned them of their danger, and exhorted them, by the uncertainty of time, and the dread solemnities of eternity, to make their escape from the wrath to come: they became deeply impressed, and, within two weeks, every one of them was asking the way to Zion, intending to walk therein. They are *all* still persevering in the ways of holiness.

'A young teacher, only sixteen years of age, came with a burdened heart to her superintendent; her trouble was, that none of her children loved Jesus; and her heart seemed almost broken. The superintendent said he was glad she felt the importance of her position as a teacher; that she could not feel too deeply; pointed her to the promises in reference to prayer, and bade her *prove the Lord.* She did pray; but, uniting prayer with effort, she called on all her class, informing them that she had something of great importance to tell them next Sabbath, and requesting their punctual attendance. The Sabbath came; her class were all present, and in time. She said, with a felt solemnity, "I am not going to hear your lessons; I have something to tell you:" and then unfolded to them the plan of salvation. These were little children, reading in the Second Class Book; but so powerfully did their teacher's earnestness affect them, that two gave their hearts to God, and the remainder were more thoughtful and solemn than they had ever been before.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 299.

Another instrument of conversion is close personal scrutiny into the heart and conscience. How this is to be effected by such agents as the system has at its command we cannot divine, nor are we ever told. The matter is really never contemplated as a difficulty; *every* teacher, as such, is supposed to read the hearts of his scholars.

'Converse *personally* with each of your class respecting his soul. This may be done, in private, when you visit them at their home, or by requesting them to wait, in turn, after school on the Sabbath. It should be done frequently and systematically.

'The impressions you make, good or evil, will, probably, be transmitted to succeeding generations.'—*The Sunday School Teacher's Hand-book*, p. 50.

'Do you feel as you used to feel? Do you pray as you used to pray? Then it was the all-absorbing thought, the object of your life, your "heart's desire," that souls might be saved. Your intense anxiety was such, that you only obtained relief in prayer. The watches of the night found you wrestling with God. Sleep was chased from your couch, by the thrilling thought that your children were unconverted. When they were "pricked in their hearts," and began to inquire what they must do to be saved, your anxiety for them, far from diminishing, seemed to increase. You felt that the Spirit was persuading them to be made whole; you knew it was a crisis in their history, and trembled at your responsibility. Your heart would have sunk, had not the promises of God sustained you. How you rejoiced in their decision! Tears of gratitude and prayers of thankfulness were offered unto God for his great mercy showed unto you, in redeeming your loved ones from the slavery of sin.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 298.

Mr. Inglis, a Scotchman, while pressing this point, excludes sentiment from his plan of searching investigation:—

'Seek to convince the scholars that they are themselves *guilty*. Aim at *conviction* by *direct addresses* to the conscience. All teachers must have experienced the difficulty of convincing a child that he is a sinner, and of making him understand the difference between doing good as the means of salvation, and doing good from love to God, and as the fruits of faith—between being saved by works, and working because we are saved.

* * * * *

'Care must be taken not to mistake an appeal to the *feelings* for an appeal to the *conscience*. The more earnest teachers are in danger of falling into this error, and thus to mistake the impressions which their address has made. A child may take great pleasure in his religious lessons, never absent himself from the school, and listen with eagerness to every word the teacher utters, and yet be indifferent to true religion. He may be deeply moved, even to sobbing and tears, yet have no sorrow for his own sins.

'We say a child may love the Sabbath School without loving religion. There is no reason why the history of the creation, of the flood, of the burning cities of the plain, of David's courage, and Absalom's rebellion, and Solomon's riches, should not be made as attractive as any tale of fiction; and a good teacher may enchant his scholars with his descriptions, and yet leave their hearts untouched. It is not the *history* of the Bible that is repulsive to man—it is the most engaging of all histories; but it is its holy laws, its perfect obedience, its denial of all merit to the sinner, and its provision of salvation only through the righteousness of Christ. A love of Bible lessons does not necessarily imply a love of the way
may shrink from the obedience, and yet be attracted by t
it is taught.

'So, also, it is not the extent to which a child is moved, but the kind of emotion, that is to be regarded. It is not a very difficult matter to bring tears to the eyes of a child, especially of a girl; but it is very difficult to convince a child of his sinfulness. We have again and again seen a child weeping, what might be termed bitter tears, whom we had not the slightest reason for believing to be under serious impressions. It is quite possible so to describe heaven and hell, death, judgment, and eternity, as to excite the most lively alarm; but we must remember that all true religion in a sinner is based on deep convictions of sin, and that, until he has looked at himself by the light of the law and of the cross, he is not really repentant. It is at the *conscience*, then, we must aim. Let us try to humble our scholars by an exhibition of their guilt, and to melt and move them by the amazing love of the Saviour; and, while neglecting no means of awakening their sympathies—for the feelings are helps to devotion—let us above all try to awaken the heart to a sense of its own desolation, and its infinite need of a divine Saviour.'—*The Sabbath School and Bible Teaching*, pp. 45, 46.

There is some truth in all this; but on what a hopeless pursuit does he send the young teacher, who is not to rest till the exact state of the soul before God is ascertained. While speculating on the presumption, and even cruelty, of this remorseless probing into the hidden mind of childhood, and on the clumsy nature of the instruments by which it is proposed to perform the delicate operation, our readers will hardly be in a humour to believe that there is much both useful and practical in Mr. Inglis's book.

Another instance of this close handling of a child's conscience, painful and almost ludicrous to us from the fallacy of the reasoning, certainly implies a very dangerous practice in ignorant inexperienced hands. It is clear that the child was not convicted from any natural pangs of conscience; she had not been doing anything naughty, but was called upon to consent to an abstract principle beyond her feelings and comprehension.

'A teacher was trying to show a little girl that she did not love God. The child could not see it, or would not admit it. The subject was apparently dropped, and suffered to fade from the memory of the child. After conversing with others on other points, asking here and there a question, the teacher again turned to the child.

'"Maria, how long has your father been gone?"

'"Seven months last week, on Thursday."

'"Do you know the reason now, why you mentioned the very day, Thursday?"

'"Yes, because he said he would try to be at home in just nine months to a day, that's one reason; and the other, because it seems so long since he went."

'"Does he write often?"

'"He writes to mother every week, and to Sarah and me once every month. We have seven long letters of our own."

'"Do you know when to expect your letter?"

'"Oh, yes! the last Thursday in every month; and Sarah and I always run to the top of Janner's hill to watch the stage, and sometimes wait there an hour or two before we see it come in sight. And when it does come,

then we hurry off to the post-office, and hurry Mrs. Meggs for the letter, and then run all the way home to have mother read it aloud. Oh! we are so glad!"

'"I should think, by what you say, that you are very fond of your father."

'"Indeed we are, Miss B.; and when father comes home, because he will come in the eastern stage, and in the night, we are going to sit up till almost midnight to see him. It will be a great time with us all!"

'"Maria, I am glad to see that you love your father. He is worthy of your love. You have answered my questions very frankly. Will you answer me one more as frankly?"

'"Yes, I will."

'"Well, can you not now see that you do not love God? He writes letters to you in this book; you do not feel so eager to read them as you do those from your earthly father. He offers to meet you and converse with you. Instead of sitting up till midnight to meet him, is it not a task for you to meet him in prayer at all? You say your father has been gone seven months, and you want him to come back. God has been absent from you, my dear child, much longer; do you feel as anxious to have him return and see his face? You know, too, that God is more worthy and deserving of love than any human father, has done and is doing thousands of times more for you, and offers to do a thousand times more for you, than any human being can. Do you love him accordingly? Do you now say, Maria, that you love God?"

'"Oh! no, Miss B.," said the child, with her eyes streaming with tears.'—*Todd's Sunday School Teacher*, pp. 140—142.

To place a little child's love of its earthly father thus in opposition to heavenly love, when, in fact, it is endowed with the natural sentiment to train and guide it to higher affection, is surely a monstrous perversion of the true lesson to be drawn. The same writer quotes 'a beautiful testimony' from a teacher's diary to the efficacy of this inquisitorial system of operation:—

'"A class of seven was committed to me for instruction, of different ages, from twelve to sixteen, and one was older than that. Most of them were girls with whom I had little or no acquaintance, and as I took my place with them for the first time, I feared I should not have a very interesting class. However, I resolved to be faithful to my trust when with them, and in my preparation to meet them; though often fearful that I fell very far short, both in teaching them and in commending their case to God in private.

'"It has been my habitual practice to press upon their attention those questions in the lessons which are addressed to the conscience and the heart; and frequently to ask a number more, which the subject seemed to suggest, that, if possible, some valuable and lasting impressions might be made; always requiring every scholar to pay her undivided attention during the whole recitation. Sometimes I was hurt to observe some individual in the class to be gazing about the house in a careless manner; but in general their attention seemed absorbed in the lesson.

'"About the middle of summer, one of the oldest members of the class began to be anxious about the salvation of her soul. This concern continued for several weeks, until three more of the class were saying, What shall we do to be saved? These four were all soon brought to rejoice in hope. Two of the others, I soon found, were mourning over their lost state as sinners, while one seemed hardened, and I feared would be left to her own chosen way.

'"It was my usual practice to inquire of each individual respecting the state of her mind, after the close of the recitation, in addition to the practical remarks during recitation. Before the time for closing the summer term arrived, I had the happiness of hearing every member of my class express her hope in Christ, and of seeing six of them united with the church. (The seventh united soon after.)

'"I could not, should I attempt it, describe what my feelings were, on meeting my class all rejoicing in the Saviour.

'"I do not know that my instructions were, in any considerable degree, the means of leading the class to seek religion; this is left to be developed another day. But I felt, when I saw them all hoping in the Saviour, as if I should like to commit them to the care of some other person and take another class, that I might still teach sinners." '—*Ibid.* pp. 177, 178.

The necessarily practical character of these manuals, and the actual knowledge they exhibit of the working of Sunday Schools as they exist, contrast strangely enough with these spiritual experiences, and produce some startling effects. There are deliberate plans and measurements, as it were, for bringing about miracles of grace. When Mr. Todd, through inadvertence and want of taste, in detailing his method in certain teachers' meetings 'abundantly blessed,' gives prominence to the fact that the table was in the shape of a T; when, again, Mrs. Davids gives her testimony to the refreshment of tea as affording excellent opportunities for dropping words in season, they are only examples of the material machinery employed to bring about great ends.

Mr. Todd, in enforcing the advantages of a taste for reading, says:—

'The happiness, the respectability, and I had almost said, the salvation of a child, are near being insured, when once he has acquired a decided taste for reading.'—*Ibid.* p. 118.

The superintendent is directed to form *a separate class* of those who are anxious about their souls.

In some sensible remarks in 'The Sunday School,' on the evils of noise in a school-room, we meet with the following picture:—

'An almost awful *stillness* ought to pervade the remaining two (school-rooms); not one allowed to leave his seat, not a voice heard above a whisper, the superintendent's footstep descending so lightly as he passes stealthily from class to class, that his movements are scarcely discernible; while nought arises to disturb the fixedness of attention. We have been in such hallowed scenes, dear to our memory, where amidst 200 children not a sound was heard but the deep-breathed sigh, bursting from the contrite heart, full almost to overflowing. The Spirit of the living God will not take up his abode in a noisy school-room; the Dove of peace will not shed his sacred influences except in silence and in stillness. "Our sufficiency is of God;" our efforts are vain without his blessing, as a central fire in our midst, cheering each class with the warmth it imparts; but conversions are rare indeed where tumult prevails, and they are almost unknown where the letter-box and infant classes are taught in the same room with the Scripture classes.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 158.

Again :—

Let a revival commence in one division, say the second, it will rarely extend to another, say the first; because the prayers, hymns, &c., suited to carry it on in the second, would be unfit to produce it in the first. The teachers, too, feel the power of sympathy. "When the Spirit of God is present, when you wish to act on the whole, to *use* the principle of sympathy, and have the scholars act on each other, it is of vast importance that the boys and girls of similar age and attainment be all in one room, under one head, one influence; and all led to the same place, viz., the cross of Jesus Christ." '—*Ibid.* p. 163.

Again :—

'Some of the male teachers were anxious to try the power of sympathy on behalf of their unconverted boys, who were carefully separated from any contact with the girls, and would have introduced classes of boys into the girls' room, in hopes that they also might learn to feel—to pray. The carrying of this plan into execution was unfortunately prevented; but it was wisely conceived, and showed an acquaintance with human nature, which the instructor of children ought ever most carefully to cultivate.'—*Ibid.* p. 164.

'In a skilfully conducted Sunday School a solitary conversion is seldom met with. The Spirit of God, quick and powerful, forces some truth on a child's mind; the tearful eye, betokening anxiety, excites surprise amongst his class-mates; their attention is aroused, their interest excited; the teacher's heart is touched, his tone is solemn, his appeals searching, and the entire class shortly assumes a graver aspect: the feeling deepens, spreads from class to class, from teacher to teacher, till the whole school is embued with a tender spirit, and the presence of God is felt to be in its midst.'—*Ibid.* p. 26.

In discouraging the habit of some teachers to gossip the minutes away before business begins, a solemn contrast is instituted between two schools, in one of which the strictest order prevailed in all taking their places at once, while, in the other, the teachers lingered for a few minutes in cheerful talk with one another.

'Four long years rolled by. God, not deigning to accept such half-service, withheld the influences of his Spirit; and though, to a mere casual observer, the school where gossiping prevailed might have appeared the better conducted, yet not one single child was converted by its instrumentality.'—*Ibid.* p. 269.

In the midst of all this management there is betrayed an ignorance of children's natures and capacity, absurd if it were not melancholy. On the question of choice of books, Mr. Todd announces a discovery :—

'Great complaint has already been made that the books of the Sabbath School libraries contain too much fiction; that the child glances over the pages merely for the sake of the story, without getting or trying to get the instruction designed to be conveyed. I am fully satisfied, from watching children, that there are some grounds for this complaint, but a little care on the part of parents and teachers will remedy the evil. Any book has too much fiction about it when the instruction is so much covered up that the story only dwells upon the memory.'—*The Sunday School Teacher*, p. 125.

After expatiating on the necessity of amusing children, and giving them as something to look forward to from Sabbath to Sabbath the prospect of a new book, what he first and most cordially recommends, are the works of Doddridge, Baxter, Edwards, and Richmond; and when he wishes to account for a child's liking to hear the same story over and over again, he has no wiser or better suggestion than that it may be *pride*, as there is undoubtedly 'pain in first contemplating a subject of which we are entirely ignorant.'

Mrs. Davids, alike forgetting the Sabbath as a day of rest, the limited powers of attention with which children are endowed, and their bodily restlessness, would keep them all day in the school. It makes the heart ache to read the following demand on their time on the day which should be a happy season of refreshment for mind and body:—

'Other things being equal, the larger number of hours the school is held, the more useful it will be. Those which God has vouchsafed most richly to bless with his life-giving presence, where conversions have been most frequent, and where a high tone of right moral feeling has pervaded the majority, have had the children under control almost the entire of the Sabbath day.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 64.

Any relaxation of this hold is represented as producing fatal results:—

'In most of our churches, both in town and country, the administration of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper is attended with vital injury to the prosperity of the schools. Sometimes they are collected later, or dismissed earlier; sometimes have an entire holiday, or the time is occupied with an address. It matters little what plan is pursued; *irregularity obtains, confusion ensues*, evil habits are engendered, and each month the teacher has to commence his work anew. It is not for us to dictate precise alterations; but of one thing we feel assured, that there is a something essentially wrong, when the performance of one christian obligation entails the neglect of another. Some change it must be right to make, when pious teachers are led for their children's sakes almost to dread the return of the sacramental season, when they hardly know whether to neglect their class or the ordinance, and habitually find at that solemn hour their thoughts distracted, and their attention divided, with deep anxiety about their injured classes.'—*The Sunday School*, pp. 64, 65.

Amidst all these questions arises the natural difficulty as to the spiritual condition of the teacher who is to bring about such results. A good deal of space is given to the point how far unconverted teachers are admissible, on which there exists considerable difference of opinion; though here again we are never let into the test—whether it be through the confession of the applicant, or the practised judgment of the superintendent—by which the condition of the candidate's soul is so accurately arrived at. Mr. Todd is against their employment, which is certainly reasonable, considering the work assigned to them. He reasons, 'A teacher is now and then converted, but how

'many children may have passed under his care unwarned and 'unbelieving into eternity;' but his fellow-countryman, Mr. Packard, has certain practical experiences which make him unwilling to lose an able instructor, and he boldly decides:—

'A good general rule on this subject may be this. That a profession of religion is desirable in every religious teacher; but when *an intelligent well-informed person of unexceptionable character and conduct pledges himself to discharge the duties of a teacher*, there is no sufficient reason for declining his services on the ground that he is not a professor; and on the other hand, if a professor of religion proposes himself as a teacher, and there is reason to apprehend that he would prove deficient in some of the essential qualifications or duties of the office, his services should be declined, notwithstanding he sustains a visible and perhaps real relation to the people of God.'—*The Sunday School Teacher's Hand-book*, p. 14.

And here the precision of information attainable on these subjects comes out in one of those exact calculations for which this whole class of writers is distinguished:—

'The history of Sunday Schools, however, furnishes conclusive evidence that the labours of those who are not thus qualified are acceptable to God, and are not only crowned with success, but rewarded a thousand-fold. It may be stated as a general truth, that while the proportion of teachers to children is as one to six, the proportion of teachers converted during their connexion with the Sunday School to that of scholars, is as five to six.'—*Ibid.* p. 14.

Mrs. Davids follows on the same side with the English estimates:—

'Packard states, that the proportion of teachers converted, during their connexion with Sunday schools, to that of scholars, is as five to six. We should be disposed to rate it even higher. Scarcely any, on first entering a school, are decided Christians; but very few can teach five years, and its close find them unconverted still. One school reports that, out of twenty-five teachers, only one was a decided Christian, when they first engaged in the work; and that, in four years, there only remained *one*, out of the whole twenty-five, who had not made a profession of religion.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 85.

And she treats the question as so absolutely within the compass of human investigation, that '*any* published Sunday School report furnishes illustration of the truth of her assertions.' Elsewhere Mr. Packard writes in support of the less exclusive method:—

'In a school within our knowledge, which was established in 1829, fourteen teachers have laboured, only three of whom were professors of religion at the commencement. Of these, all but one are now professors. Of two hundred children connected with the same school during the same time, one hundred and thirty-three (or all but sixty-seven) profess to have become converted to the faith of the Gospel.'—*The Sunday School Teacher's Hand-book*, p. 129.

Now, monstrous and irreverent—we might say profane—as all this sounds to our ears, there is a vein of truth in it all. Only view teachers as instructors, not preachers, and substitute

the idea of edification for conversion, adopting the less ambitious language which will naturally follow on a lowering of pretension, and the whole are rational subjects for discussion. There is a vast deal of practical, useful experience in all these books, but being made to bear on a false theory, it only gives a low and material tone to the investigation, and throws an air of ridicule over it to all unaccustomed to the solemn frivolity induced by treating high and spiritual subjects in a narrow conventional spirit. The simplest truths become absurd under this handling. What must be the habitual attitude of thought, for example, what the declension of taste, of the mind which can enforce the advantage of early piety after this fashion?—

'Perhaps it is not speaking beyond bounds to say, that a child of ordinary capacity, and destitute of property, but converted to God in childhood, is frequently worth more to the church than ten wealthy men converted at the noon of life.'—*The Sunday School Teacher*, p. 47.

or clench an argument by the following illustration?—

'You may not be able to train up an Apostle: but you may prevent one from becoming a Judas. Had Mahomet, when a child, been placed under the care of a faithful Sabbath-school teacher, who can believe he would ever have been what he did become?'—*Ibid.* p. 109.

And all this to force on young, ignorant, unprepared minds a sense of responsibility, to make them do their best by inspiring a notion of the magnitude of their work. Under this perpetual course of inflation, everything becomes absorbed in the one idea. The Sabbath School is the great regenerator;—every other means of grace recedes from view; this fills the whole range of vision; it is to occupy the whole of every day, the whole of every life. 'The teacher is never to see the end of his work; home is to give way to it; church is to give way to it. All his thoughts, all his reading, all his prayers, are to centre in it. All his time—week-day and Sunday—is to be devoted to it. Not only his scholars are to be on his conscience, but all their parents and families, and even the *neighbours* of all in this relation. To all of these he is to be paying perpetual pastoral visits, and to hold their conversion—in virtue of his office—as his especial charge. And as with teachers so with scholars, whoever is not the one is to be the other, for the whole of his natural life. Babes are to be taken from their mother's knee to be converted by the Sunday-school teacher, and, according to Mr. Todd, it is nothing but pride which induces the scholar ever to desert his tuition. He describes villages in New England (as seems also to be the case in Wales) where the whole congregation of 600 go to school. 'I have seen,' he says, 'a class of old ladies, probably all over fifty years of age, 'who sat down to the recitation of the lesson with as much

'interest as any class of children could.' And he exclaims with enthusiasm, 'These are the most interesting schools I have ever seen.'

Regarding Sunday Schools under this monopolising aspect, as taking to themselves all the work and all the glory, it is no wonder that there is evident a lurking jealousy between Sunday Schools and the ministry. Great pains are very properly taken to remove this, while scarcely admitting the fact, but we do not see how it can be obviated. The pastor is earnestly enjoined to instruct the teachers and to visit the schools; the teachers are exhorted to defer to him. But it is clear the system is too strong for this order of things really to prevail—for due recognition of the pastor's supremacy. Mr. Todd has indeed laboured, in his own person, with what he considers complete success; but he writes, 'I have known teachers to shut out the minister from all their meetings;' and again:—

'It is easy for the teachers to ruin the influence of the pastor upon the Sabbath school; and I am sorry to say that I know of a few instances in which they have effectually done this. The pastor is shut out, as if the school were altogether in other hands, and as if there were danger of his usurping power, were it possible. By a refined but sure process, he is cut off from all sympathy with the school. When he goes in, he is treated like a stranger, and the consequence is, he does not often go there. Just the reverse of this should be the course pursued. This school is his flock, and the teachers are his helpers in instructing and feeding that flock. You should, therefore, be very careful not to destroy or weaken the sympathy between your pastor and the school. It need not be done, and it never will be done unless by design.'—*The Sunday School Teacher*, p. 131.

Mrs. Davids knows many schools where 'it is the constant 'habit for parties to teach for months without being introduced 'to the pastor;' and elsewhere she laments that in the best works on Sunday-schools so little is said on this subject:—

'It seems as if the subject were a forbidden one, and as if the ministry and the Sabbath school had assumed an almost hostile position with regard to one another. A few short sentences, and those in a half fault-finding or extenuating tone, with nothing definite or distinct, is all that the most eminent Sunday-school writers have given us upon the subject.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 35.

In another place she strongly enjoins all ministers to send their children to the Sabbath School as scholars, as the only means of removing the universal reproach of their children being unconverted:—

'It is, we fear, a fact, that the children of the ministry rarely seek and find the God of their fathers in early life. Take the families of any hundred ministers, and of any hundred truly pious laymen, the exception in the former case, shall be of those who love the Lord; the exception in the latter, of those who have gone astray from the right way.'—*Ibid.* p. 46.

They are plainly told that preaching is their work, that they

have not time to attend to their children, that others must do it for them, and that to send them as teachers only makes matters worse, and nourishes their pride:—

'In no case should a minister's family be permitted to teach, unless they are decidedly pious. Pastors, with unconverted or inconsistent children, should keep them in the back-ground, and restrain them at least from doing harm. They will not be converted in the school, for the superintendent is not so likely to do them good as to offend them; and while they will get, at most, but little good, they will do a great deal of positive injury.'—*Ibid.* pp. 51, 52.

On the other hand, ministers have their grudge that in their own sphere they are not attended to, as where Mr. Todd has known

'One superintendent who as regularly sleeps during the sermon as the sermon is preached. I doubt whether he has heard a sermon for years. And yet, when he comes to take the head of the school, he feels that every word which he says must be attended to, and would feel that a scholar ought almost to be sent from school who should sleep during one of his exhortations.'—*The Sunday School Teacher*, p. 76.

The relation of pastors with the Sunday school must really depend on the view taken of the work to be done there. If it is, as Mr. Packard says, ministerial, only differing from the minister's office in some externals, when he writes,

'The office of a Sunday-school teacher is a holy office. It is not constituted or entered upon with those external rites and ceremonies which ordinarily give such a character to an office: but nothing can be more solemn than its relations and duties, and nothing higher or more sacred than the interests it involves.'—*Sunday School Teacher's Hand-book*, p. 155.

And again, where the teacher in soliloquy thus addresses himself:—

'I am a teacher of the religion of Jesus Christ. Though not called to the responsibilities of a minister of the gospel in the popular use of that phrase, I profess to be acting under the authority of the great Teacher sent from God. I must be regarded, therefore, as a messenger from Christ to the members of my class, as though God did beseech them by me; and I am even supposed to stand in Christ's place, and to plead with them to be reconciled to God.'—*Ibid.* p. 125.

If this is the view he is to take of his office, it is scarcely reasonable to expect him to defer to the authority of another in no true sense his superior, either in work or commission. He is placed in too responsible a posture, his work is too distinct, and also too complete, too dependent on his own individual exertions, for him to yield to other guidance. The moment a difference of opinion arises he must assert his own, or be faithless to the work given to him especially to do. The youth who imbibes these impressions of his duties may be respectful to his pastor, as one minister is to another, but he will never feel *under* him, or in any subordinate or dependent relation.

The whole strain of argument, as regards both himself and his scholars, is against it, and tends to self-reliance. Even the manner he is called upon to assume is to be clerical; and from the same cause that makes a weighty deportment natural to the minister, the feeling that it is expected of him from his profession. He is called upon to reflect what will be his pupils' thoughts if they see him light-hearted. 'Would he,' each one is made to ask, 'close his book, and dismiss me, Sabbath after 'Sabbath, with so light a heart, if he thought I were really 'leaving the school as the enemy of God, and liable every 'moment to perish irrecoverably in my sins?' He is reminded that only on the ground of saving souls, *i. e.* on the work being ministerial in its nature, is he justified in devoting the day of rest to the task, and under this stimulus he is not to stop short of complete prostration:—

'Teachers, like ministers, give up their day of rest, in order to benefit the souls of others; and unless God has endued you with uncommon physical energy, a day faithfully spent in the Sabbath school must close with utter prostration of strength, and lassitude both of mind and body.'—*The Sunday School*, p. 266.

And yet, after all this, the more practical portions of these works warn the teacher to be cheerful in manner, and *not* sepulchral in tone. After themselves indulging in a phraseology of the most ponderous solemnity, and not seldom inventing words where the English language did not furnish them weighty enough for the occasion—after enjoining a 'subduedness of tone,' an 'engagedness in the great work,' enforcing the truth in its 'totality,' the gospel in its 'entirety;' calling preparation *furniture*, school meetings *exercises*, lessons *engagements*, and so forth, with allusions to 'prayerless teachers,' 'impenitent adults,' scenes of a 'felt solemnity,' and the like, the young people for whom these books are written are told to be natural in manner, to beware of prosiness, as in the following emphatic passage:—

'A ready, neat, and bold style of teaching, is what you should aim to acquire, in opposition to those wordy, parenthetical, and prosy modes of expression into which so many real Christians fall. This most wearisome habit is far too common, and should be studiously avoided, because it is completely at variance with the dictates of sound sense, and directly opposed to the example of that book which Christians daily read, but from the forcible language and style of which some of them so grievously and constantly depart. And it would be well if no such habits could be found among Sunday-school teachers: but the truth must be confessed, though it be spoken with feelings of deep humiliation; unfortunately, the assertion is too true, that, from the inappropriate language and the slovenly style of delivery adopted by some professedly religious instructors, it may be fairly inferred, that they consider the magnificence of their subject will amply make up for every deficiency, and completely atone for all the faults which they so carelessly and continually commit.'—*The Teacher's Companion*, p. 55.

Writers who can enjoin simplicity in sentences like these forbid a sepulchral tone! How can a poor boy, who acquiesces in what he reads, help being sepulchral? The modulations of his voice are probably the only 'furniture' in his power to produce the immediate impression expected; and moreover, we believe there is a natural connexion between an exaggerated sense of responsibility, a conceited estimate of personal influence, and a whining, sighing, groaning religion. People speak under the notion that every word of theirs has a mission; that it has to go home to another heart and conscience, and the voice is so attuned as to convey a sense of difference between words spoken with an *end* in view, on which eternal destinies hang; and words that have no aim beyond the present homely use.

We have dwelt longer than perhaps some of our readers will think the subject calls for on views so opposed to our own, as to what should be the principle of Christian education and the order of training Christ's little ones. But it is well to know what is the tone of the literature of this subject. To us, then, their whole treatment of it is a perversion of the meaning of words. A school is a simple idea. These writers reverse its obvious meaning while using it, and really mean all the while a conventicle. A Christian school should be for the *edification* of the scholars in the faith; these are avowedly *solely* for conversion into it. The representative of English dissenters is unwilling that children should ever be recognised as 'Christians,' lest they should be made conceited by the title, which is their birthright. In like manner their teacher is properly a preacher. Nothing that he says or does is allowed to have a simply scholastic bearing, but all aims at something beyond and beside the apparent purpose. Perhaps this discrepancy between the apparent and real design may account, in some measure, for the undoubted failure of which now and then we meet with a faint admission, 'the serious lack of suitable agency for carrying out this heaven-born system.' If they invite people to do one thing and set them to do another, the chances are that neither the one nor the other will be well done; if their loftier pretensions fail, the more modest and reasonable are not therefore secured. The mind is so far like the eye that it cannot dwell on foreground and distance at the same time. The teacher has one particular, perhaps minute, thing to enforce; he will not succeed in impressing it if he is mainly occupied in the vast general question of the state of the learner's soul. To be sure, Mr. Packard says, to the contrary of this, that in giving a lesson on Luke i. 20, on Zacharias's office, and the course of Abia, the teacher in his exhortation may be the means of *converting* a scholar; but we think if this is his aim in the lesson

he will leave the scriptural knowledge of his class very much where he finds it, and that it can signify very little to him or them what part of Scripture he takes for his text. In like manner, if he is taught to consider that, next to preaching, his duty is to *pray* for his scholars, that every other requisite comes far behind these two, the plain work of teacher is made still further to recede from view, and another office is placed before the mind. For we observe a purely sacerdotal character is given to this service. He is not taught to pray that he may teach well, and that his scholars may profit by his instructions, which would be regarded as a very derogatory limitation. The prayer has very little relation to his professed work with the scholar. He pleads for them in a higher capacity, with which teaching and learning has no necessary connexion whatever: and thus even the great Christian duty and privilege of prayer, with which all our labours should begin, continue, and end, is made to obscure the simple lowly work which Providence really puts before him.

We shall not be misunderstood when we venture to offer our own opinion in opposition to these lofty, to us extravagant, views, that, at least with inexperienced youth, the lower they can rate the worth of their own performances, the soberer their expectations, the humbler their estimate even in prayer of their own influence, the better it will be for themselves and for the task they undertake. That class will be best attended to and best served where the teacher of eighteen or twenty sits down with the simple view of teaching the lesson for the day, its meaning and object, whose mind is so far circumscribed by the present, that his most conscious object is to make his children good and thoughtful while under his charge, to bring them that one step safely on the right way, to awaken their interest, to enlarge their intelligence, to ground and confirm them in the faith they have been taught, through the means of the appointed chapter, and collect, and catechism, and hymn, influenced by the constant sense of being himself under instruction, of only imparting what he has derived,—seeking to fit them, in fact, to join in the services of the Church, and to understand and profit by what they will hear there from one set over them both: without one distinct idea of a solitary responsibility; of a work to be performed by himself and no other on the souls of his young charge. Such an one, while he knows himself to be a little higher in knowledge than his pupils, never dreams of assuming that the distance of life and death exists between them, but rather believes that in one and all a heavenly spark has been breathed, which, by the divine blessing which he seeks, may be fanned into a flame. Not

that, in advocating this humbler tone of conduct and expectation, we have any wish to shun the use of the word conversion, which can never be without a personal application to the youngest or the most advanced Christian. Every heart which feels its sinfulness must cry for itself as for others, 'Convert us, and we shall be converted.' Who can feel himself beyond the reach of promises accorded to S. Peter, when already called by his Lord? We need constant renewal, to be regenerated day by day; but in the way employed in these books, as a change from heathenism to Christianity, as a change once for all from a state of wrath to a state of grace, from alienation from God to favour with Him, as an instantaneous effect to be aimed at in *every* instance, and which in every instance has yet to be achieved, its use establishes a fundamental difference with all education on sound principles.

We know that in many quarters there is a prejudice against the institution of Sunday Schools, which probably a perusal of the theoretical parts of these books would greatly increase. It is certain that if such views could be carried out, there would be an entire subversion of existing order. Authority would change hands, and youth be set above age. This is only according to American practice in other things. We recognise a fitness there in the new system; it is simply adapting the rules which sway secular society to popular religion. Age and ancient authority have long lost their hold on those hot impatient spirits. It is only following precedent that youth which takes absolutely its own way, and follows its own bent in all social matters, should assert its claim to self-government in the affairs of the soul, and discard as obsolete all antique laws of order and subordination. But in England, in spite of a tendency to adopt the same language, there are influences and prejudices at work even in those bodies most likely in principle to fall in with such ideas, which must prevent their gaining any effectual footing, or in any event must greatly modify them. We cannot but believe that even amongst Dissenters it is mostly mere talk, a phraseology which affects little the actual working of mind with mind. Our concern, however, is not with them, nor does our experience furnish us with any exact knowledge. We are left to conjecture and probabilities, which modify our fears lest these institutions should be working any unfavourable change in the national character.

For ourselves, we can only regard the Sunday School as an absolute necessity which it is vain to quarrel with; to us it is one of those institutions which we can no more dispense with than we could with education altogether. However subject to abuse or ill influence, the present state of our population, the

present condition of the whole country, agricultural, and *especially* manufacturing, requires it. Who can conceive what England would be at this time, either if Sunday Schools had never been established, or were now discontinued altogether? Can any person seriously imagine that, if they had not been called into being, the poor would, as a class, have systematically instructed their children at home in the truths of religion; that fathers and mothers in the class of mechanics would, amidst all the difficulties of their position, have taught their children some hours of every Sunday? Do rich people, with every advantage, do this generally? They, to be sure, have all the week to teach in if they are so minded, so that it may not be necessary; but is a man better qualified whose time all the week is engaged, not in teaching, but earning bread for his children in mechanical labour, for the hard work of steady tuition on the Sunday? What do people suppose would be the state of the children of our vast town population, employed all the week in mills and manufactories, if no public effort were made for their education on Sunday? It may, of course, be answered: 'What did they do before Sunday Schools were thought of?' We believe they did very badly, but if they were ignorant, so were all about them; the higher classes were used both to the fact and to the necessity of the poor being sunk in ignorance, from which only here and there one superior spirit could extricate itself. Would educated Christian men now endure to return to that state of things? But it would not be to the same state, but to one tenfold worse, if our vastly increased youthful population were now turned adrift, as they certainly would be, into the streets, to follow their own devices; for it is sheer utopianism to suppose that, as a body, the hard-worked fathers and mothers of large families of the poorer class should spend their Sundays with their children within doors at stated tasks till the hour for public worship arrives. Their houses are not adapted for it, the street-door stands too temptingly open; and, besides, the Sunday dinner must be considered, which would more than divide the mother's attention. The family saunter in the fields in summer, the fireside circle on winter evenings are not interfered with, their pleasure is rather enhanced by the Sunday School; but there is the whole day to account for, which should be a day of rest, but which would be the hardest day of the week, if those better qualified to teach, and with more leisure, did not step in to relieve them from the charge for a certain number of hours each Sunday, to the equal benefit, we believe, of parents and children. When we are oppressed by the importunate question—the question that will obtrude itself, however, on every scheme undertaken for the good of others—'What good does it all do?'

when we are disposed to think that things could scarcely have been worse had matters been left to take their course, it is well to revert to such authentic accounts as we have of the condition of children when Sunday Schools were set on foot, at least in some parts of England, and to inquire what were the circumstances which induced thoughtful people to devise a plan of public Sunday-education. We use such authorities as we have at hand, who at least spoke and wrote from experience of what they saw. We first quote Fletcher, Vicar of Madeley, the saint of Methodism, who speaks soberly enough on this subject. Somewhere between 1780 and 1790 he convened his parishioners, and urged upon them to build a Sunday School with the following arguments:—

'He prefaced his proposal on this occasion by observing, that our national depravity principally turned on these two hinges, the profanation of the Lord's day, and the neglect of the education of children; and that till some way was found out of stopping up these two great inlets of wickedness, we must expect to see our workhouses filled with aged parents deserted by their prodigal children, with wives forsaken by their faithless husbands, and with the wretched offspring of lewd women and drunken men; nay, that we must expect to see our gaols largely stocked, to the perpetual reproach of our nation, with unhappy wretches ready to fall a sacrifice to the laws of their country. He then held out, as the most probable remedy for these growing evils, the formation of Sunday Schools, which, by keeping children from corrupting one another, by promoting their attendance on divine worship, and by implanting the first principles of useful knowledge in their minds, bid fair for a public reformation of manners, and for nipping in the bud the ignorance and impiety which are everywhere so common among the lower classes of society. His proposal met with the general approbation and support of his parishioners, and, in a short time, he was gratified with the sight of a convenient school-room, which was erected in one of the most populous parts of his parish.'—*Life of Fletcher, of Madeley, in Shropshire*, p. 142.

Hannah More, who was one of the main instruments in instituting Sunday Schools in country parishes, mentions, as one of her great inducements, keeping her scholars out of gaol. In writing to Wilberforce we find:—

'*Oct.* 1789.—On Sunday I was enabled to open the School. It was an affecting sight. Several of the grown-up youths had been tried at the last assizes; three were the children of a person lately condemned to be hanged;—many thieves! all ignorant, profane, and vicious beyond belief! Of this banditti we have enlisted 170, and when the clergyman, a hard man and also a magistrate, saw these creatures kneeling round us, whom he had seldom seen but to commit, or punish in some way, he burst into tears. I can do them little good, I fear; but the grace of God can do all.' —*Life of H. More*, vol. ii. p. 220.

Next we come upon her description of 'Shaw's parish:'—

'The great man of the place, illiterate but very sensible, is a shrewd, speculative atheist. The next, a farmer of 1,000*l.* a year, let us know that we should not come there to make his ploughmen wiser men than himself; he did not want saints, but workmen. His wife, who, though she cannot

read, seems to understand the doctrine of philosophical necessity, said, "The lower orders were *fated* to be poor, and ignorant, and wicked, and that as wise as *we* were we could not alter what was decreed." To this the husband subjoined, "Very true; besides, he liked the parish very well as it was; if the young men *did* come and gamble before his house of a Sunday evening, when they might as well do it farther off, it was only for him to go out and curse and swear at them, and they went away, and what could one desire more?" '—*Ibid.* p. 313.

Of another place she writes:—

'This place has helped to people the county gaol and Botany Bay beyond any I know of. They seemed to have reached a sort of crisis of iniquity. Of near two hundred children, many of them grown up, hardly one had ever seen the inside of a church since they were christened. I cannot tell you the avidity with which the Scriptures were received by numbers of these poor creatures.'—*Ibid.*

Her labours were viewed by the farmers of that day in a spirit according to these different tempers. Some had read about Sunday Schools in the Bristol papers, and believed they might be very good things for keeping the children from robbing their orchards. Others, on the contrary, objected to all innovation, and said the country had never prospered since religion had been brought into it by the abbots of Glastonbury. The clergy generally welcomed them, and found their congregations increase, which had, previously, been as low as eight in the morning, and twenty in the afternoon. Some of the mothers mistrusted their designs, and suspected them of trying to get their children into their power, with a view, at the end of seven years, of selling them into slavery. In one tour of inspection through a village, they found but one Bible, and that propped a flower-pot. But it is fair to state that, in her locality, every evil was exaggerated by the non-residence of the clergy, so that no doubt it represents the extreme of degradation to which the poor had fallen when these efforts were made to raise their temporal and spiritual condition. Where the clergy catechized the children of their flock, the state of things must have been different; but as far as we have opportunity of judging, the new plan was generally welcomed by the clergy. At any rate, we think it is clear that the new system interfered with nothing, upset nothing; that there was no existing model in successful operation which it would have been wise to take as an example. The general advance in education, in which the poor had a right to share, indeed indicated the need of some new agency, the want of which had not been felt in earlier times. We suspect that everywhere the evil she next alludes to more or less prevailed:—

'One great benefit which I have found result from our project, is the removal of that great gulf which has divided the rich and poor in these country parishes, by making them meet together, whereas before they hardly thought they were children of one common Father.'—*Ibid.*

And this still continues to be one of the great benefits, we will say *blessings*, conferred upon the nation by Sunday Schools. This leading feature of the system grew out of the necessity of the case. At first it was by no means an essential part of Sunday Schools that the teaching should be gratuitous, nor is it now; but as they became common it would be felt, on the one hand, much too great a strain on the master or mistress of the week-day school, especially where the attendance was large, to confine them to the same routine of labour on the Sunday; and, on the other, next to impossible to raise the needful funds for separate hired assistance on that day. Hence gratuitous help, when once thought of, must be eagerly caught at, and must inevitably become the rule. And in spite of all accidental evils, of all difficulties perhaps inseparable from the plan, we must think it a most happy necessity. The blending not only of rich and poor in regular friendly intercourse, but of every intermediate grade between; the general fusion which takes place every Sunday of the well-intentioned of all ranks; the knowledge of the condition and habits of the poor which is thus spread; the sympathy for their trials which must be thus awakened; the effort to equalise the difference of fortune which is the teacher's especial work, by imparting that superior knowledge which better education has given him to others not favoured with his advantages; the kindly feeling thus generated in the poorer classes to those above—perhaps only a little above—them, not from a sense of pecuniary obligation, which, by itself, does not bring people together, but for that service which can wound no man's independence, namely, care and interest and the highest benefits conferred, naturally, simply, and in the common order of events, on his children; are facts which cannot be denied or disregarded.

Whether Sunday Schools have succeeded or not in their main design, this collateral benefit of creating good feeling between different classes has been gained. More than one great crisis has passed over the world, and been weathered in England, which can bear testimony to it. As for great good—the *greatest*—when erring mortals lay plans to accomplish this on a large scale, we do not see but they must expect failure; not complete failure, but failure in regard to the greatness of the design. Even inspired and divine agency, in the course of near two thousand years, has not been permitted to accomplish the conversion of the world: have we a right to be disappointed because Sunday Schools in eighty years have not altered the whole face of society, have not counteracted all evil influences, have not made a religious and church-going population? That they have not done this; that they have hardly, or barely, advanced one step towards it, must be sorrowfully

admitted; but, to those who therefore quarrel altogether with the system, we would still maintain that they have done good,—that religious principle, as well as religious knowledge, is now in a far less depressed state than it would have been, as far as we can judge, without them. Any change of habit in great classes is gradual; a neglected population, that has been broken of going to church, on whom public opinion on this point ceases to act, may take generations to be restored to the habit,—to that unquestioning submission to church, or, at any rate, meeting-house-going, as a rule—making it as much a matter of course when the time comes as our meals—which governs the respectable middle-classes. All agree that, when the call of pain, distress and suffering comes in later life, those minds are more impressible that have received instruction in youth than such as have been left to middle age in dense ignorance. Our devoted army chaplains found something to work upon, a foundation of knowledge and dormant faith in one case, which furnished at least a starting point for their teaching. The sacred language was not in such cases a dead one. And for our home youth, surely their state is better, less savage, than if all their Sundays from childhood had been spent in following their own devices, even though, when they become their own masters, there is the intolerable regret of seeing the vast majority of them cast aside their teaching and give themselves up to the diversions within their reach, without a thought beyond. Of course, to lookers-on it is easy to argue that, if such is the result, the fault must lie either in the system or those who work it. The system is a human system, and the teachers are full of human imperfection—so far the cavillers have the best side in the argument; but till the magnitude of the evils they have to fight against are understood, till the bad influences of the week are weighed with the good influences of the Sunday, or, rather, those few hours of the Sunday which supply their main opportunity, the question cannot fairly be considered, and the real good done is certain to be underrated. This is so far felt to be true, that it is the lookers-on who are discouraged; those actively engaged in the work of Sunday Schools have always something to *call* success to cheer them. Some of our authorities endeavour to prove by statistics the value of these institutions. We never attach much importance to such statements, and these before us are some dozen years old, yet we will quote them for as much as they are worth, believing ourselves that the majority of our criminals have been utterly neglected by their parents, and allowed to grow up in ignorance:—

'In a work recently published, entitled "England's Exiles," written by a pious surgeon of the royal navy, it is stated, that, out of 900 convicts exiled from their native land, for breaking its laws, only seven had been

admitted into a Sabbath school; probably not one of the seven had attended it regularly.

'During five voyages to the penal colonies, A. Browning, R.N., states that he has conducted 1,065 prisoners, of whom only fourteen had been in a Sunday school.

'The Rev. John Clay, Chaplain to the House of Correction at Preston, in Lancashire, states that, out of 1,129 persons committed to that prison, only one was familiar with the Holy Scriptures, and conversant with the first principles of religion, as any child in the Bible class of a well-conducted Sunday school would be; and that not above twenty of the whole 1,129 had been in the habit of attending any place of public worship.

'Again: The Rev. David Ruell, Chaplain of the New Prison, Clerkenwell, states that upwards of 100,000 persons have passed under his care, the great majority of whom regretted that they had been brought up in utter disregard of the Lord's day; and affirmed, that neglecting the Sabbath in youth had led to grosser crimes in after years. We need not ask how many of these 100,000 had been trained from infancy in a Sunday school.'—*The Sunday School,* pp. 10, 11.

Not, of course, that we follow this author in her conclusion. It is not because these unfortunates had not been to a Sunday School in their childhood, but because they had bad parents who set them a bad example or exercised no discipline over them, that they grew up depraved; but in *fact* the two hang upon one another; respectable parents as a rule (unless under peculiar circumstances) send their children to the Sunday School. It is commonly the most careless who do not keep their children at home, but allow them to roam abroad in pernicious liberty on that day.

Amongst the advantages of a voluntary gratuitous system of Sunday teaching, is the less austere and rigid system of instruction involved. Many persons, especially in theory, regret that the happy day of rest should be embittered by confinement and lesson learning. If we did not sincerely believe that Sunday Schools greatly contribute to the happiness of our youthful population, we should at least hesitate to advocate them. For a happy Sunday is the Christian's birthright. If the schoolboy has to go on Sunday to the room which has been the scene of every-day restraint, and to the master who has administered tasks and chastisement throughout the week, we pity him; there is no idea of holiday attached to the day; but repairing, as he generally does, to another locality, to be under a milder rule and new companions; with the reasonable anticipation that he will hear something to interest him, that his teacher will be glad to see him, and lay himself out to make instruction easy and pleasant; when he finds a total change from week-day associations, fresh and cheerful faces around him, and something new to observe; then the going, the coming, the agreeable stir, the comparatively short sitting, the variety of occupation, the

singing, will all contribute to the pleasure of the day. Indeed, where Sunday School is a bugbear, as it is to some unruly spirits, we think it will be found generally that the service at church, with the necessary steadiness and quiet, to which school is the introduction, is the real difficulty. Children and young people are never the happier for being aimless, for having no one to lead them. No one can desire for them an idle day; no person acquainted with boys can expect them to devote themselves for long together to serious or religious study. They must have some one to help them, and this is the *teacher's* office. It should only be in very extreme cases that any severity of punishment should be inflicted on the Sunday-school scholar,—that anything should be done to him which should deprive him and others of the holiday, almost voluntary, idea of the scene. Indeed in our large towns it has almost compulsorily this character; for if a boy does not like one school he can generally move to another. His parents would rarely interfere with positive authority. Attachment to his teacher, or to some favourite companion, is generally the only potent tie,—and that it is so, and that our schools are yet so well filled, is, we think, an answer to the charge of cruel confinement on the day of rest.

To take a lower view, for which we ought perhaps to apologise,—the act of donning his best clothes the first thing in the morning and making a respectable appearance among his fellows, is to most boys a real pleasure. This is incompatible with his roving propensities, if he has them, and may go far to counteract them. We are convinced that the feeling of looking his best, contributes greatly to that cheerful bright look which belongs as such to the Sunday-school scholar, and separates him from the skulking shabby truant from school and church, who makes off to some favourite forbidden haunt with averted eye and dogged look. And if this is so with boys, who have something to overcome, who have a love of adventure and no antipathy to dirt, and who are exposed to temptation and ridicule from wild companions,—what an element of pleasure, not necessarily connected with vanity, is the toilet of the Sunday-school girl. We do not know a more cheerful sight, or one more pleasant in its way, than the collecting of a girls' school on a fine Sunday morning,—we would say, especially in the manufacturing districts, where the monotonous yet noisy labour of the week adds a peculiar zest to the serene smiling variety of the Sunday gathering.

The choice of colouring in towns is generally quieter than in the rural districts; the general eye is in better training; there is not often anything particularly flaring or gaudy to offend

either our taste or our principles. We cannot but be impressed by the care, thought, and judgment which must have been at work in many a humble home to turn out such a number of children, trim, clean, and neat, and often with a certain finish, which, though some may shake their heads over, yet as a sign at once of cultivated taste and parental fondness, we would not be hard upon. The children in these districts, after the age of eleven, work hard; they earn their own living,—it is quite fair that their appearance should be creditable. But there is no doubt that the Sunday School often secures them this privilege from the mother, who might be slatternly and indifferent about her child, unless there was some stated constant occasion in which she would be brought into direct comparison with others. Conscious then of tidiness, cleanliness, and propriety, the school gathering is a meeting of friends in a state to enjoy each other's society; a look of sprightliness and alacrity pervades the assembly. Teachers greet and are greeted with a kindly smile. Then follow tasks, well or ill said, as the case may be,—for anything like compulsion is out of the question,—it is a matter that must rest with the conscience of the child, her regard for her teacher's wishes, or her appreciation of the small rewards or privations decreed by the rules of the school. Severity, rigidity of any kind are scarcely practicable, unless in some extreme case of contumacy.

The aspect we are giving to the subject may be considered secular; but there is no doubt that its merely social features are important. The Sunday School has a great influence in directing the channel of youthful feeling, and forming the habits of our population, apart, we may say, from its direct religious working. For instance, we suspect that contact in the Sunday School forms more friendships than mere neighbourhood. The attachment that studious thoughtful children form for their Sunday School is remarkable. It is often the home of their most poetical thoughts; they are comparatively removed while there from vulgar influences; the romance of their nature comes out in it. In hard times it is often a motive to resignation and content. It is something to look forward to at the end of every cheerless week. We have known young women give up the thought of change, and struggle on through a period of short time, and even total want of work, because they would not leave their Sunday School. The friendships formed, fed, and matured there amongst the girls, always most amenable to such influences, really often supply the place of what is called a tenderer passion; and if touched with a tinge of ridicule to lookers-on, may yet prove of most substantial service in preserving young women at the most trying

age from a vulgar desire for admiration. The fact of grown-up scholars regularly attending a well-ordered school, may be taken to mean that they have no intention or wish to settle early—that they do not want 'followers.' In fact, as Sunday is the only day at liberty for cultivating attachments, they really cut themselves off from such affairs; their engagements at school and the services at church leave them very little time; and as their attendance at school is absolutely voluntary, it would cease naturally so soon as a more absorbing interest found it inconvenient. But apart from these closer ties arising from some real or fancied congeniality, and because a special friend is felt a sort of necessity with some minds: in the drudgery of married life how often does the woman look back to her Sunday-school, her teacher, and her companions in class as the bright happy part of her life. Of course, in the retrospect, the religious atmosphere gives a certain sanctity to the time.

'What peaceful hours I once enjoy'd,
How sweet their memory still!'—

But we are forced to detach and separate the two ideas, for if the religious teaching had indeed sunk deep she would not have fallen into the neglect of ordinances we perhaps now find her in. Those who pass from childhood to youth in the same school, never forget the time; rather those Sundays, those weekly meetings, schoolfellows, teachers, superintendent, pastor, are engraven on the heart and memory, are looked back upon after years of separation,—call the emigrant's thoughts homeward with a pang, —are talked of on death-beds. The opportunities for thought, for peaceful companionship, or warm friendship, the occasional moments of confidence with the teacher, whose station, or age, or sympathising manner, or gift in imparting religious instruction, or all combined, excite feelings of affectionate reverence; the delightful sensation—to intelligent minds cut off from intellectual occupation in their mechanical labour and too often at home—of acquiring knowledge, the high tone of subject, all combine to excite strong feelings in the higher order of minds; nor are lower incentives wanting where these have no power; the stolen gossip, the mutual scrutiny, the movement; the sights, sounds, novelties, inseparable from numbers, all make up an agreeable change to most children, either from their week-day work, or even from their home, whatever its pleasures, with the cuffing, scolding, nursing of babies, and general disorder, which are not often separated from a large family confined in a small space.

The scene altogether fits in so exactly with the existing state of things, with the wants of a population brought together, in a manner created, by the great mercantile spirit of our age,

that as we look on we acquiesce in it as in any fact of nature, though not without experience of its incidental drawbacks. The Sunday School must be, while things are as they now stand; the question with each one concerned must be how to make the best of it, and to make it fulfil its legitimate work.

We have hitherto dwelt on the scholars in their peculiar Sunday aspect; we now turn to the other necessity of a school, the teacher, who has to adapt himself to this holiday attitude of mind and feeling, and who is often equally served and benefited by the institution. The main staff of teachers in every Sunday School, especially in the boys' department, are young—youths and young men before they have settled in life, and who have been led more by a desire to be useful than by any especial fitness or unusual clearness and accuracy of knowledge to become such. The clergyman is obliged to accept and to be glad of this aid; and he may do so safely, while he holds his legitimate place and influence. Teaching at a certain period of life is the best mode of learning. People thus become aware of the cloudiness of their apprehension of that sort of knowledge which it is supposed everybody knows, which civility always takes for granted, but which, in spite of the universal assumption, is often held in such a fog of uncertainty, that every member of a large company would tremble to be put through an examination upon it. We are afraid that the general knowledge of Scripture is of this character. It is proper to assume that every person of decent English education is acquainted with his Bible, but what average of these have any distinctness or clearness of historical knowledge; how many dare to come to close quarters on questions of either fact or doctrine which have needed comparison and research. Many a youth who offers himself as a teacher has not, and only by the process of teaching has, learned his deficiency, and set about repairing it; for every honest mind will at least do his best to know accurately what it is his business to teach, and thus he benefits as much as his scholars. He learns, and learns with a purpose; the faculties both of head and heart are stimulated; and if knowledge so recently acquired has not the precision which is necessary in the ordinary schoolmaster, there may be the equivalent of greater freshness and interest; the lesson is not given in so perfunctory a fashion; the Sunday teacher and scholar, though not all students together, are at least a little more on a par. This of course applies only to the senior classes. But this state of things, it is scarcely necessary to say, implies a *head.* These youths are not the persons to feel their scholars a charge in which no one else shares. They must never forget their subordinate capacity; they should be under constant guidance

and direction, and only so far as the clergyman maintains this predominant relation with the teachers, and his active present authority recognised by the whole school, is the Sunday School what it ought to be.

Young people engaged in a good work have the temptation to become conceited, and to lose their simplicity. They should be defended from the danger by being held in due subordination. Where this is wanting, and where due surveillance is not maintained, we know that this evil and other worse ones have often crept in, the school becomes a little society of its own, distinguished by a pert pretentious manner. Under the screen of the school's common interest, the young people of both sexes meet on unrestrained familiar terms, habits of flirtation arise, not as in the gay freedom of ordinary life, but with a certain sanctimonious tinge and flavour, which runs the risk of turning mere youthful folly into hypocrisy. On this ground, and alive to the propensities of youth in this matter of flirtation, prone to break out under all disguises, we cannot enter into the proposals of some of the works before us to teach boys and girls in the same room, though we own that with us the objection to the plan lies much more with teachers than scholars. Not one of these books, in their most practical parts, recognises, even by implication, the danger of bringing young people together in close intercouse in the seasons called amongst them revivals. Mrs. Davids, indeed, enjoins that teacher and scholar shall be always of the same sex, but beyond this the religious excitement seems to be supposed a preservative from all other. With these plans, however, we have no direct concern, nor from our own experience should we feel any warning on the subject necessary; but hints now and then have reached us of another state of things, and we suppose it to be where local circumstances deprive the clergy of their desired influence.

The predominance of youthful teachers has made us dwell on their needs and services first; but there are never wanting, in the fully developed school, teachers of older standing, and the more there are of such, other things being equal, the better organized will the school be. In the girls' department there will generally be found some teachers of mature age: the clergyman's wife, if her home avocations permit, presides either as superintendent or head teacher; and most parishes furnish some maiden ladies able and willing to give their services. Experience shows the great advantage of the persons of best station in the parish working in the Sunday School. Not only is their education better, but rank (we use the word only comparatively) tells, and we think always will

tell, with the poor, and moreover gives a natural weight and authority of manner, which could not be assumed where the position did not seem to justify it, without affectation and assumption,—and this is the third class served by the Sunday School. What a gain to many a single woman is her class of young and often interesting girls, who cling to her, look up to her, send to her when they are ill, rely upon her at once as their friend and superior. What an interest it often adds to her Sunday. What a motive for thoughtful study of God's word. What a tie where other ties may be wanting. The diligent active teacher may always know herself to be useful and important in one sphere, however small her place in the world, however little valued or missed in society. We are certain that to many men of this standing, as well as women, it is an important element of happiness, while their steady deliberate sedateness—examples, as these maturer spirits generally are, of punctuality, order, and propriety—are of infinite advantage to the school, however strongly contrasted with the class of vehement young preachers, male and female, these books wish to organize.

The last feature of the full-grown Sunday School is the Superintendent, whose office figures in very conspicuous colours in the authorities before us; and it is an onerous one, though we do not demand that fluency in praying and preaching which is all essential in them. We have no doubt, in many a school of our own Church this functionary feels his office no whit inferior to the pastorate, and uses it as a sphere in which to expand his natural gifts of prolix delivery. There are feeling allusions to this propensity, and Mr. Packard is satirical and not unamusing in his specimen of extempore prayer as usual with this class. They are so earnestly enjoined to make their addresses short, so feelingly reminded of the limited power of children's attention, that it is clear the habit of overtasking it must extensively prevail. Of course it is an office which persons thus gifted, and without any other means of exercising their powers, will covet. Nor must we quarrel with such exercises in reason. Men of mature age will not work without liberty of action, and it is a great good to bring the boys of a parish under the vigilant eye of a responsible member of the congregation. He can act where the clergyman cannot; and where the two work together, a system of discipline and superintendence can be established hardly possible on any other plan. The Sunday School, again, furnishes a field for many valuable though somewhat eccentric qualities. Persons hindered, by personal or mental peculiarities, from general usefulness, will often do a particular work better than any one else. A know-

ledge of faces, a memory for names, a skill at physiognomy, various instincts of penetration, often belong to persons whose conversation is dull, or who may be devoured by a painful shyness, or who may be voted odd in any of the innumerable manifestations of the quality. Put him in his right place in the Sunday School, and there is at once the round man in the round hole. He rises at once in the general respect: he ceases to be eccentric. Only see a good Christian carrying out a useful work in his own characteristic way, and his very oddities win him affection; for teachers and even scholars dearly love to have a character to study and peculiarities to humour. Such persons may establish and carry out rules which the higher powers would be afraid to enforce; their school is known to be their sphere, their hobby, and the narrow limits of their rule seem to give them a right to dominion there.

We are conscious that our strain would seem, in the eyes of all the authors before us, to fall absolutely short of the importance of the subject; but in fact, by the act of placing the teacher under the control of the clergyman—not on a rival eminence—we seem to have transferred to pastoral shoulders the weighty question of the mode of religious teaching, the doctrines to be inculcated, the discipline to be enforced. Our quarrel with these books is, that they virtually make each teacher independent. We would have every Sunday School in our communion, cheerfully and on principle, under the direction of one head—the minister of the parish. We started by saying that Dissenters wished to make their schools *churches;* our ideal would, on the contrary, be *home.* The parents commit their children to them to do their work:—what would be their work if they had space and leisure and knowledge for it; not to have the pastor's ministerial office superseded. And by this different and humbler notion of his task we would wish to modify the teacher's behaviour and deportment; thinking that he will not the less labour earnestly for the child's eternal good, though he does not expect each word of his to save a soul; and believing that his efforts are most likely to be successful, carried on in a natural modest spirit, doing what he can, but not relying on it; feeling himself only one of many influences for good which the Church brings to bear on her children. Such a sense of his position towards the scholar will naturally sway his whole demeanour. The family and national character of his office will save him at least from the danger of being over-solemn; from the 'sepulchral' tone; for he thinks of his scholar in every one of his relations to himself, as fellow-citizen as well as fellow-Christian; whose whole condition, moral and social, as well as religious, he would gladly cheer and improve. To do

justice to all parties, this is never really forgotten; and the child's temporal happiness is, we believe, a very general aim, as far as such machinery can produce it.

Ever since Sunday Schools were established the annual festival, in recognition of this principle, has been an essential part of their machinery: many of our readers can scarcely suppose how large a space this *fête* occupies in the scholar's mind; especially in districts where the child's daily lot is monotonous labour. And because it is a point of absorbing interest to the children, it is really an important occasion of influence and power. That agency which secures to every poor child of the land one happy day in the year, distinctively marked from every other holiday, and wherein his pleasure and diversion are made a chief object amongst those who most know his tastes and are in a condition to gratify them, must be a potent one, for it is certain to gain a strong hold on his affections and memory. The readers of Charlotte Brontë must remember her bright, graphic account of a country Sunday-school *fête*, in which the austere political old rector forgets all other politics in rivalry with the opposing Methodist procession. The town *fête* often merits as vivid a chronicle; with its strong *esprit-de-corps* and harmless rivalries—its banners and processions. In a certain sense it is more to town than country children, for the day is a more poetical one—more a complete change from ordinary sights and associations. If possible they are always taken to play in green fields, or green turf somewhere; and no exhibition, no expensive show of any sort, is equal, for these children—pent up all their lives in close smoky courts and lanes—to a few hours spent on the bosom of their mother earth. The green expanse enjoyed under such companionship brings an evident pure delight. The little ones especially, to whom the scene is rarest, are Arcadian in the simplicity of their taste; their whole soul is satisfied in picking the butter-cups and daisies till they are tired; and then, sitting in groups, counting over their treasures. It is almost sad to witness; knowing that it is the rarity of the pleasure which gives it so supreme a relish.

For the elder ones, the preparation for the *fête* is pretty nearly the only school we have for festal decoration; the only scene for boys and girls of the poorer classes to exercise their taste for beauty. The general sympathy is then awake, and town-bound children have admittance into gardens, and may weave garlands of flowers, and spread their walls with green boughs. These hard workers make a toil of pleasure, and are lavish of their strength in the work; devoting hours to ingenious, if not always successful, efforts of invention or skill; and

happy in the new sensation. We speak, of course, of the leaders (the senior scholars), who feel the day especially their own, and for once enjoy the dignity of responsibility. They have no undisciplined ideas, no wish to infringe on the somewhat sober air thought suitable for such an entertainment; and which it accords best with our English character not to depart from. The devices are of a religious tone; the mottos serious, and deferential to authority of every kind. This is the day which draws closer the tie of teacher and scholar. The children give way to effusions of grateful regard. They have a feeling of hold and possession. Their teacher, their school, their pastor are surrounded by a temporary halo; and for that day at least the union on all sides is one of feeling, which may seem but ephemeral, passing away with the day; but the emotions of childhood live in the memory, and soften and refine the character, counteracting many an evil influence. Of course a service at church is an essential portion of the ceremonial, and quite as much valued as any other; owing, in a great measure, to the traditional hymns and tunes which belong to the day; some of which pervade the whole country, and which are sung with a heartiness and enthusiasm which for once must atone, even to fastidious ears, for deficiency in all other musical graces. As excitement is favourable to attention, this affords a good opportunity for an especial sermon for the children's benefit; which, if short, emphatic, and to the purpose, will be listened to by ears and hearts, which the day renders unusually impressible.

The feast probably follows, dividing the sacred from the secular. Nor can we refuse this feature of the day its just pre-eminence. Children feasting altogether once a-year have a right to regard this pleasure in a serious light. A feast, to those not used to abundance, is suggestive of ideas solemn as well as joyful. Dives, who fared sumptuously every day, took only a vulgar material view of his banquet; but profusion of choice fare to those to whom dainties are rare, when partaken in state and with decorum, and in the presence of companions and superiors, is a poetical event suggestive of the highest and most transcendent comparisons. Fastidious, unsympathising, mere lookers-on are on the watch for displays of appetite and uncivilised habits in the more uncouth part of the company, and so pass unobserved the calm propriety of enjoyment, the intellectual, silent appreciation, which is the usual demeanour. It is not sentimental to say that, with the majority, feeling gives zest and relish to the repast, and makes it distinct from every other; feeling towards teacher and pastor and those who are busying themselves with such an energy of unaccustomed service for their happiness; and associating them with

all these by that mysterious bond of eating and drinking together —a tie, a link of union, and fellowship, and *soul* too,—the strength of which can scarcely be over-estimated, which, however dependent on our lower instincts, influences all classes, all occasions, all natures, and which is recognised from one end of Scripture to the other. Indeed, it may be said of all fêtes given to the poor, that those take a very inferior and superficial view, who, because beef and pudding or tea and cake are with themselves very ordinary things, full of vulgar associations, despise others for looking forward *to* them, and back upon them, in a different spirit; and suppose that the good conferred by these means upon them is merely an indulgence of appetite. We can sympathise much more with the grave benevolence to be met with in every parish, which will exert itself in earnest, as in an important matter needing their best thought and judgment, to collect for and prepare these good things to the best advantage. Indeed, it is a day to bring out a great many qualities and talents which lie hid in the common routine of life, and to reverse some of our estimates of capacity. It is wonderful how many persons come out in a new and bright light in them. Some emergency, a shower of rain, or other disaster incident to these festivities, elicits sparks of genius in unexpected quarters, and shows who are to be relied on—revealing presence of mind and ready wit in one, in another untiring good humour, in a third some especial power over children's attention. The pastor, thrown by necessity into a scene not much in accordance with his taste or education, may make it a day of profit and interest to himself, by using it as a study of character. It is, amongst other reasons, because a general holiday always furnishes this opportunity, that we have dwelt on it so long, and treated what some think a trifle, an irksome duty only to be forgotten when past, as an important engine to bind different classes together, used and spent as it may be.

But while dwelling on the accidental features of the system, we may seem to be passing over its main purpose, and its every-day practical use and working. We have not thought it necessary to enter into plans of teaching, for, after all, these are not affected by the day; *i. e.* a person who can convey knowledge successfully on the week-day will use the same method on the Sunday. The works before us—especially 'Collins's Teachers' Companion,' and 'Inglis's Sabbath School,'—contain much good sense on the best way of gaining attention and imparting information; persons cannot be actively engaged in a work, whatever their theories, without arriving at much valuable practical truth. We have, however, purposely confined ourselves to these theories, as we have wished our readers—especially our clerical readers—to know what views are entertained by the popular

writers on the subject, to prove to them that it is necessary to keep the headship in their own hands if they would have the children under their charge educated in Church principles. Under this condition we cannot see or imagine any other system better suited to the times, or so well adapted to bring numbers under his own instruction at once. Sunday-school teaching must necessarily be on fundamentals, for the teachers, as a class, are not equal to more: they are teaching themselves in teaching their scholars; but we think the pastor, when opportunities are afforded of forming a good Sunday-school, will find large numbers of children, such as our great parishes furnish, in better training from his influence than could be brought about by any other means. He can thus, at stated periods, or for any particular lesson, bring under his eye, in an attitude of attention, as many children as he wishes, and so make his teaching tell on the whole of his parish in a way no other agency can. This advantage will be particularly felt when it is necessary for him to classify his youthful flock: for instance, when he has to prepare them for confirmation, he has an admirable machinery, and a body of candidates ready to his hand, with examples amongst the elder scholars of some whom the rite has led to regular and devout attendance at Holy Communion. This momentous season, which Dissenters evidently seek to supply by their periodical school revivals, should be, and we believe is, a very important time in every well-conducted Sunday-school. Though comparatively few may be of age for the rite, an impression of a solemnity at hand pervades the school; a general interest is excited; the subject occupies the children's minds, is talked of at home, and awakens thought there; the startling ignorance of Church discipline and practice which prevails in many a dingy locality receives a little light. Let any one use the subject of confirmation, as a test both of Church feeling and general religious intelligence, in districts with and without a Church Sunday-school, and he will at once perceive its effect on the popular apprehension, and, by comparison, realize some of its benefits.

Perhaps this appeal to comparison of the state of things with and without a Sunday-school, the superior civilisation, humanity, and intelligence where they prevail, the rudeness and barbarism in the populous districts where they are still wanting, is now, and may be for some time longer, one main argument of their good service on any large and comprehensive scale. But we are convinced no one can have been long engaged, either in the teacher's office or pastoral superintendence, without having personal experience of their value in a far deeper and more important sense.

ART. V.—*The Outcast and the Poor of London: a Course of Sermons preached at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall.* Rivington, London.

2. *Roma e Londra confronti dal Sacerdote* GIACOMO MARGOTTI. Turin.

3. *The Open Air Mission. Fifth Annual Report.* July, 1858.

4. *Fourth Annual Report of the London Diocesan Church Building Society.*

5. *Church Penitentiary Association. Sixth Annual Report.*

6. *Fourth Annual Report of the Boys' Refuge,* 1858.

THE publications at the head of this article are an instance—proof is not needed—of the way in which men's minds are occupied with one of the chief problems of our own days: the evil, which is in itself composed of so many lesser evils, of our overgrown and neglected towns. Mr. Meyrick, in his volume, attempts to break up into a number of sermons, a subject which requires rather to be viewed as a whole. However praiseworthy the intention and successful the attempt, it is no reflection upon the author to say that he has not been much more fortunate than others, in endeavouring to reconcile two things which are incompatible. The genius of our Church runs rather in the channel of sermons than of set treatises. Unfortunately, the eloquence which gives force to the careful and accurate reasoning on a dogma of the faith, or adds strength to a political treatise, is wholly different from that which is required to stir the feelings, as well as to command the attention and to move the wills of a large audience. For this reason it is, that comparatively so little fruit has sprung from the various theological lectureships in our universities. If, as is often the case, the subject is one which requires the calm thought of the student, and the careful and exhaustive research of the Christian philosopher, such a subject must needs be marred by the procrustean process of attempting to fit the matter to the duration of a Bampton or a Donellan lecture. Still, notwithstanding this incompatibility, since the genius of the Church runs at present in this homiletic channel, we are glad to find that Mr. Meyrick has availed himself of his opportunity, as a Whitehall preacher, to present to a London congregation a picture of the various classes which make up the great world of the 'outcast and poor' of the metropolis. The volume is not the less acceptable, because evidently the production of one standing aloof from the press and throng of our great cities and manufacturing towns; able to look calmly upon the mass of evils with which others are called to battle; and to

survey from a distance the whole of the field, the smallest portion of which is an occupation and a perplexity to those whose ears are stunned with the Babel sounds, and whose hearts grow wearied in, if not with, the work of our huge overgrown parishes. To his volume we have added the names of some other publications which are occupied with some one portion or another of the subject, with the whole of which he has attempted to grapple,—publications not altogether without interest, though by no means to be relied on for the accuracy of their facts, or the value of the opinions stated in their pages. It is not easy, sometimes not possible, to separate the abundant chaff from the few grains of wheat which we meet with in the transactions of religious institutions, and the narratives of enthusiastic but narrow-minded men. London is not to be photographed from the pages of the 'City Mission Magazine,' and the Report of the Scripture Readers' Society. Still less can we rely upon the entertaining but somewhat mendacious pages of Mr. Henry Mayhew, or the equally entertaining, and, we hardly know whether we should add, equally ignorant, or mendacious pages of Signor Margotti. True facts and veracious figures are oftentimes made to serve as premises to most untrue conclusions. But societies and religious partisans are as little to be trusted in the one as in the other; and we unhesitatingly record our belief, that amongst the things which have fostered the growth of social evils of all kinds, must be reckoned the hasty generalizations and monstrous exaggerations in which good men have allowed themselves to indulge.

The evil indeed requires no exaggeration. It is to be regretted that it is so often made use of by the controversialist to aid his own petty ends, just as the selfish man regards national calamities and world-wide distress merely with reference to the effects upon the funds, or his own opportunities for the investment of his savings. When evil is abroad in the world, we are tired on one hand of the suggestion that all is to be cured by the panacea of the Confessional, though the inexorable figures of the statistician prove the utter powerlessness of this engine, at least as used in the Roman Church, to stay the progress of moral depravity in Austria, the most confession-hearing country in the globe, and the most unchaste. We are equally disgusted when we witness another wiping his mouth, and thanking God that his diocese has never been plagued with 'those Puseyites,' whilst, *sotto voce*, he has to record that it exceeds all other dioceses for sins of the flesh. From such mountebanks in theology and such higglers in morals, nothing can be learned, and nothing is to be hoped for. It is at any rate refreshing to turn from such pedants to the charitable pages of Mr. Meyrick, even when we think that this rare grace leads him sometimes to push his facts beyond their legitimate

conclusion. Despite of proverbs we hold to the conviction that remedy for evil is neither remote nor difficult of application. What eludes research and mocks at random application is the evil itself. Philanthropists hasten to apply their pruning or their wash to what is oftentimes but an accidental manifestation—the flower, so to say, of the cankered tree—and overlook the root. When we can trace with patient thought, and attain by the aid of a philosophic spirit to a knowledge of, the real evil, the remedy is at hand and comparatively easy.

Nothing indeed strikes the student of history with more surprise than the similarity of those sins with which society, in various stages of its progress, and more especially great cities, are leprosied over; and the fears with which at certain regularly recurring periods mankind seem possessed. From the earliest times the world has been perpetually coming to an end, because of the enormous sins of the day. In the scanty records of the earlier portions of the Middle Ages we have glimpses of Apocalyptic wrath to be poured out upon York, or Lincoln, or London. It is hardly possible to imagine how, amidst the flood of ungodliness abroad upon the earth, European society held together at the close of the fifteenth century. At a later period, when the earnestness of Puritan parents had been swallowed up by the viciousness of their children, terror seems to have taken possession of our divines, and even Barrow almost despairs at the portentous spectacle. We have arrived at another of these periods of perplexity and gloomy vaticination, and numbers of good men are ready to persuade themselves that London and our manufacturing towns were never so depraved or so hopelessly beyond control as at this time. We shrink from the responsibility of dispelling these clouds, lest we should seem to underrate the amount of evil. We are content with pointing out the fact that this language and these calculations have been made at any and every decennial period for the last ten centuries, at least. In fact, the two classes of society which present in all ages the same almost unvarying features, are those of children and the poor. What the costermonger is in the nineteenth century, we know that he was in the fifteenth, and, we have more than suspicion, he was in the twelfth, century. Not more reckless, not more indifferent to the teaching of his parish priest, but certainly not less so. It is right that we should remember that what the newspaper euphemism of the present day speaks of as the great social evil existed more offensively, and extended relatively to a larger number in the fourteenth century. And when we deplore the 'spiritual destitution' of our own days, we are often led unconsciously to use the words and to despair very much in the language of the thirteenth century. We refer to these facts, which

have been too much lost sight of, for two reasons. In the first place, we have no desire to paralyse the hand of charity by representing the present form of evil as unexampled and beyond the reach of remedy; and in the next place, we wish to recall the memory of former panaceas, and to learn the lessons which past failure or success should teach us. Every stage of society down to the nomadic state has its own particular difficulty; indeed, but for this, society itself would be stationary. The special trials by which men are educated and indurated are those evils which it is their duty to seek to overcome. In doing so they are raised to be 'fellow-workers with God' in diminishing the amount of sin and wretchedness which are abroad in the world; and whether they succeed or not in this, they are at any rate enlarging the amount of general happiness, by the particular satisfaction which they derive from doing their own duty.

In the early part of the thirteenth century our great towns were supposed to have reached the culminating point in wickedness; and preachers, and statesmen, and philanthropists were deploring, much in the style of the present day, the state of the 'outcast and poor.' From the specimens left to us we suspect that there was the same tendency to exaggeration in writers of that century as in writers of our own time. At any rate, with all our experience, it would be hard, even now, to go beyond Richard of Devizes, who, in the twelfth century, looking out upon Plantagenet London, saw very few signs of the ages of faith, but shook his head, and deplored that '*nemo in ea sine crimine vivit*,' absolutely *nemo!* We question if Mr. Mayhew or the secretary of the London City Missionary Society would think it prudent to venture beyond this bold and broad assertion. But in truth, this exaggeration only the more vividly pictures the real depravity of our town population at that period. Let us examine the sketch which a competent hand has just given us of the social and spiritual destitution of other days. In the London of the thirteenth century—

'Improvement could not keep pace with the rapid increase of population. Fever and plague, strange and destructive epidemics, spread with unexampled rapidity. Whole quarters of the city suffered from the scourge, without adequate means of prevention; without remedy or reparation for the evil when it had occurred. Markets were scantily and irregularly supplied; roads intercepted by a feudal aristocracy or a discontented sovereign; an entire population exposed to periodical starvation. . . . . The lazy ditches and stagnant ponds into which ran the refuse and garbage of the shambles —a poor protection to the various quarters of the town—sent up their fetid odours, rank with fever and ague, into the stifled chamber and open booth of the artisan. Upon the higher ground stood the Guildhall . . . . forming a striking contrast to the outer circle and the suburbs, where, down to the water's edge, and straggling beyond it, in an uncertain and precarious tenure, rose wooden sheds, rudely plastered or whitewashed, on the edge of the

town ditch, sheltering the last new settlers that had flocked into the town for occupation or protection, a mixed race, of whom little inquiry was made; tolerated, not acknowledged; of all blood, all climates, all religions; permitted to live or to die, as it pleased God or themselves, provided only that they yielded due obedience to the proper civic authorities. Here the leprosy and the plague were certain to enter first; here infection did its worst. In the higher city there might be parish churches and schools; a skilful leech to look after the welfare, bodily and spiritual, of the inhabitants. In defect of these, the different guilds established in the city proper, provided in some measure for the instruction and comfort of the master and his apprentices. The city ponds and rivulets yielded fresh water to those who were willing to fetch it; the chaplain of the guild, its church or chapel, provided for the common worship and spiritual welfare of its members; the common purse of the guild furnished relief against sudden misfortunes, and paid for the funeral obsequies and masses of the defunct brother. But for the unguilded population who resided in the suburbs, and increased daily and rapidly in the unsettled condition of the country, or as the oppression, or harshness, or stern justice of the feudal baron made the town a more safe and desirable abiding-place than the country,—for these there were no such advantages.'[1]

We need not indicate the points of resemblance between the city of the Middle Ages and the larger conglomeration of human beings in our own days. But for two or three specialities which belong to the thirteenth century, it might pass for a sketch of the almost amphibious town which has sprung up at Plaistow, or the extemporised villages which cling like warts to the body of our large manufacturing seats. It is not indeed resemblance, but identity as distinct and real as that of the individual at various periods of his life. Were it not for this continuity, English history would be as wearisome as Hindoo annals, about which it is hardly possible to evoke an interest or to sustain attention. It is no wonder, then, that in the same body we should see at times the self-same evils and hear the self-same exclamations of wonder or despair at the revelation of that wickedness which is supposed by some to lurk in crowded cities, and which at least is sufficiently concentrated there to allow of the investigation of the philanthropist. The evil may vary its manifestations. It may be darker and more turbulent at one period than at another, but there at all times it will be found, and in much the same relative proportion to the general wickedness of the times, to be struggled against, and to be grappled with and mastered by each age as its allotted task, in doing which it is to perform its part in the advancement of the general civilisation.

We have selected this particular period for comparison with our own times, because, as in the present day, men's minds were then especially turned to new schemes for the amelioration of society. The parochial system, or, as the phrase ran then, the secular

[1] Mr. Brewer, in Preface to 'Monumenta Franciscana,' pp. xv—xvii.

clergy, had allowed all these enormous evils to grow up and gather strength. It was therefore clearly unable to cope with the circumstances of the age. New diseases required new remedies; good and zealous men were perplexed both at the amount and the form of urban wickedness. Many despaired: some few, bravely breasting the surging sin, busied themselves the more with devising schemes of amendment. The institution of the Mendicant orders was the remedy. Men are calling for the same remedy now, nay, it is actually in existence, neither Dominican nor Franciscan it is true, but still not the less friars mendicant; a body of men which, rightly or wrongly, it is supposed will be better able to reach the great mass of ungodly men, and to live and penetrate where the priest—the parson of the parish—cannot reach. It was a mere accidental peculiarity of any of the orders that its members were to beg; its essential feature was an extemporised ministry living for and amidst the people they were to convert and to edify. Delivering the comforting message of God's love in the way most suited to the wants of the neglected crowds in town and country, precluded from holding a benefice, lest, like the secular clergy of those days, they should 'grow fat and kick,' or at any rate slumber amidst a slumbering people, the friars were but the Scripture readers of their day, with perhaps a better organization, with little ecclesiastical spirit, and with many of the defects of the modern institution. For a time nothing could work more admirably; in the end they ossified all the old sores of the body ecclesiastical, and made the corruptions of the seculars chronic and constitutional. Invented to supplement the efforts of the parish priests, they deprived them of the healthy stimulus which the need of exertion in one's calling brings with it, and after a few generations had been scandalized with the rivalries, and the squabbles, and unedifying libels which were bandied between the wealthy, idle and dissolute parish priest, and the noisy, bustling, but not less dissolute friar, society rose upon the combatants and set to work vigorously, and perhaps not quite regularly, at the work of reconstruction and reformation. The lesson of their success at the outset, and their failure and the mischief wrought to the body in the end, is one which we may well keep in mind at the present day. History at the best repeats itself, and the same trials and difficulties which have perplexed our forefathers, are continually rising up to try us, their children. Let us at least try to gain the homely wisdom which is gathered from experience.

We have compared the friar of the thirteenth century with the Scripture reader of the nineteenth. They both originated in the same discovery of evils which had outgrown the body of the

parochial clergy, and which unreasoning terror supposed to be beyond its control. On the whole, though to no great extent, the comparison is in favour of the friars. They possessed an organization which their successors lack. At the first, but only at the first, they were selected with more care, and they had to submit to a training which admirably fitted them for their especial work. All this is wanting in the tolerated but unrecognised friar of the present times. The more serious consideration, however, is the unwisdom, which, disregarding the warnings of the past, and the exigencies of the present, has led Church reformers in this direction. It requires no depth of penetration to see the sure evils which must follow closely upon an attempt to supplement the labours of the parish priest by the help of men who cannot aspire to the station, and yet are expected to do the work, of the Christian ministry. This alone puts them into a position of antagonism which no care in the selection of agents will secure them from. But from past experience we feel assured that the reasons alleged for their employment are merely imaginary. It is assumed, that underneath the surface of society, in our narrow courts and blind alleys, vast multitudes herd, which are beyond the influence of the parish priest; that these crowds require some special machinery, and are only to be civilised and religionised by the exertions of persons only a small degree above themselves in the social scale,—those who know somewhat of their habits by virtue of their own position in life, and so are capable of sympathising with those neglected pariahs. This and more is assumed by a number of good men. But the whole is but a fancy and a dream which does not even possess the semblance of life, and merely betrays the great depth of ignorance which exists in the imaginer. Vast multitudes indeed are unreached by our ministrations, but from no peculiarity of organization, no idiosyncrasy which cuts them off from the clergyman of their parish. There is no 'great gulph fixed' between order and order, as the founders, and secretaries, and report-drawers of our societies would lead us to believe. The 'masses' are beyond clerical influence merely because the parish priest does not influence them, not because he cannot. He, perhaps, has more to do in the twenty-four hours than his physical and more generally his mental strength allows of his doing. He has grown into the comfortable belief that as the costermonger, and the sweep, and the hawker have always been neglected, so there is some inexorable necessity why they should continue to be so. The Scripture Readers' Association will assist him in delegating his own proper work to another, and he soothes his conscience by saying, 'Is there not a cause?' and acquiescing in its being inevitable. Multitudes may be beyond our influence, because ministerial influence must be individual to

be effectual, but there exists no class in the densest quarter of the metropolis, or the most neglected outskirts of our manufacturing towns, in the coal-fields of the midland counties, or the fluctuating crowds of our seaport towns, but what will be easier, and more permanently, and better influenced by the parish priest than by any body of lay missionaries, however zealous and however wise. We ask only for the like amount of these two qualities, zeal and knowledge in the two classes of missionaries, and we are confident as to the result. We would not say one word which would seem to savour of disrespect for the motives of the promoters, still less which would appear to disparage the labours of the readers themselves. But, in truth, the least reflection will show that the reasons for the first establishment, and the necessity which is alleged for the use of the Scripture reader, ought to convince men of their inevitable failure. Gloss it over as we may, disguise it under one euphemism or another, the one great, and, with some minds, convincing reason for the employment of the lay reader, is the supposed fact of cheapness. It is an invention which it is thought may bring men in, and perhaps retain them within the circle of religious propriety at a less cost per head than the ordinary ministrations of the parish. It is an expedient for doing God's work at as little self-denial as may be,—the motives of our modern political economy introduced into the temple of God. But even this, fatal as we hold it to be, might perhaps be submitted to, if, as a fact, such a body of men possessed any special power of reaching the consciences, and awakening the sinner, and effectually arousing him from the lethargy of sin better than the well educated, and, it may be, too gentlemanly parish priest. But this is not so; the lay reader has many disadvantages to contend against from which the clergyman is free. In the first place, as a rule, men are influenced by those above themselves rather than by their equals. Sympathy arises from difference of position rather than from identity. This is a law which runs throughout nature; one of those principles which are so universal as to force upon us the conviction that the course of this world is ordered and governed by the One same Almighty Being who directs the operations of grace. The mysterious law is seen in childhood. It lies at the foundation of society, which has been broken into orders and stratified by difference of condition, that men may lean on and sympathise with each other. Where this obligation of humanity is disregarded, selfishness takes the place of sympathy, as in republics. And despotism and oppression are keener and heavier in proportion to the nearness in rank of the ruler and the subject.[1] The

[1] 'Tanto più crudeli, quanto è minore la distanza fra chi soffre e chi fa soffrire.' —*Beccaria Dei delitti e delle pene*, § iv.

only successful missionaries are those who come invested with the authority of superior station. The Indian in America turns with contempt from the preacher whose face betrays the least tint of Africa. When our blessed Lord sent forth labourers into His Father's vineyard, the world, He gave to them the power of working miracles, and so obliterated the trace of their equality with the multitudes to be converted. Nay, to speak with reverence of the Incarnate One Himself, He stooped to the same universal law of our nature, and, that He might learn sympathy with the sinner, He came Himself unsinning. This law to which we have alluded, will always hinder the success of cheap expedients in religion. The poor will not open their hearts; they will not listen with respect; they will not, as a rule, be influenced by lay readers. We have been struck with this fact in ministering in large and poor parishes. 'I will tell you, Sir, because you are a gentleman; I couldn't tell the reader,' we have heard from a poor man more than once, and spoken with no intention to flatter, but uttered merely from this all-pervading instinct to which we have alluded.

We are unwilling to say anything that might seem to reflect upon the lay readers themselves. The society may in course of time supply the defect of its first organization, and its missionaries may be imbued with a more ecclesiastical spirit, and add to their zeal that knowledge which the imparting of spiritual truths requires. It has already given to the Church several admirable priests for work in the Colonial Church. Some such an institution is required, by which earnest and godly men, without the training which University education gives, may find admission to holy orders. Only let us discard the untrue fancy that uneducated, or half educated men, are best fitted to labour amongst the poor, or are the most acceptable, and the most sympathetic. What we offer to God let us offer because of its fitness for His work and His glory, not because it is cheaper, and may be given with less self-denial on our parts. Let this, or any kindred institution have its allotted place in the ecclesiastical system, and be dovetailed, so to say, into the fabric of the Church. Above all, let the readers—whether in minor orders or no—feel that they are the assistants of him who has the cure of souls, and not be allowed to stand in antagonism, and be made to sustain the parts of rivals, to the curates of the parish. This was one of the most grievous defects of the mendicant system, and precipitated its fall, and had well-nigh drawn down with it the whole ecclesiastical polity in Western Europe.

The subject of preaching has been so thoroughly discussed of late, that there is little room, or perhaps need at the present time for any remarks of ours. We are, however, induced to notice

one phase into which preaching has entered. One of the publications, at the head of our article is the 'Fourth Report of the Open Air Mission.' We know of no reason why preaching should necessarily be confined within four walls and a consecrated building. If the great crowd of the careless or the ungodly are in the highways, then it would seem that the only place in which to arrest them is in those very highways. But let the end and object of such preaching be clearly understood. Its objects are the large mass of unheeding sinners, in whom the absence of any outward profession presupposes present indifference and past neglect, though it may not argue the presence of greater sin than in many a regular attendant on a popular preacher in a fashionable neighbourhood. The end of such preaching is to arrest the impenitent, and to arouse the careless. In its nature it can do no more than this. To leave the impenitent thus arrested; to neglect the careless aroused by such preaching, is, in the majority of instances, only the more hopelessly to harden, and to cast into more complete indifference. Open air preaching, then, to be successful, must be coupled with real, active, self-denying parish work. He who can arrest the sinner may be unable to direct and edify the penitent, but unless the two works are undertaken in conjunction, then what Butler terms 'passive impressions,' will be succeeded by a torpor from which the sinner may never again be roused. Open air preaching requires indeed particular talents, inferior some may think to those of the pastor, but in the hands of a quack it must fail, or rather it will be a terrible instrument of evil. Let us have it in its reality; let there be no joking with so serious a matter; no playing at what may be a means of grace, or an engine of fresh sin. Thus, for instance, when the incumbent of a smart congregation of bonnets at Clifton announced to his smiling listeners on a warm summer Sunday, that on the afternoon he should preach, not inside the church, but on the breezy downs without, amidst some of the most striking scenery in England,—and when, hemmed in by files of parasols, he proceeded to talk his usual afternoon sermon, this might, by an abuse of words, be called an open air mission, but, to our minds, it was jesting and playing with what should be a very real work, and which required to be handled in a very earnest spirit. This is an instance of the ignorance abroad on the subject, and the ludicrousness which results from playing with matters which require seriousness, not to say solemnity. More commonly, however, the failure and mischief which follows upon 'open air preaching' arise from the absence of any real pastoral work at the scene of such preachings, which in that case become mere engines of excitement, stirring emotions which there is no attempt to direct and satisfy.

Our readers may naturally suppose that such earnest tokens of a desire to do the work of an evangelist, would only take place where labours for souls, in season and out of season, are vigorous and unceasing. While there is so much ignorance abroad respecting the object and end of such preaching, it is not surprising to find it sometimes going hand in hand with utter deadness to ministerial responsibility, and often resorted to as an excuse and apology for general neglect. The least reflection, however, will convince the most ardent believer in the value of such efforts, that if this be encouraged and resorted to with success, amidst surrounding tokens of pastoral devotion, it is worse than useless in a parish, where one sleepy sermon jostles upon one weekly offering of praise—if that can be called praise, which consists in putting a few school-children through four verses of Brady and Tate—where the church throughout the finest summer months is closed, once in every two or three years, for gilding and cleaning, while the fine gold of the sanctuary is all the while growing dimmer and dimmer; and the pastor taking advantage of the long closing of his church, whiles away his time at a distance from his people, and uses the wealthy endowment of his parish in —— kindly permitting the curate of a neighbouring church to preach in an open space in his parish to all passers-by. We have such a fact before our eyes at the present moment, and we deliberately record our conviction that, whatever sin and ignorance there may be in the crowds which sometimes collect at such preachings, there is more sin and more ignorance in the curate who preaches, and the rector who kindly permits of such gatherings. The sheep are made to feel the want of a pastor, and then abandoned to their feelings.

We have touched upon some of the causes from which failure in out-of-doors preaching may be anticipated. There is a more serious failure to be noted: the scanty results of our in-door preachings. We are not about to ask our readers' attention to a homily on homilies. We have no desire nor power to lay bare the evil, and to trace the mischief throughout the whole field of its operations. We are at present concerned only with those efforts which are supposed necessary to arrest the repentant, and to bring into the Church-fold the vast mass of the outcasts. Our sermons, let us confess—if in these days it is allowed us to confess anything, and the hearer to listen to such confession without suspicion of loving to indulge a prurient imagination—our sermons do not reach the hearts of large classes of our fellow-Christians. Not that they have not hearts to be moved, not that they do not desire the water-springs, not that they do not long to be satisfied with that which can alone satisfy the ambitious heart of man—the consolation of a consciousness of God's presence:

but that we fail to arrest their attention, and to inform their judgment, and to confirm their faith. We are too many of us committing the fatal error of trying, as the cant of the day runs, to 'preach down' to our people. By some this is supposed to mean plain unornamented language, and so long as this is the effort of the preacher, no great harm is done. But we fear that most preachers understand by preaching down to their people, an absence of nerve and vigour, of all argument and reasoning, and a studied avoidance of the interpretation of doctrine. If we are to hope to preach to men, we must needs be manly. We know not where to look for the preacher who possesses such transcendant learning and such a habit of subtile thought that he can preach down to his audience without neglecting to declare to them the whole Gospel of Christ, and becoming tiresome and insultingly commonplace. To use plain nervous English is not to become bald, but to rise to real eloquence, which lurks oftener in monosyllables than in the sesquipedalian words which mark the half educated and shallow pretender. One reason why our artisans—a class in which thoughtful men abound more perhaps than in any other—turn from the portals of our churches, is because of the meagre and spiritless sermons, which mock rather than satisfy the mind of reasonable man. He turns from what should be the chair of knowledge, but which is too often the seat of ignorance, to the writings of the atheist; not that there is in his soul a natural love for unbelief, but because the infidel, wiser in his generation than they who think themselves the children of light, addresses the man of thought with the semblance at least of argument, and the show of even close and metaphysical reasoning.

We are forced to differ from Mr. Meyrick in that portion of his volume, in which, perhaps for the sake of definition, he endeavours to map out the outcast of London into distinct classes. We are no believers in the need of any special machinery to reach to this or that soul. It is true that with our large and sometimes overwhelming charges, the parish priest, without intending to neglect any portion of his people, may devote himself too exclusively to one particular class, and overlook and neglect others, and finding that those to whom he has so devoted himself take up the whole of his time, he may easily slide into the belief that those he is neglecting are from some special circumstances in their calling wholly beyond his control. But this after all is a proof that our parishes are too large, or our labour too small; not that anything in the life of the poor places them without the possible range of our influence. Neither in a volume devoted to the outcast and poor of London ought the costermongers to have been included. Except from criminal neglect on the part of

the clergymen of their parish, these are in no sense of the word outcasts. The costermonger, as perhaps some of our readers may require to be told, is a retail dealer in fruit and vegetables, separated if at all, still only by gradual and imperceptible gradations, from the purveyor to her Majesty, or the wholesale dealer at Covent Garden market. He is just as honest now as he was in the fourteenth century, and with much the same habits now as then. Quite as strict in the matters of trade ethics as the small shopkeeper, and if at times more noisy, certainly not more vicious than the tradesman in a larger way of business. In thought and intelligence we believe that he will take rank before them. In this part of his volume Mr. Meyrick has been misled by the untrustworthy statements of Mr. Mayhew's book on the London poor. The class is indeed too commonly neglected; like those who follow many other special trades, the costermonger is to be found in densely-peopled parishes, where others besides himself are overlooked, and so hardened and neglected into indifference. He and his family are however as accessible to the parish priest as any others, more so indeed than many other classes; and speaking from some experience, we would record our conviction that amongst the poorer inhabitants of the large towns none are more impressible by good influences, or so often repay the care of the diligent parish priest.

Still, acknowledging all this, there remains the fact of what is called 'spiritual destitution,' existing in the case of broad, energetic masses of society, enough to task the strength and to consume the zeal of an army of priests—men and women living on the outskirts of civilisation, scarcely touched by the ministrations of the clergyman; still less affected by the reports of the Scripture reader or the City missionary, and altogether beyond the sphere of the dissenting teacher. Not, as we know, and wish others to know, are they unapproachable and incapable of influence for good, but yet, for the most part, they are unapproached by our parochial machinery, and uninfluenced by the ministers of Christianity, although, we are thankful to know, not uninfluenced by Christianity itself. All that we can say of them is that they are wounded and half dead, and passed by day after day by both priest and levite. To build churches for such a population is a mockery,—to supply clergy, under present arrangement, a doubtful good. Mr. Meyrick, towards the end of his volume, dwells upon the need of an increased Episcopate. The phrase has become pretty well hacknied. We dare say most of our readers are tired of the iteration. Yet here we believe to be the great cause of our neglected myriads. In this lies the remedy for spiritual destitution in many of its various phases. But we need not only new bishops, but a new theory about bishops, or

at least a theory considerably divergent from modern practice. Our larger towns must, we believe, remain in their present state of neglect, or rather grow day by day more unmanagable, and more removed from the influences of the Church, until they can be made the centres of missionary work, conducted mainly by, and at all times under the eye of a bishop. With overgrown dioceses this, we shall be told, is an impossibility—we feel it to be so. But we know of no valid reason which should hinder our larger towns from becoming each the seat of a bishop, and we trust that the time may come when every parliamentary borough into which London is separated, will be separated also into a distinct bishopric. But over this tempting theme we will not linger.

We owe Mr. Meyrick no apology for having wandered so greatly from his book into a consideration of some of those topics which his interesting volume suggests. The perfection of the preacher's art is to lead us to forget the man in the subject of his mission. If we have not quoted from his pages, it is because the volume, like the subject on which it treats, is, again let us repeat, rather to be considered as a whole than capable of appreciation by an examination of parts, and because those largely increasing classes which interest themselves in practical works of Christian charity will, we trust, resort to its pages for a calm statement of the evils of English town life, and for a moderate and charitable survey of the means resorted to for their amelioration. Our own imperfect notice will, we feel, give but little idea of the breadth of the field surveyed, or the careful analysis which the book contains of the varied phases of metropolitan outcast life. But, however varied the contents, and however comprehensive the scope of the volume, it is to our minds of the greatest value, from the practical remedies which it suggests. The reader will find in its pages a summary of what is doing, in various ways, and with various degrees of success or failure, by all those multitudinous societies, which, to the delight of chairman, patron, and, above all, of secretary and manager, have mapped out for themselves, and entered in and taken possession of the land fertile with so many evils, and pregnant with the elements of moral and social death. Those who listened to these earnest sermons on a very practical subject, will, we are sure, not soon forget the solemnity of the topic, or the zeal of the preacher. Those who read, and are able calmly to think over some of the festering sins which arise too commonly from man's neglect, will be stimulated, we trust, to efforts which require indeed days of self-denial and self-sacrifice, but days which, at the same time, are brightened with the satisfaction which duty, faithfully fulfilled, assuredly yields. Only let us remember, that to rescue 'the outcast and the poor' is our

task in this world, and the cause of our reward in the world to come. It is religion here, and the crown hereafter. True religion is no form of words or shibboleth of party; it is 'to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction;' and the crown hereafter will be the reward of those who have given bread to the hungry and drink to the thirsty; who have clothed the naked with a garment, or who, in visiting the poor and outcast, have even, though unknowingly, really visited and ministered to their Lord. Here is something nobler and more satisfying than the excitement of partisan warfare, and the wearing clangour of theological controversy. A task for those who are content to watch for opportunities for good, rather than to indulge in idle lamentations over hindrances. Here is something which concerns the Church more, and is the surest preservative to the nation. For, to conclude in Mr. Meyrick's own parting words: 'Let us take 'good heed betimes, lest, as individuals, as a Church, as a nation, 'after all our efforts to abstain from openly and directly trans-'gressing God's written law by acts of commission, we incur con-'demnation at the last because we have not recognised Christ in 'His little ones,—because we have not delivered our outcasts 'and poor from the ungodliness which would swallow them 'up.' (P. 324.)

ART. VI.—*Examen Bullæ* Ineffabilis *institutum et concinnatum juxta regulas sanioris Theologiæ, a* FRATRE BRAULIO MORGAEZ, Professore Sacræ Theologiæ in Ordine Prædicatorum et in Universitate Complutensi. Paris: Huet. 1858.

THIS is the latest—and perhaps it will be the last—protest against the Decree of December 8, 1854, issuing from a Roman Catholic country, and from a declared Roman Catholic source. France has spoken by the mouth of Laborde, Prompsault, Guettée, and the party represented by the *Observateur Catholique;* Holland, by the protest made by the three (so called) Jansenist Bishops in the name of their Church. In Germany and Italy, individuals have writhed and groaned, and been deprived wherever they dared to express their convictions. From Spain there now reaches us Fray Morgaez' voice, not only uttering the cry of anguish which he has before raised, but bearing abroad to the world a grave and well-argued protest, cast into the form of an Examination of the Bull *Ineffabilis.* That Fray Morgaez has no intention of derogating from the honour of S. Mary, and that he holds strong Roman or Mediæval doctrine as to the degree of honour due to her, is made sufficiently clear by his dedication, which runs as follows:—

'To thee alone, most Serene Virgin Mary, I have resolved to dedicate and consecrate this little work of mine, in which I intend to examine the Bull *Ineffabilis* on the principles of sound theology. With thy most devoted son and servant S. Ildephonsus, Archbishop of Toledo, I beg thee, I pray thee, I ask of thee, that I may have the Spirit of thy Lord, the Spirit of thy Son, the Spirit of my Redeemer: that I may think what is *true* and worthy of thee; that I may speak what is *true* and worthy of thee; that I may say what is *true* and worthy of thee to be said; for whatever deviates from the truth is not worthy of thee. That I may not stray from the truth, may I walk in the footsteps which the holy Fathers and our forefathers, who have been accounted faithful masters in the Church, have left for us to follow. With these faithful guides I do not fear falling away from the path of the right faith, and with thy assistance, as a most loving mother, I doubt not that I shall reach the goal that I have proposed to myself. Ah! my most sweet mother, hear my prayers, poor as they are, for I offer them to thee with the whole affection of my heart: and I rejoice to declare myself thy son and most humble servant, as I dedicate and consecrate these my labours to thee.'—P. 2.

We need not say that it is not our purpose at this evening hour of the unhappy controversy on the Immaculate Conception of S. Mary, to enter at all into its merits. We have already done so more than once, and probably every theological reader has long since made up his mind on the subject. We propose, at present, simply to show what judgment the Spanish priest,

monk, and doctor, Fray Morgaez, has passed upon it. That a Spanish ecclesiastic should have held such sentiments is little; but that he should have expressed them, and expressed them in the common theological language of Europe, is much.

A short prologue precedes the main work, and in this Fray Morgaez complains, that now

'The doctrine of the Fathers goes for nothing, and those who embrace, defend, and cling to it are called heretical; and thus *the doctrine* of the Fathers is condemned, and is branded with heresy, though the holy Fathers themselves may be absolved, because, forsooth, they taught it in ignorance, with their eyes shut, and without obstinacy, and would recal their opinions if the truth had been known by them as it is now known. I have heard such words as these! I have read them even in letters put forth by Bishops: —Oh, sorrow! What ignorance! What audacity! What pride!'—P. 3.

Two significant quotations from Melchior Cano are added to the prologue:—

'A council and the Pontiff proceed in a natural way, following reason, and distinguishing truth from falsehood by argument. Whence it is clear that the Holy Spirit is not present to the Fathers if they sleep and yawn, but only if they diligently seek out the truth of the matter in question in the ordinary way, and by reasoning.' Those are counted to be judgments of the Apostolic See, not such as are put forth secretly, with ill intent, inconsiderately, by the Roman Bishop alone, or even with a few on his side, but such as issue after previous examination in accordance with the judgment of a number of wise men.—*De loc. Theol.* v. 5.'—P. 5.

Fray Morgaez proceeds to pull the Bull to pieces, paragraph by paragraph, carefully speaking all along of the *confector Bullæ*, and supposing him to be entirely answerable for all its blunders, misrepresentations, and heretical statements,—with which of course the Pope had nothing to do, except unfortunately being deceived by them. He begins by pointing out the paralogism employed by the Bull in its first sentence in using the word *decebat*, and arguing that it was befitting that God should have caused S. Mary to be preserved from original sin. '"*Decebat*," *inquit confector Bullæ. Unde colligit hanc decentiam?*' The *à priori* propriety of God's acting in one way or another way on such a subject as that under discussion, is a thing which he shows cannot be appealed to in argument, for man can only learn what is 'becoming' to God in such a matter from the fact that God has done it, and revealed to us that He has done it.

'Who has known the mind of the Lord, so as to define what is "becoming" to Him and what is not? Or who is His counsellor, so as to pronounce that a thing is "becoming" to Him which He has not revealed? It is setting traps to catch simple souls, to use such arguments as these.' —P. 8.

By and by 'the composer of the Bull' tries to drag S. Thomas Aquinas to his side of the question, on which Fray Morgaez bursts out in wrath not unnatural in a Dominican:—

'Oh! the intolerable shamelessness, the impiety, the wicked deceit of this man who lays snares to catch souls! The testimony of S. Thomas has great weight, reverence, and authority in the Church of God. So what does the composer of the Bull do? He tries to pull him to his side and bring him forward as witness of his doctrine. But the doctrine of S. Thomas is clear, transparent, certain. S. Thomas plainly denies that the most Holy Virgin was sanctified in her conception. The compounder of the Bull says that S. Thomas taught the opposite opinion to this, namely, that the Blessed Virgin was sanctified in her conception. Which shall we believe—S. Thomas, who speaks as plainly as he can speak, or the composer of the Bull, who drags S. Thomas against his will to his own side? S. Thomas says, "It is not known at what time she was sanctified." The Bull-maker, spite of all that S. Thomas can say, declares that he has asserted the Holy Virgin to have been free from spot of original sin from the first instant of her conception.'—P. 12.

After having disposed of another argument of the Bull, he exclaims:—

'The Bull-maker labours but in vain, so far as concerns learned men in whose hearts pure religion exists. Every one that is of upright heart, and has eyes to see, will reject him and his argument, which is composed, as it seems, simply to take in men of little wit, whoever they may be, lay or clerical, even those of the first order of the clergy, who are striving to extort belief by violence, not with spiritual, but with carnal weapons. Away then with this Bull-fabricator—let him keep his argument for men who having eyes see not, and having ears hear not, and having noses smell not what it is that is thrust upon them under the guise of piety, for them to swallow.'—P. 15.

Here is a cry of grief and indignation:—

'I do not want to blame any one with regard to this matter about which Catholics are now disputing. The most grievous thing is that on one side the controversy is carried on with the arms of learning, on the other with carnal arms, like brute beasts. If, when this question first appeared in the world, those who held the reins of ecclesiastical government had examined and defined it by the light of the doctrines of the faith, assuredly many complaints, many differences, many a hatred would have been extinguished, and love would not have grown cold among brethren who ought to be living with one mind in the house of God!'—P. 23.

The following passage breathes more independence than is often found now-a-days in the subjects of Rome:—

'We know that the Roman Church is the mistress of all churches, but we know too in what sense that saying is to be understood. We acknowledge and confess the Roman Church to be the centre of Catholic unity. But why do you not say what you mean by the Roman Church? Is the particular Church existing at Rome the Catholic Church? Is the head the whole body? Is not the faith of all the Churches spread throughout the world one and the same? Is it the Church existing at Rome which has alone received the power of teaching the faithful? Is it the Roman Church alone which has delivered the faith to all Churches? Did none of the other Apostles teach except S. Peter, or did they only teach by commission, received from the chief of the Apostles? No: the other Apostles too founded Churches and governed them. S. Jerome writes of the Apostle and Evangelist S. John, "He founded the whole of the Churches in Asia, and

ruled them." It is not then always the particular Roman Church which has delivered the faith to all Churches. . . . . Learned men know that by the Roman Church and the Apostolic See people very generally mean the Roman Pontiff. Is it not an acknowledged fact, that some of the Roman Pontiffs have fallen away from the doctrine of the faith and morals? It is a thing most easy to demonstrate.'—P. 26.

The following extract gives in separate detail the reasons why Fray Morgaez regards the promulgation of the decree as informal, and on that ground, as well as its heretical tendencies, to be rejected.

'The Pontiff Pius IX. must be considered as the first person to have been deluded. Many things prove it. First, there are the Pontiff's own letters, given at Gaeta on the 2nd of February, 1849; in which the Prelates throughout the Catholic world were asked, not what was the doctrine delivered by the Apostles to the Church from the Lord Jesus Christ, and constantly propagated by the successors of the Apostles, and transmitted without a break to us, but what was the piety and devotion of the faithful towards the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; as if the piety and devotion of the present time was sufficient foundation for a dogma of the faith, of force to bind all Christians, and to which they should be required to give a blind and entire belief, without regard to Scripture, or to the tradition of the Fathers. Secondly, the Bishops were summoned to appear on a certain day at Rome, not for the purpose of judging, but of hearing what the Pope had determined, and of giving their presence to a pompous ceremony which had been prepared for the 8th of December, 1854, and decorated with the title of The Promulgation of a New Decree in Matters of Faith. And to this the prelates gave their assent, betraying and trampling on their sacred office. Thirdly, the Bishops were not allowed to discuss the substance of the thing to be defined, but only to examine it with respect to the terms in which it was published. Fourthly, some writings—in which it was argued, that it was impossible to define as a matter of faith the doctrine of the Conception of the Virgin Mother, which some were attempting to get defined—were not received. Fifthly, some Bishops were guilty of prevarication, who had before declared the thing to be incapable of definition. Sixthly, other Bishops were guilty of treachery, for they first consulted learned theologians, and got them to write down their vote for them to carry to Rome, and then, when they got to Rome, they laid it up in a napkin, and kept it concealed. Seventhly, iniquitous acts were done to the French priest, M. Laborde, a strenuous defender of the faith, who had gone to Rome for the purpose of publicly maintaining that it was impossible that the Blessed Virgin Mary's having been conceived without spot of original sin could become a dogma of the Catholic faith. Eighthly, one hundred and seventy-two Bishops who were silent, and sent back no answer to the Encyclic Letters of Feb. 2, 1849, were disregarded.'—P. 47.

But of course the chief argument of the opponent to the Definition of 1854, is the appeal to the ancient doctrine of the Church.

'Now I ask the putter-together of this Bull, let him tell me,—Did the chief pontiffs before Sixtus IV. speak of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin as Pius IX. has spoken? And have those who sat in S. Peter's chair after Sixtus ever said anything about it as though it were a matter of faith? He cannot bring forward anything of the sort; and so it appears clearer than daylight that the object of this Bull is to impose upon the Church of

God a new dogma of belief, wholly unknown for the first twelve centuries, and indeed denied by our ancestors, through whom the true faith has come down to us. It is clearer than daylight that he has tried to corrupt the Christian faith, by introducing new doctrine into it, and to create trouble of souls, by bringing in new doctrine.'—P. 49.

Fray Morgaez proceeds to quote, in opposition to the Bull, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Eusebius Emissenus, S. Remigius, S. Maximus, Venerable Bede, S. Anselm, S. Bernard, S. Erardus, S. Antony of Padua, S. Thomas Aquinas, S. Bonaventure, S. Bernardine, S. Vincent, S. Chrysostom, and of Popes S. Leo the Great, S. Gelasius, S. Gregory the Great, Innocent II., Innocent III., Innocent V., the last of whom says plainly that S. Mary was not sanctified before her soul was joined to her body, nor at the moment of union;—

'for if so, she would have been free from original sin, and would not have needed redemption by Jesus Christ, which is necessary for all men; and this must not be said.'—P. 83.

Can a Romanist fail to ask himself, which is right, Pope Innocent V. or Pope Pius IX.? which is infallible, and which was deceived? Pope Innocent says, '*Si ita foret, a peccato originali fuisset immunis . . . quod dici non potest.*' Pope Pius says, '*A peccato originali immunis est.*' Can contradiction go further?

'It is clear, therefore, that all the works of the holy Fathers and Doctors of the thirteen first centuries must be corrupted and interpolated if the Bull is true. And since many of us use these works, there is no wonder at our having run into error through giving credit to them; so that we are counted heretics by the ordinary mass of clergy and laity. Let these books be expurgated. Let us be shown where the corruption or interpolation is; let us be told when, how, and by whom the corruptions and interpolations were made, and then we shall see, by the laws of sound criticism, what we have to do. Unless this be done, we will maintain and defend the doctrine of so many holy Fathers, and Doctors, and learned men, though all hell were to be against us.'—P. 84.

Fray Morgaez, in several places, declares his determination to hold out against all persecutions and threats, and to maintain the ground which his order (he is a Dominican) has always maintained. That he has need of such resolution, if he intends to proceed on the perilous course on which he has entered, is abundantly clear from what he has already suffered. He has been thrown into prison, and there kept until the Spanish Government interposed and insisted on his release; and an attempt has been made by his Ultramontane friends to shut him up in a madhouse. And, of course, he has been denounced on all sides as a heretic. This is his own description of the state in which he at present finds himself.

"They are guilty of calumny, lying, and perjury; they persecute priests to take away their good name. This is what numbers are doing to me in

this royal city, for the sake of currying favour with those who hold the reins of government. They declare their approbation, nay they express praise of those prelates who, in their hostility to my doctrine, have tried to kill me, either by throwing me into prison, or by burying me for ever in a madhouse, or in some other way. They praise those preachers, or rather prevaricators, who disgrace the pulpit by their silly outcries against me. Their fanaticism is called by many zeal for religion, their lies are called unanswerable arguments, their calumnies invincible reasoning, their extravagance a warmth of soul inflamed in behalf of the doctrine of the faith. In a word, anybody who calls me a fool, or a madman, or a goose, or an ass, or proud, or obstinate, or desirous of popular applause, is thereupon at once counted a learned, wise, far-seeing, good and religious man, and this is quite enough to ensure him eternal life.'—P. 55.

The following is his picture of some of the results of the promulgation of the Bull in Spain:—

'Since 1854 things are very different. Cardinal Gaude, Don Domingo Canubio, and Don N. Garcia Gil are now counted the wisest Dominicans, and all the other Spanish Dominicans are following them, as men sent from God to enlighten the whole world, which was till now sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Father Pascual down to 1855 was counted by learned men to be the oracle of Salamanca and a fountain of religious learning. Now most of the clergy declare him to have been a fool, and that he is condemned to eternal punishment in hell-fire, because on being asked by some Bishops, he replied in writing, 'that the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin never could become a dogma of the faith;' and because he never acknowledged the dogma after it had been declared by Pope Pius IX. Numbers of the clergy, and almost all the laity, who know nothing about it and have been seduced by the clergy, say too that he died impenitent, obstinately refusing to receive the Sacraments, although many of the clergy, and the Bishop of Salamanca himself, full of grief and charity, took the greatest pains that he should not lose his soul, but should receive the Sacraments. They do *not* say that the Bishop and Clergy denied the sick man the Sacraments, refusing to give them to him, unless he first repented of his error and heresy, and gave sufficient proof of his penitence, so that his retractation might be known everywhere; to which condition he would not consent.'—P. 54.

One more extract will make our readers sufficiently acquainted with the contents of this striking manifesto:—

'We have risen up in numbers against this definition, we have brought unanswerable arguments against it, and we have a right to say that the chief Pontiff has been deceived by bad counsellors to subscribe the aforesaid Bull, which is full in every part of lies and sophisms. We must not hesitate to say, that the simple Pontiff has been deluded into believing that his decree of December 8, 1854, would be received with pleasure, and would satisfy the desires of the Catholic and learned world. I dare affirm that Pius IX., if he had known the schisms and the persecutions of good and pious priests which were about to arise from it, and the great conflagration which was about to burst out in the Church on the occasion of the decree, would never have given ear to the advisers who had been sent by him to make diligent inquiries about this matter, whatever his own feelings about it were; but he would have thought it right to abstain from pronouncing the decree. I exhort the Roman Pontiff to retract the decree, for such a retractation will not bring the Roman Church and Pontiff into contempt,

as S. Bernard says, but rather will be very honourable to it. We who do not accept this article of faith, nor reverently receive the Roman Pontiff's definition about the Immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary, refuse to accept and to receive it with reverence, not from presumption, but from conviction; and we do not think ourselves therefore condemned, nor that we have suffered shipwreck in the faith, nor that we have fallen away from the unity of the Church, nor that we deserve to be subjected to legal penalties, although in fact we are subjected to them, and have to endure them. What we believe in our hearts we do not blush or fear to make known openly by our words and writings. We are imitators of those more noble Bereœans of whom it is said that they daily searched the Scriptures to see if these things were so. We have read through and through the Bull *Ineffabilis*, and we compare it with the teaching of the elders. And because we find that the doctrine of the Bull is not agreeable to their doctrine, but very discordant with it, we do not accept it; and from obedience to the doctrine which has been delivered to us, we are disobedient to the doctrine of the Bull. We always, however, profess our devotion and submission to the Roman Pontiff in everything in which we can submit to his commands, as being Christ's Vicar. But we should have cause to fear condemnation by the supreme Judge, whose righteousness is shown upon all, and whose judgment is sure, and we should fear to make shipwreck in the faith, and to fall away from the unity of the Church, of which Christ is the chief Head, if, in contradiction to the rules of the faith, we should give either a real or a feigned assent to the Bull *Ineffabilis*; and we should be inexcusable, since as S. James the Apostle says, "To him that knoweth good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." '—P. 97.

Fray Morgaez was unable to publish this bold-speaking *Examen Bullæ Ineffabilis* in Madrid, or in Spain. He sent it to his friends in Paris—the party represented by the *Observateur Catholique*—and by them it would seem that it has been published. There has naturally been a close friendship maintained between Fray Morgaez and the Gallican remonstrants against the new dogma. While the former was in prison, the editor of the *Observateur Catholique* opened a subscription in his favour in Paris, which amounted in a few days to eight hundred francs. This was transmitted to him, and on his deliverance from prison, he was invited to come to France, but he declined the proposal on the ground *qu'il doit rester sur le champ de bataille à Madrid pour combattre ses adversaires.* He has now made public his *Examen*, with the expectation and the hope that his orthodoxy may be fairly tried by it; and he has sent copies of it to his ecclesiastical superiors. Hitherto no judgment has been passed on him or his writings; he has simply been persecuted without trial or judgment. Whether he will or will not be now tried and condemned depends on the degree in which his ecclesiastical superiors are actuated by Ultramontane principles. 'How,' says the *Observateur Catholique*, 'can judges who call themselves 'Catholics, and who are priests, pronounce a sentence against 'a priest of high character, whose only crime is an inviolable 'attachment to the ancient faith and Catholic principles? They

'can only condemn him on Ultramontane principles; and it 'is clear that the Ultramontane system is not Catholic doc- 'trine.' We hail the appearance of such works as the *Observateur Catholique*, Guettée's *Histoire de l'Eglise de France*, Prompsault's *Du Siége du pouvoir ecclésiastique*, Laborde's *La Croyance à l'Immaculée Conception*, Vigil's *Difesa de los Gobiernos*, the late Protest of the Jansenist Church of Holland, and Fray Morgaez' *Examen*, as showing that 'Catholicism,' in the old sense of the word, does still exist; but we fear that it is becoming more and more manifest, that Ultramontanism is everywhere superseding it, and that the appeal to Holy Scripture Councils and Fathers, is almost universally giving way to the theory of the infallible fiat of the existing Pope. Perhaps such a consummation is the legitimate result of Pope Pius' creed, and the Council of Trent. At least we can scarcely have a doubt (however willingly we would think otherwise), that those who accept the Decrees of Trent will find themselves in the long run unable effectually to struggle against the Bull *Ineffabilis*.

ART. VII.—1. *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal.* Edinburgh. (Nos. for July and August, 1858.)

2. *Report of the Speech of the Reverend* GILBERT ROBISON, *before the Bishop and Synod of Aberdeen, 15th and 16th June,* 1858. Aberdeen: Wyllie and Son.

3. *Appendix of Authorities to ditto.*

4. *A Pastoral Letter addressed to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese.* By J. W. TROWER, D.D. Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. London: J. H. Parker. 1858.

5. *Considerations suggested by a late Pastoral Letter on the Doctrine of the Most Holy Eucharist.* By JOHN KEBLE, M.A., Vicar of Hursley and Honorary Canon of Cumbrae.

IF an apology be due to a portion of our readers for so frequent a recurrence to the course of events in Scotland, it will yet be acknowledged that our remarks have been compressed within the limits of a reasonable brevity. In once more criticising certain words and acts of our friends in North Britain, we still intend to be comparatively brief, although many of our remarks must extend to the discussion of general principles, which are as important in one country as in another.

And, firstly, as regards our differences with the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal.* The one, which receives the earliest notice from our contemporary, will be best set forth by the following extracts from two parallel columns, occurring in page 105 of his July number.

Theory.

'Take even the expense of giving a more elaborate character to our present system—more frequent assembling in Synod, in proper locality—with appropriate form and ceremony—legal functionaries and public proceedings,—how are even such charges *to be paid for?* It is easy to theorise on the subject. It is easy for the *Christian Remembrancer* to paint glowing pictures of the gathering of such provincial councils. But how are they to be realized? We fear that, practically, the reference to "Dreamland" would prove the truest point in the description.

Practice.

'A special Episcopal Synod was held at Edinburgh on Wednesday, the 21st inst. The Right Rev. the Primus, the Bishops of Argyll, Brechin, Glasgow, S. Andrew's, and Aberdeen. The Bishop of Moray was absent from family affliction. After prayer, and the celebration of the Holy Communion at S. Paul's Church, York Place, the Synod having been constituted, assembled at S. Andrew's Hall. The Primus stated that arrangements had been made for the College of Bishops to have the assistance of a legal adviser in the matter which was about to

The whole "array of Prelates, Presbyters, and Assessors; the seemly chapter-house—the faithful laity—the formal investiture—the imposing ceremony—the venerable model"—would perish before the question of *finance*.'

be brought before them; and that the public were to be admitted during the proceedings, subject, however, to exclusion, if any occasion should arise during which it might appear necessary to the Bishops to deliberate with closed doors. These arrangements the Synod approved.'

The main points on which we insisted, were the desirableness of publicity, and of the presence of a legal adviser. It is with much thankfulness and with a deep conviction of the happiest results, that we observe that the Synod, held on July the 21st, adopted both of these important changes. So long as we see our suggestions put in practice, we are not solicitous respecting the reasons for their adoption. We make no vain claim of having been, in the slightest degree, instrumental in bringing about an alteration, which may probably have been made without any reference to our humble observations. But, meanwhile, we are at least encouraged to persevere. It will be easy to bear the charges of being dreamers, unpractical, Utopian, so long as after all we witness signs of progress in the very direction whither we have ventured to point. *Solvitur ambulando* (it has been justly remarked), though it is bad logic, is in practical matters excellent common sense. Let us be reproved, so but we know at least that we are not speaking to deaf ears. With the Athenian of old, we exclaim, 'Strike, but hear me!'[1]

And reproof at any rate, to all appearance, we are not likely to lack, when we touch upon events in Scotland. That we may not run the risk of any approximation to garbling,

[1] Since the above was written, we are glad to see fresh evidence of a desire to face publicity in the Diocesan Synod held at Lochgilphead, by the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, and at the Diocesan Synod of Glasgow, where both the laity and reporters were permitted to be present. We must be permitted to add that we are far from unprepared, Utopians though we be, to meet the remarks of our contemporary even on the most practical and commonplace ground of finance. We have already shown that the most important features in our 'Dreamland' sketch became (within a few days after its publication) actual realities; and as to the 'seemly Church or Chapter House,' we suppose that few English travellers have failed to visit S. John's Church, Edinburgh, and S. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, either of which would meet the object we have in view, without entailing any cost, inasmuch as they are already built. We presume that the Scottish Bishops and Clergy are not unprovided with those robes of their respective offices which formed one of the minor accessories of the picture. Nor do we apprehend that the cost of the services, for say three days at the utmost, of a legal adviser at the annual September Synod (held during a time of year when the Courts are not sitting), would prove an insuperable obstacle. In the case of appellants and respondents, counsel would only be employed when *both* sides desired it; nor would it be any real hardship to individuals, nor otherwise than conducive to the peace of the Church, were there such a moderate tax upon controversial litigation as would serve at least as a pledge of the earnestness of those who resorted to the Court of Appeal.

we reprint *in extenso* from the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, the following account of the last Number of the *Christian Remembrancer*:—

'An impotent conclusion mars this otherwise interesting and able number. A guarded and ceremonious stricture on the Synodal Letter of the College of Bishops in Scotland, traversing, with little novelty of idea or argument, the well-trodden grounds of exception to their late proceedings, passes suddenly into a fierce onslaught upon ourselves. The transition is strange; but the change from suavity to severity, in the excitement of the moment, betrays the true, though suppressed, *animus* of the preceding article. The comments upon our last number need little answer; but there is one point which we must notice—the designation of the Synod held at Edinburgh on May 27th, and the Pastoral Letter then issued, as the meeting and act of "the Six Bishops."

'This title, varied more or less offensively, according to the character of the periodical, has headed almost every article which has appeared in our contemporaries on the subject; and we regret to find the *Christian Remembrancer* echoing the same cuckoo-cry. We emphatically protest against the phrase. It is part of the same system of unfairness and abnegation of fact which we have elsewhere mentioned. No act or expression of opinion could have been more strictly Synodal. The meeting was convened as a Synod, and acted throughout as such.

'The non-judicial character of its proceedings made it no less a Synod; nor was it rendered informal by the fact that one member of the College was himself the subject of debate. Councils, and Convocations, and Synods of the Church innumerable, could be informalised if the case were otherwise. And what we complain of is, that those who must be aware of the truth should adopt this designation, with the unworthy object, as it would seem, of profiting by the effect which it is calculated to have on the public mind, leading the uninformed and unthinking to assume that the issuing of a Pastoral was a partial or private exercise of authority, and that it is not, therefore, strictly entitled to the respect or obedience of the Church.

'We have the same observations to make with regard to a pamphlet which has just appeared, from the pen of the Rev. John Keble, of Hursley. We are even more surprised, that one so eminent and justly esteemed should have lent himself to the same unfair and disingenuous course.'

Now we have no right to complain of these comments, so far as they concern this Review, as in any way passing the limits of fair criticism. Nevertheless, when a brother journalist takes upon himself to explore the secrets of our heart, and to assure his readers that we have written with a certain 'suppressed *animus*,' it must be as lawful for us to deny, as for him to make the assertion. And we do most emphatically, most seriously, deny it. Both in the article itself, and in the postscript respecting our contemporary, we spoke precisely as we felt. There was no concealment, no suppression. It surely does not follow that, because we adopt a particular tone of expostulation with A, we are therefore bound to use precisely the same measure towards a very different personage, B. The causes of the difference in the particular case before us we will try very briefly to explain.

The body of our article discussed a document which, however open to objection, both as regards the manner of its production and the matter of its contents, was yet put forth by responsible rulers of the Church, avowing their responsibility. We never forgot, we trust, for a moment while we wrote, that *we* were only anonymous critics, while the authors of the document were bishops, entitled to respect from character as well as office; we never forgot that they were really (though partly by the act of some of their own body) placed in a position of considerable difficulty; neither did we wish to ignore the existence of very much in the contents of their joint letter, which appeared to us very true and excellent. We wrote, we repeat, precisely as we felt; and we rejoice to learn (even our opponents being judges), that our strictures were 'guarded and ceremonious,' and that our tone was one of 'suavity.' But when, turning from comment on an Episcopal manifesto, we felt compelled to notice the very surprising utterances of our contemporary, there was no longer any call for ceremony. Even if (which we really hope and trust was not the case) the penman of the remarks objected to should prove to be a person of high station, such a revelation, though wholly unlooked for and unsuspected on our part, could not affect the merits of the question. All anonymous critics stand upon equal terms: those who write, as those who travel, under an *incognito*, must be content to accept the disadvantages, as well as the advantages of their position. They may be enabled to say much which it might be inconvenient to utter *in propriâ personâ;* let them not complain, if they are treated as equals by those to whose position they have temporarily reduced themselves. We employed, we believe and trust, the language of honest indignation, of righteous 'severity,' against what seemed to us a putting forth of garbled extracts, and most ungenerous insinuations; and we cannot retract or regret one syllable that we uttered. 'The comments upon our last number,' says the journal, 'need little answer.' Be it so; but they have not received even that little.

One word upon the charge of disingenuousness which is brought against ourselves. We ought, it appears, to have spoken of the 'Pastoral issued by the Episcopal Synod,' instead of the 'Declaration of the Six Scottish Bishops.' Now, if of two forms of expression one is certainly correct, as being plain matter of fact, and the other (though it *may be* just and true) at least open to doubt, we prefer to employ the safer one. We understood that there were grave doubts whether the Synod, having acted without precedent and the slightest support from the Canons of the Scottish Church, had not lost its claim to be considered as *legitimè congregata*. The protest of the Bishop

of Brechin received no reply that in our judgment resolved these doubts: on the contrary, we know that many excellent lawyers pronounced it to be unanswerable. The *Ecclesiastical Journal* may have forgotten, though we have not, its own remarkable admission: 'We doubt not that legal objections 'might be raised, perhaps even sustained, against the Bishops' 'act.'

Hence, as we felt a doubt, we adopted a title which expressed that doubt. It may arise from obtuseness, or gross prejudice in favour of our own acts, but we are still unable to perceive in what way such a course can with propriety be termed 'unfair and disingenuous.'

However, we do not stand alone: the author of the *Christian Year* is pronounced, on the same authority, to be just as guilty as ourselves. Possibly some of our readers may draw a different inference from this circumstance. They may happen to estimate the character of Mr. Keble as highly as that of his anonymous accuser; and argue that if the *Christian Remembrancer* has only done what 'one so eminent and justly esteemed' has since countenanced by his own practice, its character for fairness and straightforwardness is not yet hopelessly ruined.

And here we would gladly dismiss this portion of this subject; but it is necessary to add a few remarks upon the August number of the same journal. That number re-echoes the censure, passed in the Charges of the Bishops of Argyll and of Glasgow, on Mr. Keble, and begs English periodicals and English brethren to spare their sympathy. *Eheu! quantùm mutatus!* In June the note was, 'Our readers will be interested, and, we 'trust, gratified, by the favourable opinions of the Synodical 'Letter of the Bishops, expressed in the following extracts by 'the English Church Press.' But now that same press is requested to be silent. The Letter is again and again proclaimed, in private and in public, to be 'the voice of the Church.' Congratulations, addresses of thanks, fresh pamphlets on the one side, are all welcome, or at least permissible. On the other side silence and submission are a bounden duty. *Roma locuta est; causa finita est:* and Mr. Keble is described as one 'urging on the presbyters of another Church resistance to *regular* authority.' Truly, an unfortunate epithet! The word *regular* we find explained in the first dictionary that happens to be at hand as 'agreeable to rule;' an explanation justified, we imagine, by etymology. But the Pastoral, whatever else it may be, is confessedly unsanctioned by any rule or canon whatsoever. The attempt to compare it to the right of censure upon books, exercised of old by the English Convocation, only

shows that the Episcopal Synod really believes itself, despite of all protests to the contrary, to be equivalent to the *two* Houses of Convocation in the English Church. If, therefore, for *regular* we read *irregular*, the above quotation becomes a tolerably correct statement. It thus in itself forms an excellent justification (if any were needed) for Mr. Keble's most temperate, thoughtful, and (we are thankful to add) most influential '*Considerations.*' His pamphlet has opened the eyes of many to the dangers and responsibilities which they would incur by the expression of any vote of thanks for the Pastoral: and the consequence is, that at the moment we write such a vote has not been carried in more than one Diocesan Synod, if, indeed, it can be said to have been carried there.

Let us now direct our attention to the speech made by Mr. Rorison, in opening the case for the presentment of Mr. Cheyne before the Bishop and Synod of Aberdeen. It is impossible, we think, to deny to this gentleman the possession of many of the gifts which enter into the formation of the accomplished controversialist. There is very considerable power of arrangement, and, in some parts, a certain felicity of expression, though marred by a studied ambitiousness of producing striking effects; there is that acquaintance with the works of opponents as well as friends, without which no man can be an advocate of any real worth and power; and a clever employment of the admissions of those furthest removed from his own views,—Dublin reviewers, for example, and Lutheran theologians. We must add a sort of breadth and boldness of statement which, if not always susceptible of strict proof, is at any rate effective for the time. But here our praise must stop. If we are asked to acquit this two-days' oration of bad taste, of recklessness in argument and citation, and of irreverence, we must decline. Of its taste let a single specimen suffice. Mr. Rorison closes a speech, directed against an aged and venerated Presbyter on a subject of peculiar solemnity, with a quotation: in itself, no doubt, a natural proceeding enough, as one can well understand the wish in such a case to use the words of another in preference to one's own. And from what page of Holy Writ, or from what work of some great light of the Church, Patristic or Anglican, is this solemn peroration taken? It is taken (will it be believed?) from the Dunciad of Alexander Pope. A poem oftentimes of the coarsest texture, and replete with the grossest imagery, written by a professing Romanist who practically taught Deism, is selected as the most fitting conclusion to a speech concerning 'this Sacrifice of the Altar, . . . the means

'whereby we represent, commemorate, and plead, with praise 'and thanksgiving, before God, the unspeakable merits of the 'precious death of Christ; and whereby He communicates and 'applies to our souls all the benefits of that one full and all-'sufficient Sacrifice once made upon the Cross!'[1]

The principles underlying Mr. Rorison's speech appear to be, *firstly*, that it is not lawful to interpret the Anglican formularies by reference to the Fathers, though we may appeal to the post-Reformation Doctors of the English and Scottish Churches; and *secondly*, that whenever these latter have been betrayed into inconsistencies of speech, the language which supports Mr. Cheyne's teaching is to be interpreted by, and brought down to the level of, that which supports Mr. Rorison's teaching. Let us examine these principles a little more closely.

The first, though sanctioned by that great lawyer, Dr. Lushington (whose judgments on church ornaments, penal law of discipline, and Admiralty cases of shipping, have been again and again reversed), and, we regret to say, by Bishop Suther, in the very case before us, has been virtually repudiated in the enunciations both of the three Scottish Bishops in 1857, and the six in 1858. It is, indeed, a strange principle for any communities which profess to represent the teaching of the early and undivided Church Catholic. In the words of Mr. Keble, 'There 'was somewhat in this very startling to those who have been 'taught to believe that the very characteristic of the English 'Church, as distinguished from the Roman divines on the one 'hand, and the merely Protestant bodies on the other, is her 'loyal and constant reference to primitive antiquity; as in the 'Twentieth Article, the Prefaces to the Prayer-book and Or-'dinal, the Canon of 1571, and, in regard of this controversy, 'the Homily on the Sacrament especially. We were at a loss 'to understand how the standard theological writers of the 'Reformed Church could be appealed to without virtually ap-'pealing to the Fathers of the Undivided Church also; to whom 'our own divines so constantly refer—to whose consenting wit-'ness they attribute so great authority.'[2]

We do not see how this principle is to be acted upon, without either (as Mr. Keble goes on to remark) separating the Churches of the Anglican communion from the Church of the Fathers, and casting them adrift, or else virtually assuming that our Anglican divines must needs be *complete* and *infallible* interpreters of antiquity. This last assumption, we conscientiously believe, in reality runs throughout the whole of the ingenious address of Mr. Rorison. At page 39 he quotes that profound

[1] The words of the recent Pastoral.

[2] Considerations, &c., p. 5.

theologian, Lord Macaulay (!), to the effect, that the generation to which Sir Thomas More belonged, 'had all the information 'on this subject that we have, or that, while the world lasts, 'any human being will have.' No assertion can possibly be more contrary to fact, if addressed to those communions which profess to regard the voice of antiquity. Deep research into the ancient Liturgies is a study which has arisen entirely *since* that date. Glad indeed, we believe, would our Reformers have been to have enjoyed the fruits gathered by the toils of such students as Muratori, Renaudot, Palmer, Neale, Freeman, G. H. Forbes, and others; and greatly, we humbly conceive, would their own achievements have been modified by those precious discoveries. Precious we call them, speaking as members of the English Church, and, we trust, in accordance with her spirit; but of no possible value, we fully grant, to a person like the showy essayist, who is evidently convinced of his own perfect ability to interpret Scripture without the slightest external aid. Lord Macaulay accordingly (in the well-known Essay on Ranke, from which the above extract is taken) manifestly does interpret our Lord's solemn words of Institution on the Zuinglian hypothesis. Mr. Rorison would fain persuade us that he himself, in common with all Anglican divines of note, repudiates Zuinglianism. Yet, with that recklessness which is characteristic of *nearly* the whole of his address, he catches with delight at words which, if they (in company with their context) prove anything, prove that Zuingle's view is the only one that can be taken by a man of common sense. Lord Macaulay is at least consistent; he needs no help from Donne or Hooker any more than from S. Ambrose or S. Cyril; he cares no more for Anglican Liturgies than for Tridentine decrees. To *his* mind *any* interpretation but the purely figurative is *primâ facie* absurd, and there is an end of the matter. How different was the feeling of that really profound thinker, Sir William Hamilton, is well known, we believe, in the Scotch circles which he used to frequent.

And now for the second principle, that of interpreting all passages in Anglican divines, which are couched in what is called 'high' language, by their 'lower' language, if it may be found. In some cases, not even the perplexities of controversy ever elicited this lower language. Archbishop Bramhall, perhaps our greatest anti-Roman controversialist; George Herbert, our hallowed minstrel; Sherlock, one of the very best of our practical instructors: these, with others (as Bishop Lake, Bishop Montagu, Mason, &c.), are not even alluded to by Mr. Rorison; and yet, if they stood alone, how hard would it be to condemn Mr. Cheyne for the employment of their language. One excuse,

indeed, might have been made. If the authorities of the Church in Scotland can say, 'We have constantly visited with ecclesiastical penalties all who fall short of the teaching of the recent 'Pastoral, as well as those who go beyond it; let the doctrine 'of a divine look to us Rome-wards or Geneva-wards, he is 'equally condemned and punished—

'"Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur"'—

such a course, however narrowing and unwise, is at least firm, consistent, and deserving of the highest respect. Such language could not, however, we fear, in the present case be justly held; nor, indeed, should we desire to see anything like counter-proscriptions.

But to return to the use to be made of inconsistent language on the part of divines. It would be a deeply interesting subject of inquiry (though one far beyond our present scope) to learn which expression was the later. Mr. Keble is at this moment being reminded, on all hands, of his own countenance of a merely subjective Presence in the well-known lines for the Fifth of November. The objectors, perhaps, forget that, many years since, Mr. Keble was a party to the publication of those Remains of his friend Mr. Froude, wherein these particular lines are made the subject of special reproof. 'What business,' says Mr. Froude (we quote from memory)—'what business have you to say "not in the hands?"' A recent discovery has shown the justice of Mr. Froude's objection. The stone at Autun proves (let Mr. Rorison sneeringly try to explain it away as much as he pleases) that the phrase of 'holding in the two palms (or else thy palms) Jesus Christ the Son of God' is language of the *second* century. Well can we believe that deeper thought and larger study may have altered the language of other divines as well as that of Mr. Keble.

Once more. It is indeed most undesirable that we should, on either side, wrest the sentiments of the departed. But let it be borne in mind, that when each of two views appears to derive some countenance from the writings of a particular divine, and we know that the one was the less popular, it is not safe to be quite so sure that the lower view (so to term it) was of necessity that which was enshrined most deeply in his heart. It is a very serious thing to explain away a man's solemn addresses to his Maker, or deep devotional counsels to others, by a pre-determined judgment that they *must be* rhetorical and figurative. Are not men as often carried away by controversy as by devotion? May not a divine have spoken somewhat *ultra modum* in the heat of argument, as well as in the fervour of prayer? Even Mr. Rorison (we mention it to his honour)

speaks of the following passage from Dr. Pusey as one 'of much beauty and devout feeling:'—'Prayer is ever the deepest 'teacher; prayer speaks face to face with God; prayer pleads 'to God, asks of God, looks to God with full assurance of faith 'for what it asks. . . . . We must, as we are Christians, believe 'in our inmost souls what we speak to Him.' Or, as the same thought is expressed by Mr. Keble:—

'Men may say, "Nay, but He is *Virtually* Present—present by power and effect—present as the sun in the heavens—it is all one, as if He were present." You may say this to yourself, and try to believe it, and to be thoroughly contented with it; but it will never do. To the loving heart it never can be the same thing, whether your condescending Saviour, in His human nature, is really come to visit you, as in the days of His flesh, or no. The limitation to a virtual Presence no more satisfies the subjective longings of the believer than it does the objective sayings of the Church and of the Fathers. There is palpable proof of this. Holy and devout writers of our Church, who perhaps have been driven by the seeming necessities of controversy to argue and conclude as this Pastoral Letter does,—when they come to pray and give thanks,—when, instead of disputing on Eucharistical doctrine, they have to pour out their hearts in Eucharistical devotion,—what is the tone which they invariably take? They borrow instinctively the words and thoughts which most aptly express the mind of those whom they have just before been reasoning against. Nothing but a Real Presence—real in the nearest and highest sense—real as the things of God are real—nothing less than this will content them then. Bishop Jeremy Taylor may perhaps be cited as a remarkable instance of this. In such cases, as in the construction of Church Formularies, "Legem credendi lex statuit supplicandi." The mere dogmatical sayings of individuals, or of the Church, or of any portion of it, must be qualified and interpreted by the words which they say to God in prayer. And this is a great and peculiar refreshment all through this sad controversy,—that persons on both sides are quite sure of their opponents not meaning the mischief which, as they think, inevitably follows from the opinions they deprecate; and in their prayers, which are grounded on the positive truth they hold in common, they may heartily and comfortably unite, even though they have been disputing, or are to dispute, about the full meaning of those prayers. Each side not only may in charity, but must in truthfulness, say of the other, Their faith is better than the words by which they express it.'—*Considerations, &c.*, pp. 10, 11.

Mr. Rorison, however, attempts to turn against his opponent the following words from the *Christian Year*. We re-quote them with his italics and singular commentary:—

'What sparkles in this lucid flood
Is Water, by gross mortals eyed;
But, *seen by faith*, *'t is Blood*
Out of a dear Friend's side.'

'If this,' (says Mr. Rorison,) 'spoken of Baptism misleads no one, why should any one be misled, in devotional literature ancient or modern, by the linking of a counterpart phraseology to the Eucharist?'

Despite the example of Hooker, it is to us a source of deep marvel, that any one with the Bible in his hand should con-

ceive the cases to be parallel. Nowhere has prophet or apostle told us that the water of Baptism *is* the blood of Him who died for us. But He himself, who inspired prophets and apostles, has said, 'This is my body—this is my blood.' For once we agree with Strauss, when he remarks, that those who heard these words understood them literally, not figuratively. *How* it came to pass, they did not inquire: it was not from apostles, but from their unbelieving countrymen, that there issued forth the question, 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?'

Once more; it is surely consonant to the spirit of all British law to allow doubt to be on the side of the accused. The *Catena* published by Mr. Rorison would be a perfectly legitimate weapon on behalf of one who should be attacked in a Church court for holding the theory of a *virtual* Presence only. Such an one might say, 'However differently Bishop Taylor and 'others have elsewhere spoken; still, thus they have spoken: let 'me at least use their language.' Accordingly, the Bishop of Brechin, in his Charge, remarks concerning this very theory: 'I would here speak with great reserve and tenderness, as 'I know that the later non-jurors and some of the ornaments of 'our Church have used language which seems to advocate this 'imperfect view.'

We have avowed that we have not been able to examine this *Catena* in detail. Yet enough we can see at a glance, to show how utterly one-sided it is. To say nothing of the omissions of great names already alluded to, there are evidences enough of the blind zeal with which Mr. Rorison has rushed upon his task; for we wish to believe, if possible, that it *is* blind zeal, and not intentional dishonesty. Thus, *e. g.* he gives quotations from the Charge of Bishop Thirlwall, delivered in 1857. The passages cited by Mr. Rorison are all to be found in the Charge referred to, between pages 30 and 43. But Mr. Rorison omits, *without the slightest mark of omission*, one entire page of a very conciliatory tendency. That exact page we subjoin. (The Bishop is speaking of Archdeacon Denison.)

'But the question is not now as to the judgment shown in the selection of the terms, but as to their meaning in the defendant's proposition, and this can only be determined by reference to the other parts of his own teaching, not to a system which he professes to reject. And when all is taken together, it is not very easy to ascertain what is the object, to which he conceives worship to be due.

'Nominally, it is the Body and Blood of Christ. But by this he cannot be understood to mean any material substance superadded to the bread and wine. For this is, as we have seen, expressly excluded by the term "immaterial" in his other proposition. Nor can he be supposed to claim adoration for anything pertaining only to Christ's human nature, and separate from his Divinity. For this would be manifest idolatry, from which the Romanist guards himself by his doctrine of concomitance, and which ought

not to be imputed to any one by whom it has not been distinctly avowed. It would seem, therefore, that the presence meant can be no other than a purely spiritual presence of Christ himself, in the entireness of His Person, which is, no doubt, in itself a fit object of worship. And such a presence in the Eucharist has been constantly affirmed by our most eminent divines, and, as far as I know, denied by none.

'It may, however, be contended, that even when this is assumed to be the author's meaning, he still remains exposed to the charge of a very serious error, by the local limits which he appears to assign to this presence, when he describes it as "under the form of bread and wine," though it must be observed that the phrase does not necessarily imply a local circumscription.'

Now it would be just as fair to cite this page only, as to omit it in the way Mr. Rorison has done. Let us not be misunderstood: we do not claim Bishop Thirlwall as a doctrinal ally. He is opposed to the teaching of Archdeacon Denison and Mr. Cheyne. (A note appended to this very passage exhibits an apparent leaning to part of Mr. Freeman's view.) Only let not his gratifying and charitable admissions be quietly eliminated, without a hint to the reader that anything has been subtracted. We have not yet done with our orator's use of this prelate's Charge. Mr. Rorison has the grace, somewhat lower down, to place three asterisks, as a mark that something is omitted. What is that something? It is almost startling to discover that Mr. Rorison breaks off with these words:—'This, no doubt, is a 'proposition, than which it is difficult to conceive one either 'more absurd and shocking in itself, or more directly repugnant 'to the doctrine of the Church of England,' and studiously omits the *very next* sentence: '*But for this reason we should be the more loth to fasten it on any one who disclaims it.*' Nor is this the whole of which the three asterisks indicate the omission. Few can have leisure to examine their value for themselves: and yet how very few, without such examination, would suppose that they were the representatives of four pages, and that in one of those four pages were contained the following remarkable words:—

'But still, it appears to me that the law would be made an instrument of something very like persecution, if a clergyman was to be deprived of his preferment for contradicting the Articles, though he professed, apparently with perfect sincerity, that he holds every doctrine contained in them, because his interpretation is deemed by some strained and erroneous. . . . I am against oppression and injustice on whatever side they are found; but as they are the natural allies of error, I deprecate them most of all when they are called in as auxiliaries to the side of truth.'

In a word, the Bishop of S. David's, although opposed to Mr. Cheyne, would not on any account be a party to the

[1] Charge, pp. 36, 37. The three sentences omitted bear personal reference to Archdeacon Denison, and do not affect Mr. Cheyne.

confirmation of the sentence passed by the Bishop of Aberdeen. Who would possibly suspect this from Mr. Rorison's *Catena?* And what amount of confidence does it impart to the portions we have not examined?

Possibly there may not be another case of citation so singular as this. But we did not intentionally select it.[1] Bishop Thirlwall's Charge was easily accessible to us; the other divines quoted are, at the moment we write, not easily accessible. To speak of two others only, Bishops Pearson and Andrewes. Nothing but an utter misconception of the point in question could make any man imagine that the following words from the immortal *Treatise on the Creed* in the least degree militated against the doctrine of our Blessed Lord's *supra-local*, mysterious, Presence in the Holy Eucharist:—

'When this Ascension was performed, it appeared manifestly to be a true local translation of the Son of Man, as man, from these parts of the world below into the heavens above, by which that Body, which was before locally present here on earth, and was not so then present in Heaven, became substantially present in Heaven, and no longer locally present in earth. . . . As therefore when we say Christ ascended, we understand a literal and local ascent, not of His divinity . . . but of His humanity, which was so in one place that it was not in another,' &c.

If any man *will* quote the above words against us, we are content, for the nonce (so far as regards the Sacramental Presence), to reply with Martin Luther at Marburg, 'I will not, 'when Christ's body is in question, hear speak of a particular 'place. I absolutely will not. Christ's body is in the Sacrament, '*but it is not there as in a place.*'

Mr. Rorison discovers, also, a passage in Bishop Andrewes objecting to the terms *sous les espèces* or *dans les espèces Sacramentales*, and another objecting to adoration of the Holy Sacramental elements. This last is entirely ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος, as neither the presentee, nor any other Anglican divine, has, to our knowledge, ever taught it. And, of course, Mr. Rorison is well aware that, not in a rhetorical address nor in the fervour of devotion, but in the cool language of controversy, Andrewes has laid down exactly the same propositions respecting Adoration as Bishop Forbes and Mr. Cheyne. But, even supposing, for argument's sake, that the *tone* of Bishop Andrewes was on the whole doubtful, we have again to ask why *we* may not employ his higher, as well as Mr. Rorison his lower, language. There is, however, one further test of the normal state of this holy Bishop's mind upon these holy mysteries. We beg to remind

[1] We observe that a contemporary critic passes similar judgment upon Mr. Rorison's quotations from Thorndike and others; and we see no reason to doubt the correctness of such judgment: very much the contrary.

our readers of the accounts handed down to us respecting the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in this prelate's private chapel. Think of its furniture, the silver candlesticks, the silver-gilt canister for wafers, the chalice with its graven representation of our Lord, the *tricanale* for the water to mix with the wine, the credence-table, the censers in which frankincense was burned. Recall the following, amongst other traits, of his recommendations how to celebrate the Holy Communion:—'Moraliter 'et decorè, uti cum magnatibus accubituri sumus. Posteà panes 'è canistro in patinam ponit. Dein vinum è doliolo, adinstar 'sanguinis erumpentis in calicem haurit. Tum aquam è tricanali 'scypho immiscet. Postremò omnibus ritè, et quàm fieri potest 'decentissimè atque aptissimè compositis, stans pergit et peragit.' And, without stopping to discuss how far the frequent repetition in these recommendations of '*adorat*... bowing as before... with treble adoration, &c.' only amount to the lower kind of προσκύνησις, or are by anticipation intended for supreme worship, we only add the note appended to the *Gloria in Excelsis*:—'Here the congregation ariseth, and *having made their* '*adoration*, they go towards their seats to a little private 'devotion.'[1]

Now, let us imagine such a chapel-service carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of Mr. Rorison, or of any of the laity who memorialised the Bishops on the subject of the Brechin Charge. On which side would they class the bishop and clergy who ministered there? Would they suppose them to have Drummondite tendencies, or to fraternise with the clergy of S. Barnabas, Pimlico, S. Ninian's, Perth, or of a church 'somewhere in the west of Scotland,'—a place of which Mr. Rorison forgets the name, though (as we have heard from a friend in the North) the place has not entirely forgotten him?

But it is time to leave the *Catena*. Only let those who shall study it remember *throughout* the deeply important caution of Mr. Keble:—

> 'And in regard of those passages, no doubt very numerous, which may be gathered from approved writers of our Church, sounding as if in condemnation of the Real Presence, I believe they may all be reduced under three heads. They are directed either against (1) a gross corporal Presence, as of an earthly body; or (2) the notion of ubiquity, as maintained by some of the Lutherans; or (3) they as much disprove the receiving and eating as they do the real giving and taking of Christ's Real Body. With the first and second class, those whom the Synod censures entirely agree; as to the third, it is hard to see how they can be reconciled with the Catechism and Communion Offices.'—*Considerations*, p. 12.

[1] See Dr. Hook's 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' *Art.* Andrewes; where these details are respectively given at length, from Prynne's famous libel against Laud, entitled Canterbury' Doom,' and Nicholl's 'Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer.'

We must proceed to consider some of the *obiter dicta* of our orator. In the terms of the indictment, certain words of Mr. Cheyne's are selected as necessarily Roman, and it is openly urged that the presentee, in saying 'as the Church means,' can only with propriety be understood to refer to the Church of Rome. The correctness of this inference may be judged of by the accompanying parallel:—

Mr. Cheyne.	*Another Divine.*
'When I speak of the Real Presence, I mean, as the Church means, that, after consecration, whole Christ, God and Man, is really, truly, and substantially present in the Eucharist, under the form of bread and wine.'	'This Catholic and Apostolic Church . . . believes that the Body or Flesh, and the Blood of Jesus Christ, the Creator and Redeemer of the world, both God and Man, united indivisibly in One Person, are verily and indeed given to, taken, eaten, and received by, the faithful in the Lord's Supper, under the outward sign or form of bread and wine, which is, on this account, the partaking or communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. She believes that the Eucharist is not the sign of an *absent* body, and that those who partake of it receive not merely the figure, or shadow, or sign, of Christ's Body, but the reality itself. And as Christ's divine and human natures are inseparably united, so she believes that we receive in the Eucharist, not only the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, but Christ himself, God and Man.'

And who is this other divine? It is one whose existence is never alluded to by Mr. Rorison, but who is believed in Oxford, and in many an English parsonage, to be about the most able of living anti-Roman controversialists, the Rev. William Palmer, of Worcester College, Oxford. How absurd then becomes Mr. Rorison's insinuation, that his opponent's language can only be tolerated by Roman Catholics!

Mr. Rorison praises the presentee for the 'sculptured precision' with which he speaks. We cannot return the compliment. A generous pleader would, in such a case, surely desire to make his own meaning clear, that we might know what *was* the precise doctrine which he was engaged in enunciating, in contradistinction to that of his opponent. On the whole, we imagine that Mr. Rorison advocates the theory of a virtual Presence. Yet not only does he catch at support (as we have seen) from one who, like Lord Macaulay, countenances pure Zuinglianism, but he himself asserts in most emphatic terms (in page 17 of his

Address) that in this matter, 'the measure of agreement with Rome is the measure of divergence from Anglicanism.' If so, the question lies in a nutshell. The *virtual* theory unquestionably agrees with Rome more than the teaching of Zuinglius. *Ergo*, the virtual theory is the greater divergence from Anglicanism; and Mr. Rorison himself, so far, on his own showing, diverges from Anglicanism. (And if even Mr. Rorison, what shall be said of the recent Pastoral?)

Neither can we find any direct answer to the plain question, whether the Holy Eucharist is or is not a sacrifice? So far as we can make out, we should imagine that Mr. Rorison inclined to think that it was *not*, but shrunk from the responsibility of saying so. Now, this is a very important matter, because the reply of the Committee of Laymen to the Pastoral has already shown (what we all along suspected) that the real objection to Bishop Forbes's teaching lay, not in his account of the relation between the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Altar, but in his putting forth the doctrine that the Holy Eucharist is a Sacrifice at all. Sure we are, that amongst those who admit the truth of this last doctrine, the question of the relation between the two Sacrifices will admit of a pacific settlement. Both will allow the existence of points of identity, both will allow the existence of points of difference. And, as we have already seen in the controversies about Predestination and Justification, a certain margin may be fairly and reasonably claimed for differences of temperament and habits of thought.

But on the fundamental question underlying this, we should be disposed to feel very tenderly towards those to whom it appeared novel and startling; if they, in their turn, would but avoid hasty recrimination and attempts at proscription, and would study the question prayerfully, with their Bibles open before them. *That* doctrine may not indeed lie upon the surface of Holy Scripture; but neither does the personality of the Holy Spirit nor the doctrine of the Holy Trinity itself. And if by chance this page should catch the eye of any one disposed thus to study the question, we would ask them in such a spirit to consider the following very brief statement of the scriptural grounds of our belief.

We believe, that from the fall of man to his ultimate restoration, material sacrifice is a law in God's kingdom. 'Gather my 'saints together unto me: those that have made a covenant 'with me with sacrifice' (Ps. l. 5).

We believe that the latest of the prophets foretold of the material, though bloodless, sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, under the title of the 'pure offering,' which should in every place be offered unto God's name (Malachi i. 11). This is

no novel interpretation. It is explicitly that of many of the Fathers, and is denied by none. The actual words of Malachi are embodied in the Liturgy of S. Mark.

We believe that when our blessed Lord spoke of the necessity of reconciliation before we offer our gifts at the *altar* (S. Matt. v. 23, 24), He spoke prospectively, as well as retrospectively. Such interpretation has ancient authority, and probably, too, that of the English Prayer-book.

We believe that our Redeemer, in the institution of the Holy Eucharist, employed sacrificial language. We have here with us, not merely what is popularly considered an extreme school, but the most able, learned, and reverent opponents of the Bishop of Brechin on the question of Eucharistical Adoration, Mr. Freeman and Mr. G. H. Forbes. Nay, hear even the prime mover against the Brechin Charge in the Scotch Episcopal Synod. 'I admit' (says the Bishop of Glasgow) 'that there is 'more or less sacrificial language in the expressions used by our 'blessed Saviour in the institution of the Eucharist. This was 'to be expected, as what He was instituting was the Christian 'Passover, the means by which his people should for ever "feed 'by faith with thanksgiving" on the very Paschal Lamb, the 'true Sacrifice, even on his own blessed Body and Blood.'—(Pastoral Letter, p. 26.)

We believe that the entire passage in 1 Cor. x. 16—21, wherein S. Paul contrasts the Holy Eucharist with the sacrifices of the law and the sacrifices of the heathen, loses well-nigh all its force and propriety, unless that Eucharistic service be a sacrifice also. Bishop Trower here again appears to be quite with us. (P. 24.)

We believe that the words in Hebrews xiii. 10 ('we have an altar'), even if primarily referrible to the Cross, do at any rate secondarily look to the Eucharistical altar and sacrifice.[1]

We believe that there is a real relation between the ritual of Heaven, wherein, says the seer of Patmos, 'stood a Lamb as it had been slain' (Rev. v. 6), and the ritual of the Church on earth, wherein 'as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come.' (1 Cor. xi. 26.) The 'slain Lamb' points to the sacrificial character of that sublime service celebrated 'in the midst of the throne.' (Cf. Freeman, p. 3.)

And now to return to Mr. Rorison. Does he admit, or does he not, that the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice? If he does, the language of his speech is, to say the least, very singular. It

[1] To avoid complicating the argument, we make no reference to Heb. x. 12. The reader, who can refer to the original Greek, must be aware how different a rendering from that in the Authorized Version can be made, and how far more consonant with the ancient Liturgics is such rendering.

shows that he can, when he pleases, exercise a reticence and caution as remarkable as his usual rashness. If he does not, why does he, apparently, approve of Bishop Trower's Pastoral, and support (however unsuccessfully), in the Diocesan Synod of Aberdeen, a vote of thanks for the Episcopal letter which expressly recognises that doctrine? Mr. Rorison must know as well as we do that a *Catena* of Anglican authorities can be easily produced upon the subject of the Christian Sacrifice. But he carefully abstains from such admission. Of the ancient Liturgies, which with one voice proclaim it, we forbear to speak: they have, apparently, no place in Mr. Rorison's system of theology. He says (p. 42), with an evident insinuation of denial, 'Given, that the Eucharist is *in any sense a* 'sacrifice; given, that our Lord's Body is in or under the 'elements; and it follows,' &c. We say 'an evident insinuation of denial,' because, as we *know* that Mr. Rorison denies the second of these hypothetical *data*, we must suppose that he would be glad to deny the first likewise. Yet he must be aware that even Waterland has said 'that the Sacrament of the 'Eucharist,—in whole or in part, in a sense proper or improper, '—is a sacrifice of the Christian Church, is a point agreed upon 'among all knowing and sober divines, Popish, Lutheran, or 'Reformed.'

A passing remark may be made on Mr. Rorison's illustrations (for of course he does not intend them for arguments), from a heathen and from a Mohammedan, namely, Cicero and Averroes. We too, if so minded, might illustrate from the adumbrations of holy truth contained in false religions; we might refer to the wondrous scene in the 'Odyssey,' where Ulysses acquires new powers by draining the mystic draught of blood; to the Amrita cup of Hindoo mythology,—liquid fire to the rebellious sinner, immortality to the humble and pure of heart; to the offerings made in all lands (right in principle, wrong in destination), where the priest and people partook of what they gave. These and other analogies even more apt, *φωνᾶντα συνέτοισιν*, might be dwelt upon; but they are not arguments, and we forbear.[1] But what is the worth of Mr. Rorison's allies? There is a line, waving and indistinct, we grant, but still perceptible, between ethics and theology; and minds adapted to the investigation of the one are not necessarily suited to that of the other. Now

[1] We cannot, however, resist the following from the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead':—'He is so far born that the deceased Osirian may say that he lives spiritually by the bread of Seb; he lives on the bread of wheaten flour, and the red wine of a river in a holy place.' (Translated by Rev. D. H. Heath, in Sir C. Nicholson's 'Catalogue of Antiquities.') Justly does Mr. Freeman speak of the impossibility of evacuating the subject of mystery. Happily few, excepting Mr. Rorison, attempt it.

Cicero, admirable when treating of morals, as in his *De Officiis* (however much he may possibly have plagiarised from the Grecian Stoics), is remarkably deficient in those profounder intuitions which, in a Plato, a Proclus, a Cleanthes, have preserved so many 'wrecks of Paradise.' A Socrates may die with his religious convictions unshaken, nay, for and because of them: Cicero, alas! in open court, can afford to laugh at the terrors of the world unseen. Who is he, that we should go to him for hints on the nature of the Godhead? But Averroes, it may be said, is cited against high views of the Holy Eucharist on the authority of an honoured name, that of Archbishop Laud. True; but in Laud's days, the Koran was not accessible to English readers. Men were hardly aware that the same religion which thought a Sacramental 'banquet of His Flesh and Blood' a profound absurdity, taught that there were two other leading absurdities in the Christian faith, and that those two were the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the doctrine of the Incarnation. The last especially is the universal theme of scorn among the Moslems. Only a few years since, an estimable English clergyman (the Rev. H. W. Churton) has told us how an attempt to explain it to some Mohammedans in the 'Land of the Morning' simply made them laugh outright. If it be said, as it may with much truth, that Mohammed himself had only obtained a most gross and lowering conception of the Incarnation, with equal justice may it be averred that Averroes had evidently acquired a precisely similar conception of the doctrine of the Real Presence. Let those who *now* persist in availing themselves of the Arabian philosophy as a ground for rejecting the one, remember that, if (ὃ μὴ γένοιτο) they are consistent, they are equally bound to reject the other.

Towards the conclusion of his Address, Mr. Rorison informs us that 'the artifice of inculcating "an awful and reverential 'manner" is the approved receipt, as the history of all super-'stition shows, for sanctifying, in the estimation of the timid 'and credulous, the most enormous deviations from truth and 'common sense.' As these words are again a quotation from the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, we must suppose (though we were not previously aware of the fact) that, on the north side of the Tweed, that organ of opinion is imagined by some persons to be a high ecclesiastical authority. Of the good taste and devout feeling which could make such an application of these words we will not trust ourselves to speak. We may, however, remark that, with strange inconsistency, Mr. Rorison alludes, in the very next page, to 'a venerable and a deeply 'honoured man, Launcelot Andrewes, erewhile Bishop of Win-

'chester, "whose praise is in all the Churches."' Whether Bishop Andrewes did or did not inculcate the 'awful and reverential manner' which is here so stigmatized, may be judged from the accounts of his chapel-service already quoted. Let it be further added that his biographer especially observes:—'His chapel, in which he held monthly communions, was so 'decently and reverently adorned, and God served there with 'so holy and reverend a behaviour of himself and his family, by 'his pattern, that the souls of many who came there in time 'of divine service were very much elevated, and themselves 'stirred up to the like reverend deportment.' Happily, this 'artifice' is not yet extinct in the Episcopal Church of Scotland. The recent Pastoral teaches, that 'the consecrated elements, 'being the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, are to 'be received *with lowly veneration and devout thankfulness.*'

And now it is high time that we part company with Mr. Rorison. We do so with the observation that all his wit, research, sarcasm, and fluency, leave, in our humble judgment, the following positions untouched:—

1. That the presence of the Body of Christ our Lord involves the presence of his Person, as He Himself has said:—'*I* am the living bread.' (Cf. Mr. Palmer, as quoted above, and the patristic evidence in Mr. Keble's pamphlet.)

2. That there has always been a school of teachers in the Anglican Communion who have, without reproof, taught that such Presence in the Holy Eucharist is adorable. Leading names are those of Archbishop Bramhall and George Herbert, in England; Bishops Forbes, of Edinburgh, and Lindesay, of Brechin, in Scotland.

3. That even divines who in controversial writings have argued against Eucharistical adoration, have in their devotional writings countenanced and recommended it. We may again instance Bishop Jeremy Taylor.

4. That Churches which have so long tolerated such teaching (sanctioned, as it undoubtedly is, by some great names among the ancient Fathers), may safely continue to tolerate it.

5. That the Holy Eucharist being confessedly 'the Sacrifice of the Altar,' the precise relation of that Sacrifice to the Sacrifice of the Cross may be fairly left open to some latitude of opinion; such latitude being apparently admitted even in the Church of Rome.

6. That, even supposing certain living divines to have pressed to the utmost the latitude hitherto permitted, the penalty of imposing upon any of them 'suspension until recantation,' or, in other words, virtual suspension for life, is an intolerable hardship to them and to their flocks; especially so long as excess

in an opposite direction remains without authoritative check or censure.

Little as we have heard of Mr. Rorison's antecedents, we have no reason to suppose that anything that he has said or done upon the present occasion is in anywise inconsistent with them. Of him it will hardly, we believe, be said: *Nil fuit unquam tam sibi dispar.* It is far otherwise with the next publication with which we have to deal. Between the tone of the Bishop of Glasgow on this theme some years ago, and the tone of the Bishop of Glasgow now, there is the whole interval of difference that lies between the man who, in 1849, confronted the Duke of Argyll with such truly pastoral dignity and temper, and the man who, in 1858, entices a college tutor (in a private and seemingly friendly correspondence) into an avowal of opinion, and then sends that avowal, torn from its context, to the Primus of the Scottish Church, as an act of accusation and ground for the writer's removal from office. *Immane quantum discrepat!* No exhibition of conduct throughout this sad controversy has rendered us more desirous of peace. If Bishop Trower can be thus changed by the agitation of controversy in the same communion (for variances with those outside do not seem to have the same injurious effect), what may not be feared for those who are sincerely and deeply conscious that they have little or no claim to the high gifts he has in other days displayed?

Even the *Scotch Ecclesiastical Journal*, to its great credit, while sympathising with the contents, evidently doubted whether this new Pastoral was well-timed. A London contemporary, which has always expressed dissent from Bishop Forbes's teaching, though claiming toleration for it, at once declared this letter to be alike unworthy of the subject and the writer, with the *non tali auxilio*, &c.

For our own part, we have felt half-tempted to pass it in respectful silence. Yet, on second thoughts, some of its propositions seem to demand a notice, if not for their novelty or originality, yet from their apparent dangerousness, as proceeding from one of the chief pastors of the Church.

We can only touch upon a few of its topics. We will not dwell upon what appears to us the exceeding personality of the letter. Nevertheless, this characteristic is so interwoven with its entire framework, that we can hardly avoid the semblance of the like feature in our remarks.

The points to which we would invite especial attention, are the following:—the view taken of mediæval theology (p. 9), of idolatry (p. 11), of the functions of common sense (p. 29), and of the authority of the Thirty-nine Articles in the Postscript.

On all these points Bishop Trower appears, to our humble judgment, to be narrow, restricting, and at variance with many of the greatest lights of the Church in Britain. But we must first allude to a few topics of a less general character.

In page 9, the Bishop of Glasgow declares, that his brother Bishop seems to have spoken of the Holy Eucharist as if it were of more importance than the Cross and Passion itself. Was it quite consistent with the careful and considerate study due to so thoughtful a Charge from a brother prelate, to overlook the circumstance that Bishop Forbes had anticipated any such accusation, by inserting into the second edition the following passage, lest his readers should by any possibility mistake his meaning on this head?—

'That mysterious Act stands alone throughout all time in all eternity. Not the Godhead, but God died. He Who was, and is God, and, as God, lives unchangeably; He, as Man, died. And as that act of God's mercy was one and alone, so the effects of that Act stand alone. Christ Himself, our Lord God, in His Human Nature, "ever liveth to make intercession for us." God Himself intercedes with God. Yet He hath pleased so to limit Himself, that He Himself doth not *merit* anything more for us now. There, on that Cross of Shame, "He made that full, perfect and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation and Satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." That Sacrifice to which all faith looked on, representing and pleading it to God, before Christ came; which our Lord pleads now; to which all Eucharists and all prayers to God now look back and plead, was, as an Atonement, complete in Itself. It alone was an Atonement; It alone was a Satisfaction for sin; It alone (we may dare to say, for it is the language of the Church) was meritorious. Our dear Lord, in the bright Majesty of His Mediatorial Throne, invested with all power in Heaven and in earth, adored by the Cherubim and Seraphim and by all the company of Heaven, clothed with that Body which was pierced for us, and ever exhibiting, for us sinners, to His Father, those wounded Hands and Feet and Side, has vouchsafed to limit Himself; He adds nothing now to that One Sacrifice which He made when He died upon the Cross, inasmuch as nothing could be added. For—It was "finished," Perfect, Infinite, Super-abundant, Sufficient to redeem a thousand worlds. Yet, although the Atoning Act was one, and nothing could be added to its value (for nothing can be added to that which is Infinite), still in purpose and will and representation (as at that first Eucharist that Sacrifice was presented to the Father before it was made), It can be and is pleaded for us to the Father now. And are not we gainers beyond all thought, in that our Great High Priest "ever liveth to make intercession for us?" The Apostle speaks as though the object and end of His present Life in Glory were, "to make intercession for us." And yet, although He gains everything for us by that Almighty Intercession, yet He gains all for us by the merits of that One All-sufficient Atonement on the Cross. That Sacrifice was perfected there, as an Act of Atonement, Satisfaction, Merit.'

The Bishop of Glasgow has in the previous page referred to the second edition of the Charge, and evidently claims to have compared it with the first. He cannot, therefore, plead ignorance of the above important insertion. We must say that this way

of calling 'attention to its general tone and tendency' (p. 8), is, from such a quarter, disappointing.

At page 12, Bishop Trower (and here, we are not afraid to think, with more reason) objects to the argument for Eucharistical Adoration, which Bishop Forbes would derive from the position of the *Gloria in Excelsis* in the post-Reformation Prayer-book. The Bishop of Brechin does indeed say expressly of this, and another kindred point, '*It may not be safe to press them too far.*' Still any approximation even to the appearance of subtle and far-fetched arguments appears to us to be matter of regret. They are not wanted, and we *know* that they have tended rather to repel than to attract some minds. We repeat that they are not wanted, for the question stands upon far broader grounds. The Pastoral Letter of the six Bishops seems to admit (somewhat, we own, to our surprise) that a firm belief in the 'Real Objective Presence,' such as, *e. g.* is enunciated by Mr. Palmer, logically necessitates 'Supreme adoration to Christ mysteriously present in the gifts.' Without pausing to discuss this at length, we may remark how very naturally such a practice does seem to follow on such belief. Witness the extremely eloquent language of the Lutheran Chemnitz: or (as we are speaking of Scotland), the following lines of a devout lay-member of the Scotch Church, on the words of Institution, evidently penned without a thought of controversy:—

'I ask not, Lord, the myst'ry hidden
Beneath those words so dark and deep;
I would but do as Thou hast bidden,
In simple faith Thy mandate keep.

'The bread I eat, the cup I drink—
I know Thee present, and adore:
I look into myself, and shrink—
I look to Thee, and want no more.

'Though veil'd to sight, in faith I see,
Beneath those sacred signs divine,
My nature, renovate and free,
In mystic union join'd to Thine.'[1]

There is another matter of some moment, on which it seems to us a very solemn duty to speak without reserve. Bishop Trower is, we fear, too ready to suppose that any who try to reconcile—what *appear to him*—inconsistent statements, are at the best guilty of unconscious evasiveness. *Eheu! quam temerè in nosmet.* We have never witnessed what (in any one with less claim upon an acceptance of his deliberate avowals) would seem to us grosser inconsistencies, more evasive reasonings. In the last

[1] Devotional Reflections. By Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart. Edinburgh: Grant, 1858. For Chemnitz, see Dr. Pusey's Reply to Mr. Goode (*versus fin.*)

number of this Review, we pointed out the inconsistency between the document of the three Bishops, in 1857, and that of the six, in 1858. No answer to that observation has, to our knowledge, been so much as attempted. Here, however, in this Pastoral by Bishop Trower, the two documents are reprinted without apparently a suspicion of what has appeared to so many their irreconcilable character. Again, he calls upon us to believe that there is no difference between his teaching now and his admirable language on the Holy Communion in his letter to Mr. Campbell of Blythswood, in 1856. Of course we do not for a moment doubt that *he* thinks that there is no difference, otherwise he would not say so. But to ask others to think so is simply to demand from them an unreasoning faith. To us it would seem as easy to reconcile the language of Luther on this subject with that of Calvin.

Once more, the Bishop of Glasgow allows in this present Pastoral (p. 35), that the Bishops who re-inserted the rubric at the end of the Communion-office in the English Prayer-book, refer to S. Augustine, on Psalm xcviii, and S. Cyril, Catech. Mystag. 5, and that these passages both teach Eucharistical Adoration. Now that divines who wished to *discountenance* the practice of the adoration of the substantial (though spiritual and supra-local) presence of our Lord in his own chief Sacrament should purposely refer to patristic passages which *teach* that adoration as a duty, is to us absolutely incredible. We should be quite content to submit this point to any court of law or equity. Yet, despite this important admission, Bishop Trower, perhaps influenced by Mr. Goode, employs the very hardest language of insinuation against those who venture to appeal to this very fact. Mr. Goode—quoted here (p. 34), as throughout, with the highest approbation—appears to think that *substantial* is equivalent to *corporal*, and that it is mere hair-splitting to distinguish between the two. We can only repeat what we have elsewhere observed, that although 'God is a Spirit,' our most philosophic divines, as Bishop Butler, term Him, 'the self-existent Substance;' and that the Nicene Fathers express the unity of nature in the Father and the Son by the very term 'consubstantial,' or 'of one substance.'

Bishop Trower tells us that it is painful to him (p. 12) to express the feelings with which he read a certain passage in the Brechin Charge. He may rest assured that Bishop Forbes is not the only bishop who has lately caused pain to numbers of serious and reflective minds. Bishop Forbes at any rate has, under the most trying circumstances, abstained from every word which might savour of bitterness or personality towards his opponents. There is another Bishop, who, not content with

first bringing that Charge before his brethren, signed a manifesto against its teaching in 1857, joined in the public censure of his untried brother in 1858, and then, when all the other Scottish prelates seemed inclined to allow at least a breathing space, issued a sadly personal philippic, dated from Tonbridge Wells, against his fellow-bishop, and employed against a presbyter, honoured alike for character and attainments, the garbled contents of a letter written in private confidence. There is a Bishop who now teaches in a Pastoral Letter (p. 28) that *mysteriously* may mean *figuratively*,[1] and appears (we should be most glad to find that we had misunderstood him) to imply that this is all he means when, with his brethren, he asserts that the consecrated elements become, in a mystery, the Body and Blood of Christ. Yet that same Bishop, in his spirited and even touching remonstrance to Mr. Campbell of Blythswood, in 1856, had said (p. 14), 'We 'hold that the Sacrament thus ministered is the communion of 'a real and not a figurative Presence to the faithful—the gift 'of a Thing Present, not the sign of a Thing Absent.' No pain caused to the Bishop of Glasgow can be deeper than that which he has inflicted upon numberless devout Christians by placing the sacred Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist on a level (p. 43) with that which He vouchsafes in the sacrament of Baptism. They believe (despite the almost solitary example of Hooker) in their inmost hearts and consciences that such language is simply opposed to the truth of God's holy word. Far be it from them to derogate from the honour due to the laver of regeneration, wherein they were new born to Christ. But where in His word do they read concerning it such language as the following?—'I am the living bread which came 'down from heaven . . . he that eateth *Me*, even he shall live by 'Me. . . . This is My body . . . this is My blood of the new testa- 'ment, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. . . . He 'was known of them in breaking of bread. . . . He that eateth 'and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to 'himself, not discerning the Lord's body. For this cause many 'are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.'

We had intended to say somewhat on the disputed passage in S. Chrysostom in Heb. Hom. xvii. 3. But time and space are failing us, and we will only assert that, though our first impression on reference to it was unfavourable to the Bishop of Brechin's appeal to its teaching, our subsequent study has led us to the opposite conviction. A word, too, should have been added on Bishop Trower's use of the patristic passages (quoted

[1] Imagine 'a mysterious marriage' meaning 'a figurative marriage;' or, 'Mr. M. was mysteriously absent from his post,' being understood to signify that he was figuratively absent.

from Mr. Goode) wherein the Fathers still call the consecrated elements ἀντίτυπα τοῦ Σώματος, and the like. Enough to say, that though these passages make against the theory of Transubstantiation, they entirely agree with the doctrine which we maintain to be that of the Church of England. Just as our blessed Lord is 'the Image of the Invisible God,' and yet very and Eternal God: so the consecrated elements are still the types and signs of the Body and Blood of Christ (if we regard the outward part), and yet verily and indeed (in their inward part) in some mysterious wise that which outwardly they represent. Let us leave it to the Arian or the Socinian to deny, as with lamentable consistency he may, the truth of either assertion.[1]

Bishop Trower thinks (p. 27) that nothing but explicit authorisation could justify a practice which is, *to him, à priori* so improbable as Eucharistical Adoration. (We thought that Bishop Butler had long ago demonstrated, that we have no right to suppose ourselves good judges *à priori* of what is to be expected in a Divine revelation.) Why is it more improbable than that the Holy Spirit should, in opposition to the *à priori* promptings of human reason, prove to be not a Divine effluence, but a Person? Why is there no explicit authorisation, in Holy Scripture, of prayer being addressed to Him? And as regards the *primâ facie* opposition derivable from the contents of the English Prayer-book, it must be remarked that precisely the same argument (as Mr. Rorison, at page 43 of his Address, distinctly shows) may be adduced against the doctrine that the Holy Eucharist is the 'Sacrifice of the Altar.' The Bishop of Glasgow supports, sanctions, the latter view: the 600 or 700 laity, more consistently as regards this ground, reject them both.

And now we gladly avert our gaze from the personal part of the question to some of those principles which may, we hope, be discussed upon more abstract grounds.

These topics we have already named: let us proceed to consider them *seriatim*.

1. The Bishop of Glasgow is intensely scandalized at the Bishop of Brechin's assertion that 'the sighs of saints *intellec-* 'tually realized the Lord's Passion more vividly in the thirteenth 'than in the second or third century.' Bishop Trower apparently would have us study only the Fathers of the earliest (it would seem the *very* earliest) centuries. Now, as to the form of the above expression, we shall only say, that it would

[1] Cf. Primary Charge of Bishop of Brechin, p. 17 (3rd edition), and a passage in the September number of the *Ecclesiastic*, p. 409, which has here quite anticipated us. Mr. Freeman's observations on this part of the subject (Introduction to Part II. pp. 14—26) appears to us truly philosophic and admirable.

not be natural in our mouths, and that very possibly the Bishop of Brechin may admire the mediæval Church more than we do. But what then? Could anything be more tyrannous than to lay down precise rules for the degree of admiration to be entertained for a system so complicate, so intense alike in its good and its evil, as that of the mediæval Church? For our own parts, we can truly say that never have we felt its grandeur and goodness more strongly than when engaged in reading the works of Dr. Arnold, Sir F. Palgrave, or of foreign Protestants like Guizot and Neander: never have we been more conscious of its depths of evil, than in considering some of the well-known descriptions of Cardinal Baronius, or the recent sketches from the pen of Dr. Newman.

But let us here have leave to state our counter principle, as opposed to the tone of Bishop Trower. If any Anglican divine, *on points of controversy* between us and Rome or Greece, or Lutheranism or Calvinism, appeals to mediæval writers instead of those of the early and undivided Church, he acts as one alien from the temper of his spiritual Mother. But it is perfectly compatible with an appeal to primitive antiquity to believe that God has granted to every age of his Church its own excellences, and to hold that on the *un-controverted points* between us and Rome (as the doctrines of the Triune Godhead and the Incarnation) the mediæval Church has exhibited a peculiar strength of devotionally intellectual grasp. No man has a right to speak on these points as if he were Anglicanism personified, and might say, *L'Eglise, c'est moi.* But if any will thus speak, we turn from them to others equally respected both among the living and among the mighty dead.

Who is this lecturing at Cambridge *De Deo et Attributis?* pointing out, indeed, the wrong assumption of a portion of the premises on the part of schoolmen, but otherwise recommending the study of their works, the pursuit of their plan, and, more especially, coming to the conclusion that *methodus Aquinatis præferenda?* It is the Head of the noblest College on the Cam, the greatest dogmatic theologian of the Church of England, to be known to all Europe as Bishop Pearson. Who is this teaching at Oxford *De Conscientiâ;* his very mind steeped in scholasticism, his sermons studded with references to the *Secunda Secundæ?* He, too, shall rise to the Episcopal bench and be famed as our greatest *moral* theologian, Bishop Sanderson. Who in rural retirement assumes that *the Country Parson* reads 'the Fathers *and the Schoolmen?*" A son as loyal as the English Church has ever borne, our saintly minstrel, George Herbert. Nay, even Bishop Trower's own favourite Hooker—does not every page in his writings betoken

familiarity with scholastic terminology? is not the famous burst of eloquence in the 67th Chapter of his Fifth Book said to be an almost literal translation from the *De Cœnâ Domini* of a mediæval author, Arnoldus, a contemporary of S. Bernard?

And what is this book, more often republished than any other religious work—save the Bible, among all 'who profess and call themselves Christians'? It is a mediæval work, the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis. What is this one hymn, alone out of all the wondrous stores of Latin hymnology, *authoritatively* sanctioned by the Church of England? It is a mediæval hymn, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, attributed to the great Emperor Charlemagne. Whence has a former Dean of Canterbury, Dean Stanhope, obtained these thrilling meditations on sin and its Healer, on prayer and Heaven? Avowedly from mediævalists, Alcuin, Hugo of S. Victor, and the Abbot John, but, above all, Anselm—Anselm of whom (as also of Bradwardine) even Milner speaks with kindly eulogies. How much does the quaint, but deep, spiritualism of Quarles's Emblems owe to the same or similar sources! And who is this living Dean, who has imparted to the young student of theology a collection of *Sacred Latin Poetry*, on which alone we would be content to rest the apology for that sentence of the Brechin Charge which so scandalises the Bishop of Glasgow? It is the fervent admirer of Luther, the student of Olshausen and the better Germans of our day, Richard Chenevix Trench, the Dean of Westminster.

In A.D. 1853, the Bampton Lecturer at Oxford undertook to combat the rationalistic theories of De Wette, Baur, and others, on the Atonement. The lectures gave universal satisfaction to all sober, cautious thinkers. The Heads of Houses justly applauded the man of their choice: the volume produced was eminently Anglican; and, within a few years, the author sat with his patrons as Dr. Thomson, Provost of Queen's College. In the course of his lectures he spoke thus of a writer who had treated of our Lord's Atonement and Satisfaction in a spirit different from that of De Wette:—

'Perhaps no writer in the whole history of the Church has brought to the study of the philosophy of religion a keener intellect chastened by a faith more humble. "I do not seek, O Lord," says he, "to penetrate thy depths; I by no means think my intellect equal to them; but I long to understand in some degree thy truth which my heart believes and loves. For I do not seek to understand, that I may believe; but I believe, that I may understand." And this noble aspiration was no mere phrase of rhetoric. In the two ideas which he has contributed to the stock of Christian truths, namely, a proof more elaborate than had been attempted before, for the existence of God from the thought of God in the soul, and the proof from reason of the necessity and worth of Christ's redemption,

we may witness that rare union of faith and philosophic acumen in which neither of them dwarfs nor destroys the other. That we are unable to accept his results in either case, without reserve, is no more than might be expected; for both are attempts to deal with the highest problems on which reason can be employed—to find God and to understand salvation. Still the study of them could scarcely fail to benefit any one who wished to explore the philosophic ground of Christian faith; however uninviting in form, the principal works of this writer would help to clear and brighten the finest intelligence, and to give a hint to the proudest, that before God the knee should be bent and the voice lifted in prayer.'—Pp. 161, 162.

Such is our Lecturer's just and noble eulogium on an Archbishop who died at the beginning of the twelfth century, S. Anselm.

Is it possible to imagine a more complete assertion, in an expanded form, of Bishop Forbes's remark? If with any reader the poetic turn of the Bishop's expression be the *gravamen* of his offence, what *is* to become of the reputation of Hickes and Bishop Jeremy Taylor? What shall be said, too, of the entire pages, if we err not, which the last-named has adapted from the writings of S. François de Sales? But to return to Anselm. Dr. Thomson remarks, we think very justly, that the profound and pious treatise, '*Cur Deus Homo*,' lays somewhat too much stress on the obedience, as distinct from the sufferings and death, of the Redeemer. On this point he comments as follows:—

'Thus the sufferings of our Lord occupy a lower place in the scheme of redemption than they ought to do. But Thomas Aquinas, who in other respects adopts the theory of Anselm, has made more prominent the punishment which Christ bore for men. And in the distinction to which I alluded before, between his satisfaction of the law, and of punishment, *the system*, so amended, has passed into modern theology.'

We believe this statement to be strictly true. The majority of us, with Bishop Trower, ignore the debt we owe to that combination of devotion and logical acumen which distinguished the schoolmen. As Coleridge truly suggests, we laugh at the schoolmen for their *quiddities*, and never thank them for those admirable words which they first brought into general use, *quantity* and *quality*. Even so too in theology, the many use the results; they dwell on the doctrines of our Lord's satisfaction and penal atonement, never dreaming how much, in their present shape, those doctrines owe to William Rufus's Archbishop and the Angelic Doctor. The few, like Dr. Thomson and Bishop Forbes, remind us of our debt, and obtain—praise or blame, according to circumstances.

2. We next come to the remarks in this Pastoral about idolatry. What is meant by idolatry? We suppose that it may be fairly defined as 'the rendering to any created thing,

'animate or inanimate, that homage or affection which is due 'to God alone.' But Christ our Lord is very and eternal God, and how can it be idolatry to worship Him? Bishop Trower says:—

'The Bishop of Brechin adds, "The worship is due, not to the gifts, but to Christ in the Gifts." Is not this what the heathens would have said, and what Romanists do say with respect to image-worship,—that the worship is due, not to the image, but to the divinity resident in, or represented by, the image?'—P. 11.

We answer, that if any Roman Catholic gives (what his Church expressly condemns) supreme adoration to an image, he is certainly guilty of idolatry. And when he demands for an image even a lower *cultus*, we still ask, where is the proof from Holy Scripture and antiquity that any special presence is vouchsafed to this or any other image? To the heathen we say, This image, *if*, alas! it *does* possess any supernatural presence, is tenanted, not by the Creator, but by one of his rebellious creatures, the evil angels. We know this, because God has expressly taught it by the voice of his servant Moses, by the Psalmist, by S. Paul (Deut. xxxii. 16, 17; Ps. cvi. 36—38; 1 Cor. x. 19, 20). It is probably this commerce with the evil spirits which is the very essence of the sin of pagan idolatry. To pay supreme homage where God is not, *is* idolatry; to pay that same homage where He is, cannot be idolatry. 'But then, sir,' says Boswell, 'the idolatry of the Mass!' Johnson: 'Sir, there 'is no idolatry; they believe God to be there, and they worship 'Him.' Johnson is right, provided that the belief be well-founded; the pagan is wrong, simply because his belief is unfounded. That is the question at issue between us and Bishop Trower. But help is sought from Bishop Burnet. Burnet, after repeating the above oft-refuted fallacy, proceeds as follows:—

'We know God by His Essence is everywhere; but this will not justify our worshipping any material object upon this pretence, because God is in it; *we ought never to worship Him* TOWARDS ANY VISIBLE OBJECT, unless He were EVIDENTLY declaring His glory in it; as He did to Moses in the burning bush; to the Israelites on Mount Sinai; and in the cloud of glory; or to us Christians in a sublimer manner in the human nature of Jesus Christ.'—BURNET *on Articles*, quoted by Goode, p. 675.

We seldom see Burnet much appealed to now: whatever his rank as a man or an historian, his place as a theologian can hardly, we think, be higher than that of the school which has been denominated 'sharp and shallow.' The above passage is a notable instance: plausible at the first glance, but unable to bear one moment's examination. Where, we should like to know, does Holy Scripture set forth Burnet's principle? It is a great question whether it holds good even under those elder dispen-

sations, wherein less demand was made upon men's faith in the unseen than under the more spiritual law of the New Covenant. S. Augustin seems to us to hold that Abraham worshipped a manifestation of God made to him in the persons of the three angels (Genesis xviii.). That he did worship on that occasion is clear, and S. Augustin's view, as we understand it, seems probable enough: but where is there any mention of God's *evidently* declaring his glory in them? However, to let this pass as a disputed question, how can any man pretend that God *evidently* declared his glory to those who saw our Lord on earth? Thousands must have beheld Him and witnessed his miraculous works of mercy, but (except for a passing hour on the Mount of Transfiguration) there was no evident manifestation of glory save such as was perceived by the eye of faith: 'He 'hath no form nor comeliness, and when we shall see Him, 'there is no beauty that we should desire Him.' Few, indeed, could pierce the veil: after his Ascension 'the number of the names together were about an hundred and twenty.' And one interval there had been, when his Godhead dwelt alike with his sacred Body and his human Soul, which were for the season sundered. Then, as when a warrior draws his sword from the scabbard, the two are separated from each other, but neither separated from the person of the bearer; even so (may these poor earthly illustrations be forgiven) did his Divinity remain alike with his Body and his Soul. Doubtless, the spirits in Hades worshipped Him; and should *we* have refused worship to his sacred Person still on earth, as it hung upon the cross, or was laid in silence in the tomb? Reason might indeed say, 'Here at least is no evident declaration of his glory:' Reason might try to urge, 'The Godhead is in union with inanimate matter;' but devout instinct and ardent faith would conquer; the heart and conscience would be the truest guides. We should surely have said, *if* we had really learnt to believe in Him, 'Thou art 'still my God and Saviour; Thee alike in glory as in humilia-'tion, in life and death, do I adore.' The Apostles had *not* yet learnt to believe in Him; they were still 'slow of heart to believe all that the prophets had spoken.'

As Bishop Burnet *has* been appealed to, we take leave of him with the following quotations: Bishop Trower has only thought fit to allude to the latter:

'It is not to be denied but that *very early* both Justin Martyr and Irenæus thought that there was such a sanctification in the elements, that there was a divine virtue *in them;* and in those very passages which we have urged from the arguings of the Fathers against the Eutychians, though they do plainly prove that *they believed that the substance of bread and wine do still remain, yet they do suppose an union with the elements to the body of Christ, like that of the human nature being united to the divine.*'

Such is Burnet's testimony to the primitive and patristic character of the teaching of Mr. Palmer, Archdeacon Denison, Dr. Pusey, Bishop Forbes, Mr. Cheyne, and others. A more complete one could neither be given nor desired. Once more:

'We know the great design of religion is to govern men's lives, and to give them right ideas of God,—of the ways of worshipping Him; all opinions which do not break in upon these are things in which great forbearance is to be used. Large allowances are to be made for men's notions in all things; and therefore *we think that neither consubstantiation nor transubstantiation, how ill-grounded soever we take both to be, ought to dissolve the communion of Churches;* but it is quite another thing, if under either of these opinions an adoration of the elements is taught and practised. This, we believe, is plain idolatry.'

The reasoning is not profound, but it is not *we* who set up Bishop Burnet for an authority. As the divines, now so reprobated, teach neither transubstantiation nor adoration of the elements, it may be hoped that Bishop Burnet would have tolerated them in his diocese.

3. The functions of common sense. On this head the Pastoral Letter is most explicit:—

'The real objective Presence in Bread and Wine of a Body (which is all the time in heaven), *after the manner of a spirit;* or the presence of what is *material* in an *immaterial manner*, seems to me utterly contrary to that common sense, to which (being one of God's most precious gifts) He never means us to do violence. This way of speaking conveys no real idea, and is a mere abuse of language.'

We venture to lay down, and shall attempt to illustrate, the following counter-proposition:—*That common sense has its limits, and that many truths, alike in the world of nature and the world of grace, are distinctly proved to our higher faculties, which yet are repugnant, and do violence, to common sense.*

And, here, we will make no appeal to those pursuits which avowedly leave common sense behind. We say nothing of the style, in which the most exuberantly-languaged writer of the day talks of 'the burning mystery' of our greatest living poetess. We make no appeal to mesmerists, nor mystics. No, we will look to the hard and dry sciences of the intellect, mathematics, chemistry, mechanics.

In mathematics, will those who have studied the *philosophy* of the Differential Calculus (with the aid, say, of the works of Dr. Whewell, or the French *savant* Carnot, or Professor Price, of Oxford) assert that the very subtle hypothesis of increments and limits on which it is based, does no violence to common sense? That it must be true, and is a most marvellous instrument of analysis, is soon perceived by the merest tyro: the results of themselves prove thus much. But this is not an answer to our query.

However, let us take a plainer case. The properties of the Conic Sections are as well proved as any earthly truths can be. They have exercised the powers of some of the most remarkable intellects that have appeared among men, from the days of the first discoverers, the Greek geometers of Alexandria, to those of Kepler, Newton, Euler, Descartes, Laplace, Lagrange, &c. The truth of the discoveries of these great geniuses is daily verified by thousands of students in European, American (aye, and even in Asiatic) schools and seats of learning. One of these properties is as follows:—that the curve known as the *hyperbola* being produced towards a certain straight line (termed an *axis*) in a particular position will constantly approximate, but never meet it: whence the two lines are known as non-coincidents, or more usually, by a name of Greek derivation, but of the same meaning, *asymptotes*. Common sense very naturally protests: she cries out, 'Draw these lines; let me see the fact.' A higher faculty replies, 'I am very sorry, but I 'cannot draw a mathematical line; it ought to have no breadth, 'and not even Apelles could attain to that.' Then of course follows this rejoinder:—'The existence of two lines which you 'confess that you cannot draw, but which you say continually 'approximate, and yet never meet, seems to me utterly contrary 'to that common sense to which, being, &c. &c.' We do not wish to treat the Bishop of Glasgow's sentiment with levity or irreverence; but we do certainly, with our contemporary, the *Guardian*, protest against the entire page in which it occurs, as a specimen of radically unsound philosophy: and we consider that a disbelief in the existence of Asymptotes would be a perfectly fair and legitimate parallel.

It did so happen, that just after reading Bishop Trower's Pastoral for the first time, we were detained for a few minutes in a library, and took up the first book that came to hand. It chanced to be a volume of Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia; Donovan on Chemistry. How aghast stood common sense as we read at page 40—'We find Leibnitz asserting that the particles 'of matter have no extension; Descartes maintaining that exten-'sion is their only property; Locke defining an atom to be "a 'continued body under one superficies;" and Berkeley denying 'that matter exists at all.' Yet surely one of these theories must be true. Both chemists and mechanics seem to prove, either that the atomic theory is true, or else that we must hold the infinite divisibility of matter. But the atomic theory, as taught by Boscovich, Leibnitz and others, involves; says Donovan (p. 39), the existence of points of matter without extension, points which possess no magnitude and yet occupy space. This is too great an outrage to common sense. Well, suppose

we give up the atoms, we go back to the verb τέμνω without any *a* privative, and take refuge again in the infinite divisibility. But as we cut and cut, strange consequences follow. Our tenet seems tolerably well proven; is it only some tendency to mystery in our own minds that makes us fear, that, if carried out, it will after all rebel against this all-comprehending 'common sense?' But no; even David Hume feels as we do; though no mystic, but a cold, sceptical, hard-headed North Briton, he honestly avows in memorable words, that, '*No priestly dogmas ever shocked 'common sense so much, as the infinite divisibility of matter with its 'consequences.*'[1]

We could fill pages upon pages with fresh illustrations, more especially from the writings of scientific men of France. But enough: there is, perhaps, something infectious in Scotch air: this dogged trust in common sense, in matters which it cannot possibly penetrate, is the prime fault which M. Victor Cousin enunciates amidst his praises of the Caledonian school of metaphysics. 'L'excellence de l'école écossaise n'empêche pas qu'elle 'n'ait ses défauts. *Satisfaite du sens commun*, elle s'y repose, *et 'ne sent guère le besoin de pénétrer dans les profondeurs de la 'vérité.*'[2]

But if our position be tenable with respect to the world of nature, what shall be said of the world of grace? Every view of the Holy Eucharist, except the purely Zuinglian, makes it a species of ever-recurring miracle; and what is a miracle, if not a violation of the rules of *common* sense? Think, for an instant, of some of the events in the life of our blessed Lord on earth. Our readers will probably admit that, despite his birth as an infant, his favoured Mother remained ἀειπάρθενος, *semper Virgo;* and that, in like manner, his *material* Body passed in an *immaterial manner, after the manner of a spirit*, through the rocky covering of the holy sepulchre; or, as the two events are classed together in the noble verse (suggested, if we err not, by S. Peter Chrysologus) of the *Lyra Innocentium*:—

> 'And even, as when her hour was come, he left his Mother mild
> A Royal Virgin evermore, heavenly and undefiled;
> So left the glorious Body the rock it slumber'd on,
> And *spirit-like*, in silence past, nor touch'd the sealèd stone.'

We must believe, that, while He talked with Nicodemus, He was still 'the Son of Man which is in heaven' (S. John iii. 13); that his *material* Body passed, in an *immaterial manner, after the manner of a spirit*, once and again, through the closed doors (S. John xx. 19, 26). So completely, after his rising from the

[1] Cited in the 'Defence of the Eclipse of Faith.' Appendix viii.
[2] Philosophie Ecossaise. Introduction, p. 23. (3ème edit.) Paris, 1857.

dead, as once when He walked on the waters,[1] did He move after the manner of a spirit that it needed his own word to reassure his terrified disciples (S. Mark xiv. 26; S. Luke xxiv. 36—43). We must believe that, without leaving the right hand of the Father, He was mysteriously seen of S. Paul in the temple (Acts xxii. 17—21), and of S. John 'in the isle that is called Patmos' (Apoc. i. 9, 12—20). We must believe, that so inexplicable, so contrary to all the *dicta* of mere common sense, are the relations of spirit and matter in that world above, that an Apostle was absolutely unable to say whether the revelations made to him in the third heaven were given to him in the body or out of the body (2 Cor. xii. 1—4). We must believe, that, whereas to common sense *body* and *spirit* appear essentially opposed, yet that the glorified body of the redeemed is to be πνευματικὸν σῶμα, a spiritual body (1 Cor. xv. 44); that is to say, if we may dare to attempt a paraphrase of the expression, a body which acts after the manner of a spirit, which, though material, can live and have its being in an immaterial manner. Once more, and for the last time, we cite the language of Mr. Keble, which, though referring to an earlier Pastoral, is equally true of the one before us:

'We do not know enough of what is possible in regard of our Lord's glorified Body,—that Body which is inseparably united to the Second Person of the Most Holy Trinity,—to be certain that our Lord may not cause it to be really in the Sacrament by a supernatural and spiritual Presence, though locally, in its form and dimensions, we know and believe that it is only in heaven. It is not self-evident, nor has our Master anywhere taught us, that this is "too hard for the Lord." May I be allowed to ask, not invidiously, but very seriously, Will not those who shall unreservedly adhere to this Pastoral Letter be in fact committing themselves to the proposition, "It *is* too hard for the Lord?" Had they not better at least leave it doubtful until it is more certainly proved?'—*Considerations, &c.*, pp. 8, 9.

4. On the position of the Thirty-nine Articles we must be very brief. The Bishop of Glasgow says:—

'Inasmuch as the Articles are the rule imposed upon the teachers of the Church, I must maintain that in doubtful cases the meaning of the Articles is to fix the meaning of the other documents, and that their position is not that subordinate position which only is conceded to them by the Bishop [of Brechin], but rather that *their rank among the Anglican authorities is the rank of a document having primary authority, subject only to the paramount supremacy of Holy Scripture.*'—P. 64.

[1] It is remarkable, and highly characteristic, that Calvin wishes us to believe that the water was on this occasion temporarily solidified. His acute and logical intellect perceived that the admission that our Lord's sacred Body was capable of anything like spiritualisation might lead to conclusions adverse to *his* theory of the Eucharist and favourable to the real objective Presence. How he evades the Sepulchre and the closed doors we forget: we rather think that he denies the first.

It is very possible that we might not be prepared to bind ourselves to the precise view of Bishop Forbes upon this point. But what is *im*possible is, that we should for a moment tolerate a theory so novel and unheard of among theologians, as that of Bishop Trower. He is particularly fond of the terms 'un-Anglican' and 'practical good sense.' We hope, therefore, that we shall be understood, when we declare that no hypothesis ever looked to us more un-Anglican, more opposed to practical good sense. Some similar theory might be tenable in Sweden, where even the laity profess belief, not only in the Three Creeds, but likewise (as recent events have reminded us) in the Augsburg Confession, in Luther's Two Catechisms, and in the *Formula Concordiæ*. But we will not argue the point while the Bishop of Glasgow has only an *ipse dixi* to produce. Let him name any half-dozen respectable authorities on his side, and we may then reconsider the case. Meanwhile, let our readers study the life of Chillingworth, the life of Dr. Johnson, or Mr. C. P. Chretien's 'Lectures on the Study of Theology.' We name these last, not only because they touch so ably, though incidentally, on the value and authority of the Creeds as compared with that of the Articles; but because, if we mistake not, they were published with the full sanction of the Provost and other authorities of the famous College of which Bishop Trower was himself once a Fellow. The Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, is surely an unsuspicious patron.

If our criticism of this Pastoral seems of very negative character, we must, by way of apology, declare that we cannot —in all solemnity and seriousness we say it—form any clear conception of what its positive teaching is. We can see what Mr. Cheyne teaches, or Mr. Palmer, or Bishop Forbes, respecting our blessed Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist. We can see what Dean Ramsay teaches, we can see what Mr. Freeman teaches. Nor are we blind, we trust, to the deep and earnest piety which is compatible with all these views; or again, in individual Christians, with an absence of explicitly definite views. All we here assert is, that wherever we are to turn for a view which shall be consistent and intelligible, it must not be to the Bishop of Glasgow's Pastoral. At page 47, he supports the view of Hooker, of a presence in the believer only, and yet he has signed a document, reprinted at page 445, which evidently implies (as Mr. Freeman showed) a presence in the consecrated elements. If unconscious inconsistency may be tolerated, why not also views which have been borne with for 300 years? 'It would,' says a living writer, no less distinguished for the elegance of his scholarship than for the earnestness and moderation of his piety,—'it would be *nothing less than a monstrous injustice*

'to condemn a clergyman in ecclesiastical penalties, for holding 'or preaching views on the Lord's Supper, which, however 'exceptionable to some minds, have a kind of support in some 'physical and Scriptural analogies, and were certainly held and 'taught by divines of such note and authority as Ridley, Poynet, 'Jackson, Thorndike, and Jeremy Taylor.'[1]

Is there no warning for us in the spectacle of the Calvinistic, as compared with that of the Lutheran communions? Of the three great Calvinistic countries, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, the first-named has lived—yes, positively lived, upon English theology, not having produced one single great theologian of her own; the second, Holland, is fearfully dead, and has been, of all European colonizing countries, perhaps the most shamelessly wicked and anti-Christian; the third, Switzerland, is miserably Arian, and can hardly be said of late, we think, to have reared one really great teacher, with the single exception of the late M. Vinet, of Lausanne. Lutheranism, on the contrary, with all its faults of rationalism, yet displays the most salient energy against unbelief; yet organizes a system of resistance against the world; yet rears such thoughtful and deeply pious theologians as Olshausen, Stier, Dorner, Hengstenberg, and many more. Now Calvinism professes a low, Lutheranism an exalted, view of the Holy Eucharist.

The lamented illness of the Primus of the Scottish Church may be permitted to cause some delay.[2] Assuredly the Episcopal Synod could ill spare his experience and the weight of his reputation for moral courage and fairness. Can they confirm Bishop Suther's sentence on Mr. Cheyne without virtually affirming,—1. That the teaching for which a Bishop is only censured (it being doubted whether there is any case for presentment) involves suspension for life on the part of a Presbyter; and, 2. That the same measure *ought* to be dealt out in England to a body of clergy outnumbering the whole number of the Presbyters in Scotland, including many of the most learned, pious, and attached among her sons.

It would ill become us, writing under the veil of anonymousness, to speak of the danger of secondary motives; to hint how well-meant tenderness towards those who are aggrieved on one side, may lead to the saddest injustice to others who are, to say the least, as loyal, as self-denying, as earnest children of the Church. Neither ought we, being self-constituted advisers, to do more than allude to that more dread tribunal before which,

[1] Preface to University Sermons, by Rev. James Fraser, M.A. (now Chancellor of the Diocese of Salisbury). We have to thank this Preface for reminding us of Bishop Burnet's statements and Hooker's debt to Arnoldus.

[2] We hear that this is not to be the case; but that the

in a few short years, accusers and accused, judges and critics, must all alike be summoned. But even on lower grounds, of the results to be made evident on earth, we do most earnestly deprecate the confimation of Bishop's Suther's sentence. It will silence indeed a single Presbyter, one of the most respected and beloved in Scotland; but it cannot possibly put down his teaching; it may, probably, from the very reaction, tend to enforce it; and will be looked back to, we believe, by the most honoured among the judges, as its consequences sooner or later unfold themselves, with bitter and prolonged, but, it may be, unavailing regret.'

Again we plead for toleration, and meanwhile—may it be in all humility and sincerity—we pray:

'O Lord Jesu Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever,

'Preserve us from being carried about with divers and strange doctrines.

'Almighty, everliving Father, Who hast promised unto Thy faithful people life, by Thine Incarnate Son, even as He liveth by Thee; grant unto us all, and especially to our Bishops and Pastors, and to those whom Thy Providence hath in any wise entrusted with the treasure of Thy holy doctrine among us, Thy good Spirit, always so to believe and understand, to feel and firmly to hold, to speak and think, concerning the mystery of the Communion of thy Son's Body and Blood, as shall be well pleasing to Thee, and profitable to our souls; through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the same Spirit, One God, world without end. Amen.'

ART. VIII.—1. *The Life and Martyrdom of Savonarola.* By R. R. MADDEN, M. R. T. A. 2 vols. London: Newby. 1853.

2. *Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola, illustrating the Progress of the Reformation in Italy during the Fifteenth Century.* London: Whittaker & Co. 1843.

3. *La Vita del M. R. P. F. Girolamo Savonarola de Ferrara, dell' Ordine de S. Dominico.* Scritta del F. PACIFICO BURLAMACCHI LUCCHESE. Mansi: Lucchensis. 1791.

4. *Histoire des Révolutions d'Italie, ou Guelphs et Gibilins.* Par J. FERRARI. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1858.

WE have a very vivid and distinct recollection of a certain task we, along with several other boys, were set in our school-boy days, which, from our signal failure, has somehow haunted us ever since. We were set to draw from memory a map of ancient Greece, marking out the various states that composed that singular congeries of republics. We succeeded pretty well with the outline, and without much difficulty indicated the whereabouts of Athens, Sparta, and Corinth; but in endeavouring to locate the various smaller states, we soon found our faculties involved in Bœotian mist; nor can we honestly say that we have ever since wholly emerged from it. How can any one possibly remember states which approximate in size to a parish in the West Riding of Yorkshire, or hold a position like the two diminutive counties of Clackmannan and Kinross, in Scotland? Much the same hopeless feeling comes over us in later life, when we try to master the history of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages; perpetual rivalry, incessant warfare never ceased; even when the great overwhelming armies of Germany and France poured down from the Alps, like their native torrents, when the sun melts the snows, could not serve to cool the jealousy of rival states, so as to make them band together against a common enemy. The bitterness of wounded pride made some even ally themselves with the invader, in order to enjoy the sight of the humiliation of a neighbour, that they could not singly effect. Two indeed of these states have left an imperishable renown on the page of history, for their noble defence of Western Europe against the hitherto victorious Turk; no one can read the history of the fall of the Eastern Empire without paying his tribute to the valour and perseverance of the great Justiniani and his gallant band of Genoese, whose dead bodies blocked up the golden gate of Constantinople, when

and iron gave way before the battery of Turkish cannon. All that fixes itself in the memory with any tenacity in Italian mediæval history, is the sudden and brilliant career of some one individual, an Epaminondas, who shed a temporary lustre on his hitherto obscure city, causing it to blaze with an ephemeral glory, and then, when the hero passed from off the scene, to sink down again into its former obscurity; of the petty warfare, rebellions, and invasions we carry no distinct impressions—they are lost in multitude and tenuity. There is, however, one great difference between the warfare of the Grecian states, and the Italian: in the former there was real fighting,—in the latter valour was often tempered with discretion. Italy was rather a chess-board than a battle-field,—plenty of dukes and marquises, instead of kings and queens, real knights with real castles, actual bishops, and real men-at-arms for pawns, played these games with endings as bloodless. Two hostile armies came out of their respective states, ostensibly to fight; but victories were sometimes won without a blow being struck. The two armies confronted each other at a distance, perhaps nearly equal in numbers; the skilful eye of each leader saw an advantageous post, perhaps a rising ground, with a wood on one flank, and a marsh on the other; now followed a series of manœuvres, each trying to get his forces into this position. Here was the trial of skill; a bold rush over the marsh, a hazardous flank movement by which the wood was passed, and then the position was won. This was checkmate; the out-manœuvred army saw it was useless to attack, so it gave in, terms were agreed to, and peace made. Whatever opinion may be given as to the question of valour, none can withhold the tribute of discretion to these warriors; the only point on which we dispute their sense, is, that the knights came to these mock battles clad in the heaviest and strongest armour; so ponderous was this means of defence, that it sometimes disabled the wearer: in one of these bloodless encounters, we read that the only loss on either side was that of three knights, whose horses falling with them, they were unable to rise, and were smothered in their armour; a result that no one will wonder at, who has stood in the armoury at Malta on a hot day in July, and has viewed the ponderous iron shell which enclosed those warriors, a good protection against the sword of an adversary, but no defence against the heat and dust of an Italian plain.[1]

[1] We really forget in what battle this catastrophe happened. We trust our readers will pardon us for not looking through the pages of history to tell them. The excuse we have to offer for our negligence they will find in the pages of Ferrari, who says that between the end of the tenth century and the middle of the sixteenth, there were more than *seven thousand* revolutions in Italy alone: —on an average *thirteen* every year.

But besides these lesser powers, there were two greater ones, which were ever antagonistic to each other, and whose endless disputes caused endless misery to every state in Italy,—the Pope and the Emperor of Germany. The latter, claiming to succeed to the powers and privileges of the Roman empire in the West, after the Emperor of the East had abandoned all further claim for a dominion he had entirely lost, asserted his right over Italy and Rome. The Pope, whose temporal power was backed by the awful terrors which he possessed in his assumed character of Vicar of Christ, was not disposed to allow this position to be quietly taken up by any; the title Emperor and its powers he did not object to, but the latter must receive the crown at his hands; and he succeeded: though legions of half barbarous Germans flooded Italy, ravaged her fairest provinces—nay, sacked Rome itself, and compelled the Pope to flee—yet it ever ended with the conqueror becoming a servant, the victorious Emperor of the West stooping not only to receive the crown from the hand of the Pope, but to hold, on one occasion, the stirrup of the saddle, when the latter mounted his mule.

This constant rivalry gave rise to those two celebrated parties, the Guelphs and Ghibbelines,—the former the supporters of the Pope, the latter of the Emperor. Singular change we see in this our day, when the only powerful descendant of the Guelph is now the most powerful opponent of Popish claims. Every city, every little state in Italy had its Guelph party and its Ghibbeline, a perpetual source of heart-burning, intrigue, and war.

'Let us transport ourselves into an Italian city of the Middle Ages:—we find there two chief personages, the Count and the Bishop. The former, offspring of the royal domination, is a king on a small scale, subjecting all the inhabitants to the despotism of his jurisdiction, at once civil and military; a minister of terror, who of his own authority imposes taxes, exacts compulsory labour, puts in force all the vexations of barbarism, and in whose presence the merchant trembles to open his shop, or expose his wares. The Bishop, on the contrary, has no legal authority; but the remembrance of the part he has taken in the past, his warfare against kings, his inviolability, and the God whom he worships, brings over to his side one half of the inhabitants, drawn towards him by their desire to emancipate themselves from the rigours of feudal exactions. The town is divided into two camps, one feudal, the other clerical; one menacing, the other protective. On the one side stands the gibbet, on the other the altar. Such is the city of the Middle Ages.'—FERRARI, *Histoire, &c.*

Let the reader bear this in mind when he reads the account taken by Savonarola in the revolution at Florence.

The natural consequence of this perpetual interference of the spiritual power with the secular, the partisanship, the wars undertaken to support the spiritual, was, that the religion of that day became of the earth, earthy; the high ennobling element which should have raised the mind above the strife and turmoil

of life was obliterated from general religion, and had to hide itself in the deep retirement of some lonely cloister. For not only do we find that ecclesiastics were ministers of state, ambassadors, secretaries, &c., but the pulpit resounded only with Guelph and Ghibbeline doctrines, far more than with those of Christ; and if eternal happiness and misery formed the subject of discourse, it was coupled too often with the condition, not of piety toward God, and charity toward man, but of obedience to the Pope, and eternal enmity against the Emperor. A singular instance of this,—singular from its affording such a strong weapon in the hands of the Protestants in the great disruption in the sixteenth century, showing surely how dangerous it is to try to make Holy Scripture speak for merely political or polemical purposes,—is that interpretation given to the apocalyptic vision by Joachim, abbot of Bari; Antichrist there is the Emperor, the Ghibbelines presented the false prophet and the unclean spirits; the whole was to display the awful iniquity of opposition to the papal authority. It is only a natural consequence of this state of mind to learn that the office of pope was sought for and obtained, rather as a field for exercising statesmanship and political power, than for ruling the Church of Christ; excommunications followed hostility to the temporal authority of the Vicar of Christ, and were soon carried out by the advance of a large army. If political reasons induced, if another and more dangerous enemy appeared in the field, absolution was given, and a league of alliance contracted. Piety, holiness, charity, were not the virtues required for this highest place in the Church, but family connexion, diplomatic skill, or military talents, were the qualifications in most request.

Perhaps the culminating point of iniquity was reached when Rodrigo Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI., succeeded to the papacy. The purchase of his election by bribes, his profligacy, nepotism, are too well known to need more than passing notice. The vices of those in the highest places were soon imitated by those in inferior stations; popes, kings, princes set the example, their subordinates followed it; it found its way into monasteries, and corrupted the sanctuaries of God. 'There is no 'discipline, no fear of God in those who should maintain it. 'Many believe in no God. The chastity of the cloister is slain, 'and they who should serve God with holy zeal, have become 'cold and lukewarm. The princes openly exercise tyranny. 'Their subjects encourage them in their cruel propensities, 'their rapine, their adulteries, their sacrilege.'—(*Sermon of Savonarola.*)

Thus spoke one, himself a monk, and so an impartial judge, who thought himself called upon by a divine mission to rebuke

and reform; this monk was Girolamo Savonarola,—a man who has left behind him a character, on which the world has pronounced a varied judgment. With some he is an impostor, a heretic, who rightly suffered for his sins; with others he is a reformer of a true type, a fearless reprover of sin everywhere, and in all places, and who at length closed his career by martyrdom; by a few, whose knowledge of history is shallow, and their judgment shallower, he is a *Protestant*. We purpose giving some account of this remarkable man, showing his character from his own words and works.

In April 1475, a young man knocked at the door of the Dominican convent at Bologna, and humbly asked to be admitted as a lay brother; he had secretly left his father and home at Ferrara, and all worldly honours and wealth, to work out his salvation in the cloister; if we may believe his own word, it was with this purpose alone that he sought refuge; that he had then no intention of even taking holy orders, much less becoming a public character. 'I entered the cloister,' said he, in one of his sermons, 'to learn how to suffer; and when sufferings visited me, I made 'a study of them, and they taught me to love always, and to 'forgive always.' He carried with him then, we are told, only his Prayer-book and the Bible; he went to use the one, and to learn from the other. His superiors, however, soon saw that the young monk had talents too valuable to be laid up in a napkin; he was accordingly ordained priest, and sent to Florence to preach. His first attempt in the pulpit was not only weak, but an utter failure; his manner, style, action, gesture, voice, all were against him; only a few, and they the poorest, assembled to hear him. Completely discouraged, he retired to his convent, where he was made instructor of the novices. But he saw enough of the world, even from the cloister walls, to rouse up his spirit, and to kindle the desire for reform, both in Church and State. Great austerities, long fastings, hours spent in meditation and prayer, confirmed him in the belief, not only that the time was come when such reformation was absolutely needed, but that he was the person divinely commissioned to proclaim it. Seven years after, opportunity was given him to fulfil what he confidently supposed was his mission; he was again sent to Florence to preach there. This is really the commencement of his career.

'Let the reader picture to himself the monk who had withdrawn from Florence upwards of seven years previously, so discouraged by his failure in the pulpit, as to be hopeless of ever appearing there again as a preacher, now, in his thirty-eighth year, turning his steps to the same city, in obedience to his superiors, fully conscious that mighty labours were before him, that he was charged with a great mission, and must perform the duties of it, and with a presentiment in his mind that nothing could remove, that he must die in the discharge of them in that very city, to which he was

now wending his way on foot after recent illness, and in a debilitated state in the fierce heats of summer.

'Let the reader follow the poor Dominican on his weary route, to the village of Pianore, near Bologna, and mark his worn look, how he yields to the fatigue, exhaustion, and indisposition, with which he is overpowered; and finding that he is wholly unable to proceed on his journey, lays himself down on the road-side; how it seems as if the hand of God was bringing his career to a sudden close,—and let the reader be reminded that Providence had other designs in regard to that weary man lying before him in apparent extremity, by the appearance of a stranger unexpectedly approaching, bending over the exhausted traveller, and, like the good Samaritan, performing for him acts of mercy and much-needed kindness—raising him from the ground, aiding him to walk to an adjacent place of entertainment; then helping him with his own hand with such restorations as he required, then setting out with him when he finds himself sufficiently refreshed and strengthened, and accompanying him even to the gates of Florence, and there parting with him, *recommending him to accomplish the mission which was given him by God.*'—*Life, &c.* vol. i. p. 110.

He calmly ascended the pulpit, though surrounded by the largest audience that had ever been seen in a church in Florence, and, after some minutes' deep abstraction, commenced his sermon; in everything,—voice, manner, gesture,—the reverse of what he had been seven years ago. The people of Florence were entranced, they hung upon the lips of the preacher, his popularity was sudden and complete. In the midst of the sermon, we are told, he paused, and then said,—'I shall preach in this church 'to-morrow, and I shall continue thus to do for the space of 'eight years.' The subject of his first course of sermons was the Apocalypse, applied to present things; a book that has ever afforded matter for preachers of reform, who never find any difficulty in applying its words to the circumstances of their own times.

We can easily suppose how an eloquent and learned man, whose heart was set upon one purpose, and his mind filled with one idea, and who believed in his own mission, would excite the enthusiasm of an Italian city in the fifteenth century. Politics ran high; war was ever impending; every city and state was in a restless feverish state. This was especially the case in Florence: the great Medici family was rising into power; their talents were undoubted, and so was their ambition. Between the hopes of outrivalling other Italian states,—as they might hope to do if this family became autocratic,—and the fear of losing power as citizens, the public mind of Florence oscillated: his political and religious principles threw Savonarola into opposition to Lorenzo di Medici, and, therefore, into the popular party;—hence, partly, no doubt, his popularity. Then, his preaching was essentially political, his expositions of the Apocalypse were of judgments about to come on Italy, on Florence; the King of France's army would ravage it, as a punishment for the sins of the rulers. Three great

propositions were especially enforced and impressed on the minds of the people. 1st. That the Church of God had to be renewed. 2d. That all Italy would be visited by God's wrath. 3d. That all these things would shortly come to pass.

In 1490 he was appointed Prior of the Convent of S. Marco; this gave him the command of the pulpit, and this powerful instrument he used with all his might to effect the great purposes for which he believed himself to be sent. Now he opened his mouth against the vices of the Papal court, and the political slavery of Florence; and he was further confirmed in this line of preaching by what he believed to be a divine command. For, having determined to give up preaching on the interpretation of coming events, he set himself to prepare a sermon for the following Sunday on some more ordinary topic; he found, however, that he could by no means fix his mind nor arrange his thoughts on anything else. After a sleepless night spent in this vain effort, he fancied he heard a voice saying to him,—'Foolish man 'that thou art! Dost thou not see that it is the will of God 'that thou shouldest preach in the appointed manner?' Thus warned, he gave up the attempt, and resumed his old subject. This divine revelation of the will of God is of continual recurrence during his ministration; he fully believed in it himself, and it was believed in by his friends and contemporaries. We shall mention instances of it from time to time as they are recorded in his history, reserving a consideration of them to a later period.

This elevation to the office of prior brought him into direct contact with Lorenzo di Medici; for it had been always the custom for the newly-appointed prior, or any one who was made head of any other religious house, to make a formal visit to Lorenzo, and recommend to his protection their respective convents. This customary compliment Savonarola absolutely refused to pay: on being informed that such was expected of him, he replied,—'Who made me prior, God or Lorenzo? It is the Lord from whom I seek protection, not man.' Lorenzo the Magnificent could ill brook such conduct from any of his subjects; besides, his far-seeing eye knew the danger, among the excitable people of Florence, of the hostility of their great preacher: what might not happen if the Prior of S. Marco were to raise his eloquent voice against the thinly-veiled ambition of the head of the republic, and expose his real designs of rendering himself supreme? By every means must the goodwill, at least, of this dangerous rival be obtained. Lorenzo was an Italian, and knew his countryman: he had already won over the great and powerful in Florence; the same arts would also win over this poor friar. But for once his worldly politics failed; he had to do with an Italian, but with an Italian who

feared God more than man, a character which Lorenzo had not yet encountered. Lorenzo tried flattering: he was deeply impressed with the character of sanctity which the Prior bore; he would come to hear mass at S. Marco:—the Prior celebrated mass, and then retired to his cell. 'Father Prior, Lorenzo is walking in the garden,' was the message brought. 'Very well; do not disturb his meditations.' Lorenzo was forced to depart without the usual attendance of the prior. Then the piety of the prince led him to make large and rich presents to the convent, in honour of its illustrious head. The convent received the presents, but the prior continued as austere and as poor as before, for all the gifts were immediately distributed among the poor. Next, Lorenzo sent some of the first men of the city, to try to induce him to give up his present style of preaching: they were carefully to conceal the fact that Lorenzo had sent them, pretending that they came spontaneously. Of course Savonarola saw through this: 'You say that you are 'come to me of your own accord, and for the good of your city, 'and for the love you bear the convent: I tell you that it is not 'so; Lorenzo di Medici has sent you. Take back this reply 'from me. He is a Florentine, and the first man of the city; 'I am a stranger and a poor friar: but it is he that has to go 'hence, and I who shall stay: tell him to repent of his sins, for 'God has ordained the punishment of him and his.' As Lorenzo shortly after this did depart this life, the words of the prior were looked upon as prophetic. Let us carry our readers to the scene of Lorenzo's departure.

The death-beds of remarkable men have generally had their historian; seldom are such accounts to be trusted; they are written, it is true, by eye-witnesses, but this is a moment when eye-witnesses see far more of what ought to be, than what is; and their accounts are too like the inscription on a tombstone, which tells us of virtues possessed by the deceased, which no one ever saw while he lived, of piety and charity so hidden from the eyes of his fellow-men, that none saw them but the writer of his epitaph. The death-bed of Lorenzo the Magnificent was not wanting in such eye-witnesses; there stood beside him the courtly scholar Politian, and the no less famous John Pico Mirandola: the former has left us his account, of which we shall take as much as we think true, while we shall correct it by statements of a less prejudicial writer, Burlamacchi. The former, in his anxiety to make his patron's exit from the world as perfect as he considered his life to be, introduces Fra Girolamo only to add *éclat* to the closing scene, and makes him act a part there foreign to his whole course of life: on this point Burlamacchi is more consistent, and therefore more trustworthy.

The latter half of the fifteenth century is ever memorable as the era of the revival of classical learning. Not only was printing slowly pouring its literary riches over Western Europe, but the conquest of Constantinople had broken up the last stronghold of civilisation and literature which had never forsaken the Roman Empire. However thoroughly Dr. Maitland has exploded the old notion that the Middle Ages were dark, however well he may have proved that learning flourished in the thousands of monasteries that civilised and polished the unruly nations that were slowly forming themselves into mighty states and kingdoms, he must confess that in comparison with the Byzantine Empire these nations were dark and illiterate. When such stars as Alfred the Great and Charlemagne were with difficulty making their light penetrate the gloomy recesses of a German forest, or an English swamp, and were teaching savage tribes that peace has far more blessings than war, and religion more consolation than the gratification of animal passion, there was a nation on the shores of the sunny Bosphorus, that never needed such a lesson, for it alone had never lost its civilisation. Historians, philosophers, theologians, poets, instructed their countrymen in polished, if not classical, Greek, and a delighted people listened eagerly to their words. Anna Comnena was the daughter of an emperor; and Cantacuzene, another historian, had sat on the throne himself. And now when the apathy and negligence, or rather the jealousy and rivalry of different kingdoms, allowed the barbarian Turk to capture the fairest and richest city in Europe, and to lay waste its most fertile land, the expelled literati of the now destroyed remnant of the Roman Empire sought refuge amid the more ignorant nations of the West, and poured out among them their treasures of learning, and gave back to Italy the half-forgotten literature of ancient Rome. Princes and statesmen now became Platonists; archbishops and cardinals forsook monkish Latin, and wrote to each other in the style of Cicero, or expressed compliments after the manner of Horace. Lorenzo the Magnificent, the father of Leo the Tenth, was one of the greatest patrons of the revived learning: himself a Platonist, far more than a Christian, he was quite as ambitious of the character of philosopher as of statesman; while he gathered into Florence the wealth of the East, and raised it among the first states of Italy, he was equally successful in filling his court with scholars, who brought the wealth of mind and of learning to grace his reign. And now when he lay on his death-bed, he wished still to play the philosopher, and to make his exit from this scene with the applause of an admiring crowd. But he was also a Christian, at least by profession; to make his exit with perfect grace and *éclat*, he must conform to the prejudices of

Christian custom. The following is Politian's account of his death:—

'The day before his death, being in severe illness at his villa of Caregi, he became so debilitated, that there no longer remained any hope of preserving him; of which change, with the wisdom that characterised him, becoming well aware, first of all things he called for a confessor, to whom he unburdened his conscience. And this, I was afterwards told, it was truly marvellous to see with what courage and equanimity of mind he made his dispositions for another world; how he recalled everything that remained to be done, how well he ordered everything relating to this life, and with what prudence he turned his thoughts to the concerns of another world. About midnight, while tranquilly engaged in meditation, he was told that the priest had arrived with the blessed Eucharist. He raised himself up, and exclaimed—"Can it be true that my Jesus, who has created and redeemed me, has come even to my dwelling? Raise me from this bed, I beseech you; raise me speedily, that I may go to meet him." And speaking thus, rising up as he best could, supported by his servants, he went forth to meet the priest as far as the principal saloon, and there, weeping from emotion, he fell on his knees.'

Politian goes on to give a long prayer which he says that Lorenzo uttered at this moment; but whether it was spoken by Lorenzo, or composed by Politian, is a question that may admit of doubt.

'The priest finally gave directions that he should be raised from the ground and brought back to his bed, in order that he might receive the Viaticum more conveniently. Lorenzo opposed this for a time, but afterwards, through respect to the priest, he submitted to his wishes. Being placed in his bed, and having repeated a prayer nearly the same as the former, and being apparently so composed that everything about him breathed a spirit of gravity and devotion, he received the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.'

Much in the same strain follows: the visit of Savonarola is thus described:—

'Pico was scarcely gone, when there entered into the room Fra Girolamo Savonarola, a man celebrated for doctrine and sanctity, and an admirable preacher. Fra Girolamo exhorted Lorenzo to remain firm in the faith: to propose, if God should grant him a prolongation of his days, to live in future far from all sin, and to receive with resignation the stroke of death, if it pleased God he should die. Lorenzo replied, "that he was most firm in his religion, *that his life had always been conformable to it*, that nothing was more desirable to him than death, if it was the Divine will that he should cease to live."'

Any one who knows the character of Savonarola will see at once that this must be a very imperfect account of this remarkable scene; the great preacher of Florence—the man who had so earnestly enforced repentance in all his sermons; who had so strenuously opposed the domination of the Medici over the Republic; whose religion and political principles were of such a marked character—was not likely to allow him, who had been the corrupter of religion, by introducing heathen philosophy,

and of political freedom, by suppressing the liberty of the people, to depart in this way; was not likely to allow his last visit to the dying autocrat to be one of a merely formal nature, little differing from that of the courtly priest, who was ready, at his patron's command, to smooth the passage of his soul to the judgment-seat of Christ with the Church's benediction and Sacraments, as if he had been her most faithful son. We must turn to Burlamacchi for a truer picture.

'Lorenzo, finding himself labouring under a mortal illness, asked for a confessor, and having sent for Don Guido degli Angioli and Father Mariano della Barba, his intimate friend, he said, "I do not wish for either of them; send for the Prior of S. Marco, for I have found no true monk but him." A messenger was then despatched for him, in the name of Lorenzo, to whom he said, "Tell Lorenzo that it is not I of whom he stands in need, for we are not of accord, and therefore it is not expedient that I should go." The servant having returned with this answer, Lorenzo again said to him, "Go back to the prior, and tell him to come by all means, for I wish to be in accord with him, and to do all that he will tell me to do." The servant returned to San Marco, and having delivered his message, the prior immediately set out for Correggio, the villa of Lorenzo, distant two miles from the city, where he lay sick, and took for his companion an old man, Fra Gregorio, of the infirmary, to whom, on the road, he revealed to him that Lorenzo would die of the present illness, and would not escape it. Having arrived at the villa, and entered the apartment of Lorenzo, he saluted him with all due courtesy, and after exchanging a few words, Lorenzo said to him:—"My father, I wish to make my confession, but three grave offences hold me back, and also cause me to despair." Fra Girolamo replied, "And what are those offences?" Then Lorenzo answered,—"The three offences are these, which I know not if God will pardon me. The first is, the sacking of the city of Volterra, which it suffered on account of the promises which I made, and the shocking abuses which many young creatures suffered on that occasion. The second offence is the injustice done to the charitable Monte delle Fanciulle, on account of which many of its inmates have suffered wrong, being obliged to remain there, not having received their marriage portions. The third offence is that committed in the case of the Pazzi, when many innocent persons were put to death." To which Fra Girolamo replied: "Lorenzo, despair not thus, because God is merciful, and He will even show mercy to you, if you are willing to do three things, which I shall point out to do." "Tell me then," said Lorenzo, "what are those three things?" The father replied,—"The first thing is, that you should strive to have a great and lively faith and belief that God can and wishes to pardon you." To which Lorenzo answered, "This great faith I have, and thus do I believe." "Then," added the father, "it is necessary that every thing wrongfully acquired should be restored by you, as far as it is possible, leaving to your children such substance as may be fitting for the decent maintenance of private citizens." At these words Lorenzo was roused a little, but after a short while he said, "And even this will I do." The father then proceeded to repeat the third thing he had spoken of,—"*Lastly, it is necessary that you make restitution to Florence of her liberty, and to the State of the popular rule that belongs to a Republic.*" At these words Lorenzo turned his back to the speaker, and never made answer to him. Therefore the father went away and left him, without making any other confession; and after some time Lorenzo departed this life, and passed into another.'—Pp. 152, 153.

Lorenzo died on the 11th of April, 1492.

Most readers will at once think that the last condition of receiving absolution required by Savonarola, was out of place and unreasonable, but we must consider the ideas of the age. Let any one recall to mind the great struggle in England in the seventeenth century, between the Church and the Puritans,—nay, the principles which actuated old-fashioned High Churchmen of this century—and they will remember that Church principles and loyalty to the crown were considered inseparable; and that an act of disloyalty was a sin against God, because the king was the Lord's anointed. Besides, Savonarola was urging the great duty of restitution, and he thought that the seizing of the political rights of the people was equally a robbery with that of their lands or property, and therefore had equally to be restored, before the pardon of heaven could be bestowed.

It is more interesting to trace the flashing out of conscience, at the last moment, of the man, who had so long and so successfully smothered the flame during his life of political ambition; the crying of a voice that would not be silenced when the realities of the judgment forced themselves before him; how he knew the hollowness of the flattery with which his courtiers tried to soothe his spirit; his penetration of the unreality of the absolution given by a hireling priest. *He* was not deceived when the obsequious chaplain told him his pardon was sealed in heaven, and that he might now depart in peace. There was one man who had never flattered him, and whom neither his favour nor his gold could corrupt; that was the man who alone could tell him his duty, and point out the way that he might obtain pardon. It was like that spark of the true light which yet remained unquenched in the heart of our own Charles II., when he nominated Thomas Ken to a bishopric, because he had refused to allow Winchester College to be polluted by being made the lodging-house for one of the king's mistresses, and would summon that bishop to his side when he knew he was departing this life, to appear before the throne of judgment.

The power and wealth of Lorenzo devolved on his son Pietro, without his talents; he could not keep what his father had left, nor preserve the political edifice he had so carefully constructed. It would have been better had Lorenzo complied with Savonarola's advice; the catastrophe which fell on his house might have been averted; for within two years, the political structure which he had so carefully built up, was in a moment shivered; and his palace, with all its splendid works of art, collected at the cost of so much time and money, became in one day a ruin in the hands of the infuriated mob of Florence, and his son Pietro a proscribed exile.

Eight months after the death of Lorenzo, on the last Sunday in Advent, Savonarola relates that he saw a vision,—a hand holding a dagger stretched out from heaven, with this inscription:—'The sword of the Lord upon the earth soon and sudden.' Two years after, the army of Charles VIII. of France invaded Italy, and this invasion realized the idea of the vision most fully, and Savonarola declared this to be the fulfilment. It resembled the ancient invasion of the Goths and Vandals: for rapine, murder, lust accompanied it; cities, countries, villages were given up to pillage and fire. Savonarola, who believed Charles to be God's instrument to punish the corruptions of the Church and the tyrannies of princes, called him Cyrus, the 'Lord's anointed,' to execute His will. Florence shared the general panic; councils were divided, and no preparations of defence made; even the impending calamity could not heal the animosities of the two political parties; each thought more of his own safety than the general good of the commonwealth.

Pietro di Medici, forgetting his duty to the city, and thinking only of saving his own position, had gone at once to the camp, and made a treaty with the king, promising to deliver up five of the principal fortresses: he returned to meet the execrations of the citizens. The Signoria had not consented, or, rather, had not been consulted; his appearance was the signal for tumult; the great bell of the city tolled out its ominous summons. Pietro felt that that was the knell of his own power: he at once fled; his brother Julian (afterwards Leo X.) with difficulty escaped in the disguise of a monk; the Signoria was restored, and the Republic proclaimed. The citizens avenged themselves by sacking and destroying the Medici palace. Soon after, Charles entered Florence in triumph; a few days after leave was given to the soldiers to sack the city; that it might be done with as little resistance as possible, it was to be done at night. By some means the report oozed out, and the Signoria were informed; it met; the greatest consternation prevailed; at last some one proposed to send to the Prior of San Marco. He and his brethren were found at prayer; he rose up to go to negotiate with the king: at the gate he was refused admittance: he returned to pray; in the midst of his supplication he thought he heard a voice saying to him, 'Return, return, you shall enter!' Immediately rising up, he went to the palace: no opposition was made to his entry: he found the king armed, ready to put his design into execution. The prior, holding up a crucifix, addressed the king:—'This 'represents Christ, who made heaven and earth; respect not me, 'respect Him: He is King of kings, and Lord of lords, who 'causes the earth to tremble, and gives victory to princes accord-'ing to His pleasure and His justice. He punishes and brings

'ruin on impious and unjust kings, and will destroy you and all 'your army if you do not desist from such cruelty as you medi- 'tate, and abandon the design you have formed against this city; 'otherwise, there being in this city so many friends and servants 'of God, and so many innocent souls night and day engaged in 'praising his Majesty, their cries will ascend to the throne of 'God, and confusion and destruction will fall on your army. Do 'you not know that it is a small thing with God whether He is 'victorious over a few or over many? Do you not remember 'what He did with Sennacherib, that most proud king of Assy- 'ria? Remember, that while Moses continued praying to the 'Lord, Joshua and the people triumphed over their enemies? 'So will it be with you, who, by your pride, are brought to 'covet that which is not yours. Let it suffice you to have the 'hearts of the Florentines. Leave, then, your most cruel and 'impious purpose meditated against an innocent and most faithful 'people!' Florence was saved by Fra Girolamo from the dreadful fate which threatened her; what it might have been we know from what befell other cities during that terrible invasion.

After the departure of Charles commenced the political life of Savonarola; he helped to restore the republic, and, like most of the Italian reformers of the present day, he expected to see perfect order, justice, righteousness spring from this government. His ideal seems to have been a republic which was to be entirely guided by Divine laws:—'I have always told you,' he said repeatedly in his sermons, 'on clear grounds, that a king- 'dom is so much the stronger the more spiritual it is; and as so 'much the more spiritual the nearer it relates itself with God. 'But with God no one can have communion who makes not 'peace with his neighbour.' He wished first to purify the Church, and then, having formed his republic, to let her influence leaven the mass. His republic was eminently popular; the people were largely to be represented; they were to do more than merely counteract the aristocratic influence—they were to have the chief power.

The field was open for political experiments after the departure of the French king. The Medici were banished, leaving no government behind, for the Signoria was only a sort of provisional body. The reaction, of course, was in favour of popular measures; all had seen the evil effects of the art of Pietro in making a treaty with Charles without consulting the popular opinion; very naturally they argued that the grand mistake was in giving such power to any one individual, that 'in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom:' that one man, whose life and position separated him from the people, could not know nor sympathise with their wants and wishes, and so the only safe-

guard was a popular representation. No one was more forward with this opinion than the Prior of San Marco; pure-minded and disinterested himself, he fancied that political dishonesty could only exist in that individual who wished to arrogate to himself wealth, power, and honours, at the expense of his fellow-countrymen; that those who belonged to the people must sympathise most with the people, and consult for their good. When, therefore, the Signoria came to consult him on the formation of the future government of Florence—for since his successful intercession with Charles had really saved the city from ruin, he was naturally looked up to both as a great diplomatist and a public benefactor—he at once threw himself on the popular side, and advised a large representative body; his advice was followed, and a council of eight hundred and thirty citizens chosen. His opinions he expressed first in a sermon and afterwards in a treatise, which is taken chiefly from that of S. Thomas Aquinas, 'De Regimine Principum.' In his sermon he proposes four subjects: 1st. Fear of God, to induce people to reform their lives. 2d. Love of the Republic, by which private consideration was to be sacrificed to public good. 3d. Universal peace, and an oblivion of private wrongs. 4th. That the government should comprehend all classes and degrees of citizens, so as to secure the choice of the best among them. We need not say that he was disappointed in the result; we need not stop to show that when the private citizen becomes a public officer, he does not leave at home his private individual feelings and prejudices; that the elevation to a high post raises his mind above selfish considerations; or that a city is safer under eight hundred and thirty tyrants, than under one; or that the men most capable of ruling will always be chosen to rule. We are not likely soon to forget the reign of terror of the first French Revolution, nor the ridiculous attempt of *savans* to govern, as seen in the second. The earnest, well-meaning Prior of San Marco is not the only person who has spun out of his brain fine theories of pure government, and seen them utterly fail when they are put in execution. There is one quality which these theorisers never do, and perhaps never can, estimate in their calculations, that is, that they have to deal with men who have interests of their own to serve, passions of their own to satisfy, which jar against and interfere with public good. To such men we say with Mrs. Glasse, 'first catch your hare;' first find your state in which the love of God, love of your fellow-men is above selfishness, and then put your fine-spun plans into execution: but until you find this be wanted you give too much power to those who will use it ill. Perhaps more crimes have been done under the name of liberty, than have been perpetrated under that of tyranny.

This new constitution commenced in the beginning of 1495; before that year was run out, Savonarola was summoned before it to answer for his conduct. The complaint against him was that he was always in his preaching declaring this or that to be the will of God as revealed to himself; that he related visions which he had seen; and declared prophecies of future events. Now, as his sermons at this period were political, there can be no doubt of their dangerous tendency, and we must not wonder that the government would feel as uneasy as Lorenzo di Medici formerly did, at a popular preacher, who was attended by crowds of hearers, openly discussing its measures, and declaring *the Will of God* upon them. Nothing was done against the Prior at that time, partly from the fact that his accuser was the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, a member of the aristocratic party, and partly, perhaps, on account of his popularity. Another cause of enmity was his continually denouncing the vices of the age: directed, as his preaching was, against every kind of sin, it appeared more prominently so against the wealthy and great, not because they were really more vicious than the common people, but because, being public men, their faults were more prominent, and therefore seemed to be more particularly aimed at in the preacher's discourses. In a mercantile city like Florence, where money transactions were of daily occurrence, and large sums advanced in trade and speculation, it was inevitable that interest would be exacted. Savonarola—who, of course, held the idea borrowed from the law of Moses, and laid down in the Canons of the Church, that usury was unlawful—specially set his face against this, as he thought, abuse. Naturally he incurred the hostility of the whole mercantile interest. The tide was now turning against him; the old party of the Medici had always been so: it was now strengthened by the merchants, and many of the popular party, who found the Prior a stumbling-block to the prosecution of their selfish and ambitious projects.

But the great opposition, and that which finally brought his life to an end, was that which came from the Church—Savonarola spared no one; from the Pope to the lowest friar his censures were freely uttered. Alexander VI. had gained the triple crown by simony and bribery hitherto unparalleled; his election to the papacy did not cure his vices; benefices were still sold, almost openly, the ill-gotten gains lavished by the Pope on his unworthy children; his guilty connexion with Vannozia still continued, and whispers of darker guilt, incest with his own daughter Lucrezia Borgia, were apparently not without foundation. When such an example was set by the head, can we wonder if the inferior members followed? Can we wonder if the spirit of the Prior of San Marco, a man of pure life, and earnest for religion,

was stirred within him at the sight of these things? In the midst of his most solemn discourses he would pause, and then break forth with expressions such as these:—'The chastity of the cloister is slain! the purity of the spouse of Christ is sullied!' In a sermon preached at Florence at the end of the year 1494, we find him addressing his hearers:—

'*Penitentiam agite! agite penitentiam!* O ye rich, O ye poor, do penance! ye who are rich give alms to the poor! ye who are in poverty and suffering, fear God, act rightly, and do not despair at your tribulations. . . .

'O ye priests, hear my words! O pastors and prelates of the Church of Christ, leave the benefices which you cannot justly hold! Abandon your pomp, your banquets, and your costly entertainments! Abandon, I counsel you, your vicious courses, for the time is come, I say, to do penance for them. . . .

'O ye monks! abandon all excess of apparel, and of property belonging to your monasteries, and their endowments. Betake yourselves to simplicity of life, and labour with your hands, as did monks of old, your fathers, and our predecessors. O monks! abandon at once your evil courses, leave off your simony. . . .

'O ye merchants! abandon your usury, make restitution for gains unlawfully gotten, and the wrongs done to others, otherwise you will lose all that you possess. . . .

'The voice of one crying in the wilderness says to you, O Italy! on account of your sins, adversity will come upon you! O all ye cities of Italy, the time is coming for the punishment of your sins! O Italy! on account of your luxury, your avarice, your pride, your ambition, your rapine, and injustice, many afflictions will befall you, many scourges will come on you! A voice in the wilderness crying out, speaks thus to you, *Agite penitentiam! agite penitentiam!*'

Such addresses as these were usually followed by predictions of calamities, especially conquest by foreign powers; in some the King of France is named as being the appointed scourge, sometimes the evil is to arise among themselves; the people of Italy are to be their own, or each other's, scourges.

That such preaching as this—and this is only a specimen out of many—should excite the apprehension of those in authority, both in Church and State, was only to be expected. The Prior, however, was not contented with thus expressing his opinion before the populace of Florence and the neighbourhood; he believed that he had a divine mission to re-establish the republic in that city, and to reform the abuse in the Church. Successful in the first instance, he considers it a sign that he should also succeed in the other. He opened communications, therefore, with the Kings of France, Hungary, Spain, England, and the Emperor of Germany, asking them to combine in taking measures for calling a general council to reform the Church. This, he says, 'he did *at God's command.* In his letter to the latter, he complains that in the Church of God we see a state of things, 'in which from head to foot there is no soundness, but an 'abominable aggregation of all vices,—you standing by quietly,

'and ever bowing down to the great iniquity that usurps the seat 'of Peter, and which shamelessly runs into all disorders. It is 'now long that the Church has been without a true Pastor, for I 'testify, *in verbo Domini*, that this Alexander VI. is not a Pontiff, 'and cannot be recognised as such. For putting apart his wicked 'crime of simony, by means of which he bought the Papal 'throne, and every day makes larger sale of ecclesiastical bene-'fices, and by other manifest vices, I affirm, amongst other 'things, that he is not a Christian, and does not believe in the 'existence of God, which surpasses any other species of infidelity. 'And before all the world, in opportune time and place, I will 'discover his other secret vices, as my God has commanded me 'to do.'

Some of these letters were intercepted, and laid before the Pope by the Cardinal Ascanio, one of those bribed by the Pope to secure his election, with these words:—'We put the tiara 'on your head in order that you might defend the Church, but 'dangerous times are coming, and with mischiefs in their train, 'which you will not be able to oppose, and you will lose your 'tiara, and we our hats.' Alexander was now fully roused; an excommunication followed. It specified three reasons:—'1st. 'That being cited to Rome, he had disobeyed the order; '2d. That he preached perverse and heretical doctrines; 3d. 'That he refused to accede to the union of his convent with 'others in Tuscany.' The Franciscans, always the rivals of the Dominicans, and in this instance the enemies of Savonarola, were chosen to promulgate the excommunication. But Savonarola had not yet lost all his friends; there were many who stood by him even under the excommunication; they argued that it was not valid, because the father had not been convicted of any heretical teaching; that the Pope was misinformed; that it was done without investigation. Savonarola justified himself, and still continued preaching.

Before this he had been twice suspended for preaching by the Pope; not, however, in any harsh or violent manner. These suspensions he regarded for a time, but soon resumed his preaching: in a sermon after the second suspension, he justified himself thus:—'You shall hear in a parable of a citizen, who had a 'large vineyard, which, under the care of his son, produced 'much fruit. Some robbers in the neighbourhood determined 'to ravage this vineyard. But the son, who took care of it, 'kept them at bay, and preserved the possession; so they wrote 'to the father, who was afar off, and said, Your son is given to 'riot and debauchery, and is bringing ruin on your posterity; and 'they sent a person of supposed worth and reputation to confirm 'those statements. The father, who lived afar off, and could have

'no personal knowledge of his son's doings, gave credit to the false 'reports, and sent word to that son to come to him; but the son, 'perceiving clearly the drift of that report, and that the vineyard 'must go to ruin if he abandoned it, obeyed not the order, but 'wrote to his father that he had been wrongfully accused by 'slanderers. I ask you now, did that son seem to you to have 'done well or ill, or to have fulfilled or not the intentions of his 'father?' Savonarola knew too well the danger of trusting himself in Rome to think of venturing there. He stayed where he was, trusting to his popularity as a defence.

On the failure of these measures, other means were tried. In 1496, after having been silent for some time under suspension, he resumed his preaching, again justifying his disobedience by taking for his text, '*Etenim oportet obedire Deo magis quam hominibus.*' This sermon was followed by another openly denouncing the disorders of the Church, not sparing the Pope himself. This sermon was taken down at the time, and transmitted to the Pope. Alexander sent for a prelate of the Dominican order, and, putting the sermon into his hands, told him to answer it. The prelate said there was but one way of doing so that would ever be effectual:—'Bestow some preferment upon 'him, and make him your friend; honour him with a red hat in 'order that he may leave off prophesying, and that the people 'may ridicule what he said before.' Father Ludovico de Ferrare, the master of the sacred palace, was commissioned to negotiate this delicate offer with Savonarola. He came to Florence, and attended one of the sermons. A conference followed:—'It 'has pleased his Holiness, having been informed of your virtue 'and wisdom, to desire to elevate you to the dignity of the office 'of a cardinal, provided you proceed no further with revelation 'of future events.' To which the Prior replied—'The Lord save 'me from it, the Lord save me from it!—that I should resign the 'legation and embassy of the Lord! But come to-morrow to 'the sermon, and I shall answer you in the face of all.' Next day the Prior ascended the pulpit, and with unusual vehemence denounced the corruptions of the Church, and ended with these words, in allusion to the offer that had been made him—'I wish 'no other red hat than that of a martyr's stained with his own 'blood.'

The Prior was now fast losing his influential friends; he had offended all the great people both in the Church and in the Government of Florence by his rebukes, but still his power was felt, he was venerated by the people; there was a wish to get rid of him, but the difficulty was by what way to do it. Conspiracies were hatched against him to take his life by assassination or poison, but the walls of the convent were his safeguard:

he scarcely ever stirred from thence but to preach, and then he was surrounded by crowds of people. Petty devices to annoy and ridicule him were resorted to; spikes were fixed secretly on the side of the pulpit in the hope that during the vehemence of his preaching, he would wound himself: on one occasion he found the pulpit occupied by a stuffed donkey. Everywhere he was subject to persecution. 'O Italy!' he exclaims in one of his sermons, 'is it possible that you do not blush to make so great a war on a poor friar?' By and by his popularity went too. After the excommunication, or rather after he saw that his influence had waned, he knew all was over with him. Very touching are his complaints in some of his sermons of this destitution; no doubt from the utter failure of all his plans, the licentious city, the unreformed Church, the blighting of all his hopes once so strong, perhaps at times a thought that he had deluded himself as to his Divine mission, and that this abandonment was of God as well as man—God had not vindicated his servant, had not confirmed his word,—he had laboured in vain, and spent his strength for nought: the partial reform he had effected in Florence was now of yesterday, a thing past and gone; corruption, vice, luxury, were in their old places, as when the Medici ruled: Alexander was Pope still; and, worst and cruellest of all, the very populace were turning against him. 'I am come 'into a deep sea, and now long for the haven once more, and I 'look all around me for it, and I see no possibility of returning. 'I will say unto Thee, as the prophet Jeremiah said, "Lord, 'Thou hast persuaded me, and I have let myself be persuaded." 'Thou hast been too strong for me, and Thou hast conquered. 'But I have become a mockery,—I am scoffed by every one. 'Now, Lord, Thou knowest that I am at the mercy of this deep 'sea—Thy will be done.

Then, again, he would seek to justify himself before God and man, by appealing to his Divine mission. He would stand in the pulpit uttering his own thoughts and feelings, appealing to God to vindicate his servant, and his fellow-men to listen to him, to whom God had revealed Himself:—'Lord, my God, 'they say that I am a seducer, and that I deceive the people: 'Thou knowest that I have not committed this crime, but that 'it wast Thou that caused me to come to Florence, by saying to 'me:—*Exi de terra tua et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris 'tui, et veni in terram quam monstravero tibi:* it was by Thy 'inspiration, and not of my own will, that I came to Florence; 'and I am content that the glorious Virgin Mary deigns to be a 'witness of all that I say, as also the blessed spirits, all the 'patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, and the virgins; that they are witnesses to my soul, if I

'speak not the truth; and if I have foretold the scourges of Italy, 'the renovation of the Church, and the promise made to the city 'of Florence, and if I have announced all those things by my 'own inspiration; it is from Thy illumination, and by Thy 'command; and if I have preached in the new government of 'Florence of my own good or bad will, or in order to obey 'Thee .... to-day I protest that whosoever contradicts these 'things, contradicts Thee and not me; persecutes Thee and not 'me, and seeks his own ruin, for which I am in no way answer-'able, since I have so often warned them; and for all that I ask 'no other recompense but this alone; but I beseech Thee that 'Thou wilt assist in Thine own work, and that Thou wilt defend 'the innocent.'

The carrying out of the sentence of excommunication was confided to the Franciscans, the old rivals of the Dominicans, and the bitter enemies of Savonarola; and they set themselves vigorously to enforce it. Savonarola made an appeal to the Pope in a letter in which he seeks to exculpate himself from the charges laid against him, and declares what the Pope has heard was nothing but the calumnies of his enemies. Of course this appeal had no effect. The machinations against him went on; everything that could be done to bring him into discredit with the government and the people was resorted to, and with effect. A conspiracy on the part of the Medici faction having been discovered, five of the principal citizens of Florence, including the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, were condemned to death, and executed: it was given out and believed, that this was done at the instigation, or at least by the approval of Savonarola—a thing very unlikely, as he had long ago lost all influence with the government. However, like most calumnies, it did its work sufficiently for the moment; it exasperated the friends of the executed against the friar, and the political faction to which he belonged—the Piagnoni—and raised into power the opposing faction, the Palleschi, with whom the Franciscans were leagued. Thus the old republican party was now quite excluded from office, leaving Savonarola without protection against the united strength of political and polemical hatred, backed up with an excommunication from the Pope.

We now enter upon that strangest scene of his public life, when a direct appeal to Heaven, to declare whether the truth lay with him or his enemies, was made. We have some difficulty from the conflicting accounts of different historians to find out with whom the proposal for this appeal originated: it seems probable that it was a device of the Franciscans to entrap their adversaries into a trial in which the latter would most likely fail. A Franciscan friar, called Francesco, who had set himself to

preach against Savonarola in the Lent of 1478,—the Signoria having forbidden the latter to preach,—declared his readiness to undergo the ordeal of fire, in order to test the truth of Savonarola's predictions and revelations. Fra Dominico, the devoted friend and firm believer in Savonarola, accepted the challenge, and declared his readiness to enter the fire with the Franciscan. Upon this, Savonarola declared his readiness to submit to the trial, provided the ambassadors of the Christian monarchs, who were then in Florence, were present; and gave a pledge that in the event of the Dominican coming out unhurt, they would proceed to reform the whole Church. This was refused, but the original proposal was still entertained: Francesco and Dominico appeared before the Signoria, and there publicly agreed to stand the trial. The government was in doubt as to the lawfulness of this ordeal, and sent to the Pope to ask his permission; but ere an answer reached Florence, the urgent importunities of the Franciscans, and the clamours of the people, who were impatient to witness the spectacle, prevailed. In the great square of Florence there was erected a large pile of wood with a narrow passage through it: not only was the wood dry and inflammable, but pitch and grease had been plentifully used, and even bags of gunpowder introduced, to insure combustion. Near this pile were two stages, one for the Signoria, the other for the principal actors. First appeared the Franciscan, accompanied by one brother; then Fra Dominico and Savonarola, bearing a crucifix and the Holy Sacrament, attended by a large crowd of people. After they had ascended their stage, the Signoria appeared, and ascended theirs. Fra Francesco then made a short address to the lords, stating that he was prepared to undergo the ordeal, and that if he came out unhurt, and his opponent perished, then victory should be awarded to him and his cause; if otherwise, Savonarola should be acquitted. The Franciscan, instead of at once proceeding to act on his proposal, began by exacting certain conditions of his opponent: he pretended to suspect that some magical incantation might have been used to render their clothes fireproof; the lords immediately provided new sets of clothes for each, but the Dominican refused to change his habit. He next objected to the friar carrying a crucifix into the fire with him, but this was overruled by the lords. Lastly, he objected to the other taking with him the Holy Sacrament; the lords considered this objection reasonable, but Dominico declined to enter without it. Before these disputes were settled a violent storm of wind, rain, and hail, accompanied by thunder and lightning, deluged the square, and terrified the assembly. Some say that this prevented the ordeal taking place, the pile of wood being so saturated with moisture that it would not burn freely; others,

that the lords, seeing that this trifling would never cease, and being already wearied with waiting, rose up and declared that the trial could not come off that day. The people slowly dispersed, angry and disappointed at losing their expected spectacle. The Franciscans were not slow to avail themselves of the disappointment; they laid all the blame on the Dominicans, and sent abroad the report that the latter wished to burn the most Holy Sacrament, that the former would not allow it, and that this was the cause of the postponement of the ordeal.

The next day was Sunday,—an uneasy feeling was apparent; groups of persons assembled in the great square and at the corners of the streets, eagerly listening to one or two individuals, who passed from group to group and addressed them in a low and mysterious tone of voice. The excitement increased as evening approached; the groups joined each other till they became crowds; voices no longer whispered, but spoke out in loud and menacing tones. At about one hour after sunset, a cry was raised, and everywhere re-echoed, 'To the convent of S. Marco!' In a moment the convent was invested, every avenue was closed, as well to prevent those within from escaping, as to hinder a rescue from friends without. The Prior immediately put on his sacerdotal garments, and, taking the crucifix in his hand, wished to go forth and speak to the people, but the community would not allow him; they were bent on defending themselves to the last. No doubt a siege might have been easily maintained for a longer time than the fury of the rabble would last, since the convent was a strong place, and inhabited by two hundred monks, besides many novices and laymen; but the prior would not permit them to fight: 'The arms,' said he, 'of monks should be spiritual, and not carnal;' and to spiritual warfare they went: first, a solemn procession, chanting litanies; then prayer in the choir, before the blessed Sacrament. Here, in strange contrast with the clamour, and the blasphemies, and the shouts that roared outside the convent, was heard the solemn chant of prayer, 'Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedici hereditati tuæ.' In the midst came down an order from the Signoria, that all the laymen should depart from the convent, promising a safe-conduct to such as did so. The major part availed themselves of the privilege, and departed: a few, more generous, determined to remain, and share the fate of the fathers. Among these was one of noble birth, Francisco Vallori, one of the few that did not allow himself to be carried away by blind passion from a sense of justice. He, seeing that the convent would not long hold out after the departure of the laymen, determined to attempt a diversion in its favour without. There were still some in the city like himself, men who at least wished that the fathers should be fairly dealt with:

these he would seek out, and bring to the de
He tried, therefore, to leave the place sec
friends: the mob, however, were too watchful
and, his errand being found out, or suspect
on the spot; the populace, drunk with his
the resistance of the stone walls of the co
palace and attacked it: it was midnight, al
his wife, roused by the tumult, was shot at a
strangled in his bed, and the whole place p
Meantime the siege of the convent conti
applied to the doors, which at last yielded
furious invaders poured into the building: ev
at once murdered, everything that fell in
destroyed. The church resisted a little l
that too was broken into; and some of the
the order of the Prior, defended themsel
they could lay hands on; one, a German,
powerful frame, seized a musket from the
assailants, and mounting the pulpit, fired o
every shot, 'Salvum fac populum tuum,
hereditati tuæ!' On coming to the door o
ordered it to be thrown open,—he was unwill
be shed in that holy place, and before the H
permitted them to enter. For a moment, eve
bloodthirsty multitude was awed at the si
dred fathers calmly and silently engaged
these had been wounded even, though sto
been perpetually hurled through the winc
among them. A parley was demanded, an
agreed on; the leaders of the mob demande
and Fra Dominico, and Fra Silvestro sho
to the Signoria: this they refused to do ti
order from the Signoria, and a proper pro
pulace. While waiting for this, the Prior a
for the last time: the road to heaven, he t
bulation, and they were not, on that acco
he reminded them of all the saints, who h
eternal life through suffering and death.
ready to go to prison and to death for the sak
and Saviour, being well assured that a Cl
in doing good and enduring evil. He the
Fra Dominico, and received at his hands
Fra Dominico likewise confessed to him,
he delivered up the keys into the hands
remained, and prepared to accompany the g
the church, Fra Dominico said, 'I willingly

On coming out, the guards bound their hands behind their backs, and led them away; the clock tolled three as they left the convent. There was need of the precaution the fathers took in having a proper guard from the Signoria, for no sooner did they appear than the crowd rushed upon them, and could hardly be restrained by the guards from murdering them on the spot: blows, execrations, vile language, blasphemies, followed them the whole way; the man who, not long before, gathered crowds to listen to his sermons, who could so persuade the city that a bonfire was made of its pomps and vanities, was now, for no fault of his own, for no change of sentiment on his part, but only because *he* had persevered and they had turned aside—was now cursed as a monster too vile to live, fit only to be treated as a wild beast. Italy was not now under the empire, but the disposition of the people was the same—

> ' ——— sed quid turba Remi?
> Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
> Damnatos.———————
> ——————————Properamus
> Cum jacet in ripa, calcemus Cæsaris hostem.'

Unable to murder the Prior, the mob took vengeance by plundering the convent; nothing was too holy to escape destruction, the church shared the fate of the rest: the ornaments of the altar were borne off, and a silver crown, which had belonged to an image of the Blessed Virgin, was not only taken away, but even placed, in mockery, on the head of a common prostitute.

On being conducted before the Signoria, the Prior was asked, if the doctrines he preached were true? if his revelations were from God? He answered at once, that the things he had predicted were revealed from God. A special committee of sixteen of their number was appointed to try them: they commenced by simple interrogation, but on the second examination tortures were resorted to. Seven times was Fra Girolamo stretched on the rack, but without making him retract one single word: great were his sufferings; in his agony he would cry, 'Tolle, Domine, tolle animam meam;' but when he was taken from the rack, he would drop on his knees, and his prayer, like that of the first Martyr, was for those that were torturing him. One of the sixteen, Francesco degli Albizi, left the conclave in horror, saying that he would never stain his hands with the blood of innocent men.

The court, finding they could not make the fathers criminate themselves, had now recourse to other means to do so. A notary, Francesco de Arone, undertook the task of effecting this, provided he was paid for it: some of the Medici party accepted this offer,

and promised him four hundred *scudi* for th
mitted into the court, and took down the ev
trived to change a few words in the answers
give a criminal colouring to the whole; this
Savonarola gave general answers; the not
particular, so as to make them apply to hin
when asked, 'In what manner he confessed h
'People who have lost the faith, give themse
their souls;' meaning by this that it was a
answered before persons who were sitting
on perverting justice: the notary put down
having lost faith, ceased to confess. This n
another commission was formed, consisting
but there were added the vicar-general o
Florence, the vicar of the Bishop of Fiesole
cathedral of Florence, and also six friars of
narola was brought before them, and asked
spoken were true. He replied that they v
subscribed the *procès verbal*, and he was al
convent. Next day the Signoria assembl
of justice, in which every one was admitt
verbal was read over,—of course the falsifie
appear that Savonarola was present,—and
nounced, only one member, Agnolo Niccolini
—'If we consider,' said he, 'the history of
'of past ages, we shall find that it would b
'any part of the world, a man of such excel
'so high and noble an order of intellect, a
'death we are now debating. Then to lay a
'of so great and rarely gifted a man, whose
'for many centuries, would seem to me to h
'and execrable to be thought of by grave a
'appears to me, then, that it is not for us t
'that which is capable of giving lustre to
'it had grown dim in every other part of th
'shedding lustre upon the faith only, but on
'the knowledge of which he is so very fully
'appears to me, that if it were necessary fo
'some fault to imprison him, it should be in s
'tody, within some fortress, if you choose, a
'dious apartments, with pens, ink, and paper
'of books as he may desire to have. For in th
'doubt that he would write most valuable bo
'leading to the exaltation of our holy faith,
'to posterity. While consigning him to dea
'any kind, would bring on our republic, so

'trious, perpetual dishonour and discredit in the minds of all men 'throughout the world.' All, however, was unavailing; condemnation was pronounced; messengers were dispatched to Rome with intelligence of the proceedings to the Pope, who at once testified his pleasure at the result: he wished to have had him brought to Rome, but, unable to persuade the Signoria to do this, he sent two commissioners to assist at the execution.

Meanwhile the three friars were thrown into prison—a prison dark and damp, with nothing but the bare earth to lie on: the prisoners were not allowed to hold communication with each other. Forty-three days did this confinement last—Fra Girolamo, however, contrived to obtain pens and paper, and here he composed three treatises, one on the Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus;* another on the Psalm *In te, Domine, speravi;* the third was entitled '*Regola del ben vivere.*'

'There was a rumour spread through Florence, shortly before the executions, that Fra Dominico was to be pardoned. Romolino, one of the Pope's agents, was inclined towards mercy in his case, but one of the Palleschi objected that the public weal might be prejudiced if he were allowed to live. Then Romolino, being a prudent person, changed his mind, and said, "*A monk more or a monk less is a matter of small importance; let him be also put to death.*" "Un fratraccio piu, o un fratraccio manco, non importa, mandatelo pure alla morte."'—*Life, &c.* vol. ii. p. 89.

At the earnest request of Savonarola, a priest, Jacopo Nicolini, was allowed to visit the prisoners on the night before the execution: this interview was permitted to take place in the Sala della Palazza, precautions against escape being taken by placing the feet of the prisoners in the stocks. At the end of the interview, Savonarola asked Nicolini to allow him to lay his head upon his knees, that he might take a little repose.

'Nicolini readily allowed him to do so: the poor friar, jaded almost to death, no sooner laid his weary head on the knees of the kind priest, than he fell into a deep sleep. While Nicolini was regarding the sweet calm that seemed to have overspread his features, he was startled at observing his countenance becoming suddenly animated,—words were breathed that denoted satisfaction; that feeling was even expressed by laughter, which surprised Nicolini not a little. In a little time Fra Girolamo woke up, and thanked his kind visitor for the short repose that had been afforded him. "I wish," said he, "to make some return for the contentment I have received while you suffered me to communicate with my companions in these few moments of repose. You know the tribulations I have predicted for this city; to you will I communicate the time of these terrible calamities. Know, then, and bear in your mind, that they will come when there shall be in the chair of Peter a Pope named Clement."

'The reader will bear in mind, that the date of the alleged prediction was the 21st May, 1498; and that Rome was besieged by the forces of Pope Clement the Seventh, and those of his allies, in the year 1529. Thirty-one years had elapsed since Savonarola had been put to death, ridiculed and persecuted for predicting calamities and afflictions of no ordinary kind for Florence, and those which fell on the doomed city during the siege, and its

capture in August 1530, were certainly such as Flo
before that time. "Florence opened her gates at
8,000 citizens, and 14,000 men, foreigners enlisted
city was utterly impoverished; for the citizens h
possessed for the maintenance of the troops: it was
misery; of suspicious strife and suffering; it was s
which manifested itself still more violently after th
perial troops having been long previously infected b
ii. p. 97.

At length the morning of the execution
soners; and they prepared to meet their d
together, and partaking together, the Holy E
by this, they prepared to meet Him who will
ing to their works; perhaps a very different
of the Signoria of Florence. The place of
great square of the city; the place where the
been prepared. Three tribunals were pitch
Bishop of Vasona, who was to degrade the fr
the commissioners of the Pope; the third for
of Florence. In the centre there was a mou
in height; in the earth was erected a huge c
feet in height, piled around with fagots of
ropes and chains for the suspension of the pri
the degradation; the friars, clothed with sac
solemnly despoiled with the accustomed cere
you,' said the bishop, holding the hand of
Church triumphant and militant.' 'Of the C
answered Savonarola; 'but of the Church tr
belongs not to you to do.' The three friars
to the next tribunal to have their sentence r
sioners of the Pope;—they were condemned
was read, Romolino addressed them:—'It h
'ness the Pope Alexander the Sixth to liberat
'of purgatory, and to give you a plenary indu
'and to restore you to former innocence: do y
friars, bowing their heads, intimated that the
then led to the third tribunal, as handed
power. The *confortatori* were now permitt
friars, and offer them refreshments. 'What r
answered Savonarola, 'who am about to depa
They then addressed cheering words, and tol
of God's mercy, but to trust to his many goo
would reward. 'A sinful man,' again repli
not in need of human praise or glorificatio
time for praise.'

[1] Storia Fiorentina de Reumont.

Led at last to execution, the brutal multitude was allowed to insult and ill-treat the friars,[1] till they reached the cross. As soon as they had reached this spot, Fra Dominico said to his brethren:—'Why do you not call on me, and remind me, as of old, that I should sing the *Te Deum?*' Being told that doing so might cause a tumult, he said, 'Let us then repeat it in a low voice.' A few minutes were allowed for secret prayer, and then the executioners approached. Fra Silvestro was the first to ascend the ladder; he was hung from one arm of the cross; Fra Dominico from the other; and Savonarola from the middle: immediately, before life was gone, fire was set to the pile, and some of the crowd called out, 'O Savonarola, now is the time to do miracles!'—a sudden gust of wind blew the flames from the bodies, and nearly extinguished them. The superstitious multitude, seeing this, cried out, 'A miracle, a miracle!' and, panic-struck, began to run away. The flames soon regaining their power, consumed the bodies, though not till life was extinct. The ashes were collected, and thrown into the Arno.

Thus died Savonarola, and he has left behind him a divided reputation: there are some who venerate him as a saint, others condemn him as a fanatic or an impostor. It is remarkable that the Pope, who condemned him as a heretic to death, refused to condemn his works; they have all been published, and used extensively, both in Italy and other countries: still more remarkable is it, that when Julius II. entrusted Raffael to adorn the halls of the Vatican with portraits of eminent Doctors of the Catholic Church, that painter, only ten years after his execution *as a heretic*, was allowed to place the figure of Savonarola among the champions of the Church, in the 'Disputation on the Sacrament.' What else can we suppose than that the Pope knew well that Savonarola was no heretic, but was faithful to the Roman faith and Church, and that he did know that a preacher of his powers, always crying for a reformation in the Church, could not safely be allowed to exercise his office, and that it was good policy to silence him, even with death?

We have already said somewhat of Savonarola as a reformer; we must add a little more to understand fully his character in this respect. His reforms were intended to pervade every part of life, political and social: he aimed at making the religious element supreme in the counsels of the government, in the

[1] 'Fuere qui barbam vellere, vultum sputis fœdare, calcibus impetere, pudibundas corporis partes nudare, &c. J. Manettus, qui ejus pudibunda patefecerat, paucis post diebus ad mortem ægrotans, propriam dexteram dentibus moriens dilaceravit, ipsamque etiam manum, quâ sacrilegium patraverat, moribundus intuens, dixit, O manus, &c. quo dicto exhalavit animam.'—J. F. Pico de Mirandola, *Vit. Sav.* p. 138.

counting-house of the merchant, in the every-day life of the citizens of Florence, as well as in the monasteries. The latter he commenced with first; as Prior of San Marco, he soon restored order to that community; but not content with this, he wished to extend the reform to every monastery in the Florentine territory, and from thence to Italy, and, still further, over all Christendom. A papal brief was obtained by him in 1493, to found a new monastery, in which the old rule of poverty and labour might be revived. After some opposition from the old monasteries, which had no taste for austerities, he succeeded in his plans; he founded a convent in which the lay brethren worked at some handicraft, or toiled in the fields, while the fruits of their labour supported teachers of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Moresco, as well as the liberal arts. Novices soon filled the convent, and the institution flourished; increased powers were given to Savonarola: he was made Vicar-general. In this retreat were passed the happiest hours of his life; it was the sole recreation that the Prior allowed himself, to visit, instruct, and converse with the inmates: intercourse with the fresh, untainted minds of the youth committed to him for instruction, was a happiness inexpressible amid the self-seeking ambition and worldly excitement of public life in Florence. After dinner, when severer studies were finished, we read of the Prior leading out the novices into the green fields and shady groves of the convent—for it was in the country—and there talking pleasantly of religion and its duties, or questioning the youth as to their progress and attainments; then making a circle, they would all join hands, chant psalms, and perform a solemn dance, like Miriam or David. Then he would recite some story of ancient faith and suffering, and gently excite the emulation of the youth to follow such noble examples, and win their crown by self-denial and holiness of life. Returning from this scene of piety and peace, he thought he could instil the like principles and feelings into the busy and noisy life of the citizens of Florence. But what may be done in the little circle of a monastery, will not do for the larger field of this fallen world: Savonarola's grand mistake was, to think that it would; he seemed to suppose that he could make Florence one vast convent, under laws, regulations, and discipline, like that of his favourite retreat. The overthrow of the Medici seemed to open the way for the reform in the state which he so earnestly desired; his successful negotiation with the French king had given him that influence in the eyes of the people by which he hoped to work out his great ends. His own training had been that of strict discipline and self-denial; fastings, prayer, earnest study of Scripture, long meditation thereon, had purified his soul; he forgot that those who had not

lived in cloisters had not thus estranged themselves from the world and its temptations; he saw that virtue alone produced real happiness, public and private; he thought that all must think so too, when these two were set before them in their true light; but he forgot that seeing the beauty of virtue did not necessarily secure its being followed; a heathen poet might have taught him—

'Virtus laudatur et—alget.'

He fell into the error common to republicans, chartists, and reformers of all ages—our own as well as his—that a popular election will put 'the right man in the right place.' His long and deep study of the Scriptures, especially those of the Old Testament, made him dream that Florence, or any other country, might constitute itself a theocracy like that of Israel; he wanted the rulers of Florence to be like the judges in Israel, merely ministers of God for the government of the state, and perhaps himself a prophet, like Elijah and Elisha, to whom God revealed his will, which he was the commissioned messenger to declare to the rulers; and he expected that the like earthly prosperity and happiness would be the lot of Italy, as it was of Israel. Thus he taught the party to which he especially belonged, the Piagnoni,—so called from their bewailing the corruption of the times—to use as a watchword, 'Viva Jesu Cristo Re nostro!' Fully impressed with this idea, he would not bend an inch from the one hard stern law of what he conceived to be alone right; worldly policy, expediency in any shape, he utterly repudiated; one thing, one line of action, could alone secure the protection and favour of God,—unshaken faith, implicit obedience; that protection would bring with it every blessing, both in this world and the next. If only the government attempted to carry out this idea, it might expect perpetual manifestations of Divine power to uphold it. It was in vain to tell him that such would not do now, that the state of the world would not admit of such; he had a ready answer—'The word of God tells me so, and that is Truth.' In this respect his doctrines resembled that of the Fifth-monarchy men of Cromwell's time, only he would not, as they did, try to carry out their principles with the sword; but he did think that the sword of the French king was justly employed in ravaging Italy, corrupted with wealth and luxury, and tyrannized over by dukes and princes. Charles was in his eyes another Cyrus, who should perform all God's pleasure, the 'ravening bird' that should destroy, the 'Shepherd' who should restore. We need not stop to say that the new government soon found his plans impossible, and his counsels impracticable,—nay, himself a very hindrance to true order and reformation.

Savonarola then turned his attention to
life; here, too, for a time, his efforts we
revival of pagan literature, immensely stir
covery of printing, was changing the whole
as well as of conversation and manners;
Fathers, the legends of the saints, were th
way for Virgil, Horace, Ovid; mythology
theology, and men thought more of imitatir
a Christian saint. This was not confined t
or to the education of learned men;—the la
despising monkish Latin, and aiming at that
was tinctured with ideas drawn from the
preachers, accustomed to the allegorical style
Bible, began to treat the theogonies of the
which lay all truth, which they drew out
their hearers. That men could draw out
these myths, teachings far more beautiful ar
inventors conceived, many of their writings
refer to our own Lord Bacon's 'Wisdom o
Henry More's philosophic poems, for proof.
to heathen fables could mar the work of
Milton's Paradise Lost testify on every pa
blind admiration of heathen literature been
we are told by Burlamacchi, that in Flore
found people of rank, talent, and fortune,
lost all faith in Christianity, but ridiculed
it, and scoffed at any one presumptuous e
children were educated so entirely in thos
were ignorant of the very letter of the Scrip
outward observance of the forms of religio
faith in its realities was gone. Crowds wo
gardens of the palace of the Medici, to hea
Politian recite classic poetry, surrounded
lected from every part of Greece and Italy
the poor and ignorant would attend the pre
of Christ. The like revolution obtained
pictures of the devout painters, in which
denoted the character of the saints and ser
despised and neglected, and a new school aro
line of thought and idea.

'Monuments of pagan art having become the ob
in the garden of the Medici, had insensibly alt
beautiful, such as Christian painters and sculptors
time. On the other hand, *naturalism*, encouraged
ruption of morals, had openly taken possession of
profanation committed by Lippus the monk renewe
is to say, that instead of the Madonna, the Magd

there were altar-pieces put up with portraits of young girls, in most cases too well known, around which people often crowded without any respect for the Holy Sacrifice,—a turbulent concourse of the inquisitive and the profane. In this sort of representation everything was calculated to deprave the imagination of the beholders; attractive naked figures were exhibited without any regard to decency, and not only did they disregard the traditional costume of the Virgin, and of holy women, but traits and attire were given to them that made them resemble courtezans.

'Their pencils were still more licentious when they worked at the decoration of palaces, or particular [? private] houses. It was then that paganism ran a free course, and made thoughts enter into the minds of children by the eyes, which elsewhere entered by the ears. The Madonnas which they placed in oratories, instead of edifying the family that had assembled to pray, produced often a contrary effect; and if a pious citizen, in his paternal solicitude, expressed his disgust at lascivious images, and asked for the representation of a Virgin whose look, age, and character should be a preservative from all impure thoughts, then the perverse artist has been known to paint the same figure for him with a flowing beard.'—Rio, *La Poésie en Art*, quoted *Life, &c.* vol. i. pp. 405, 406.

Against all this Savonarola lifted up his voice; and not without success. Himself well acquainted with the classics, he justly discriminated between their use and abuse; he saw their value, and recommended a judicious employment of them; but the teaching of them to the exclusion of the Holy Scriptures, and Christian doctors, he would not tolerate; he would eliminate altogether those poets whose works tended to corrupt the morals. 'Ye fathers,' he says in one of his sermons, 'let your children 'learn grammar, and keep able men as teachers, who are 'accomplished, and pay them well, and see that schools are no 'holes and corners. All should practise grammar in some 'degree, for it wakens the mind, and helps much. But the 'poets should thereby destroy everything else. There should be 'a law made, that no bad poet should be read in the schools, 'such as Ovid *De Arte Amandi*, Tibullus, and Catullus—of the 'same sort, Terence in many places. Virgil and Cicero I would 'suffer. Homer in the Greek, and also some passages from 'Augustine's work, *De Civitate Dei*, or from Jerome, or some-'thing out of the Holy Scriptures. And when you find in those 'books Jupiter, Pluto, and the like named, say then—Children, 'these are fables; and show them that God alone rules the world. 'So would children be brought up in wisdom and in truth, and 'God would be with them.'[1]

[1] The above is an extract from a sermon of Savonarola, quoted in the Life, &c. by Mr. Madden, without telling us where the original is to be found; we have therefore quoted it as it stands in the book; but we think it right to apologise to our readers for what we are quite sure is a very bad translation. We are certain that Savonarola knew very well that S. Augustine and Jerome did not write in Greek; and we doubt whether he jumbled up together these two with Homer and the Holy Scriptures, as the translator has done. The whole of Mr. Madden's work is so clumsily put together, and is written in such a disjointed, unconnected

He would find paganism condemned in the Holy Scriptures, and denounce it with the vigour of one of the old prophets; he looked at it as the great source of the corruption of his time, as idolatry had been of Israel:—

'When speaking of the irremissible crime of the people of Israel, the prophet reproaches them with having drunk in the cup of reprobates—*Vinum damnatorum biberunt*—in his interpretation of the passage, he declares to the Florentines that accursed drink is no other than the paganism, with all its old associations, its licentiousness, and its profane ceremonies. Those who sware "by the sin of Samaria," *qui jurant in delicto Samariæ*, are, on the one hand, the youth of Florence, whom pride encourages to run after logic and philosophy; and on the other, the professors of theology, who knew not how to study except illusory subtleties, which furnish never-ending materials for scholastic controversies. Those also who cry out, *Live the ways of Beershebah!—Vivit* [*? vivat*] *via Bersabè!*—are the learned, who make for themselves an idol of science, and who do not wish to ascend to the original source of truth, except by the lights of their reason. The prohibition made by Isaac to his son Jacob, to take a wife from among the daughters of Canaan, was a prophetic caution to Christians to forbear seeking truth in the books of philosophy. Among the seven [? ten] plagues of Egypt, there were at least three to which the imagination of Savonarola found reason to lend an analogous meaning. The Jews [? Israelites] who became tired of manna in the desert, and sighed for the flesh of Egypt, were the type of Christians, who, having in their profession the word of God itself, neglected it, that they might give themselves up to profane studies. The narrative of the miraculous draught of fishes, when the Apostle Peter complained that he laboured all night in vain with his companions, that complaint, he said, applied to the unfruitfulness of modern preaching,—he meant to say, that by reason of preaching rhetoric and philosophy, the light of the faith was darkened, and a fearful night succeeded, during which the fishermen were casting their nets in vain; that is to say, without saving souls.'—*Life, &c.* vol. i. pp. 393, 394.

Against the depravation of Christian art was the voice of Savonarola lifted as loudly as the depravation of Christian education; rightly looking upon the former as the handmaid to religion, he would have her works in accord with it. Painting was to awe and elevate the soul, to fill it with devout feelings, and to bring it down to lowly worship; the image of the Saviour, depicted on the walls of a church, was to be the type of regenerated humanity; while that of the blessed Virgin was to express the purity of the soul, which has conceived and brought forth Christ. The calm majesty of the one, the deep devotion of the other, were to suggest to the beholder what he should be in soul and body; to quench the emotions of sin, to inspire longings for perfection, to calm down unholy impulses, were these creations of art to adorn the houses of God. They

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manner, that we may say that we never read such an uncomfortable book in our lives. Names and dates are continually incorrect, confusing every event narrated; while we may safely say that there is hardly a quotation from Latin correctly printed. The only charitable conjecture we can offer is to suppose that the proof-sheets have never been corrected.

were not to be mere ornaments, gazed at out of curiosity; mere exhibitions of an artist's skill, which the connoisseur would scan with critical eye; they were to be the continual teachers of the people, leading them, like the words of a preacher, from earthly things to heavenly.

'In what,' says he, 'does beauty consist? In colouring?—No. In form?—No. But beauty is a form that results from the proportion and correspondence of all the members and colours; and from this proportion there results a quality, which philosophers term beauty. This is true in compound entities, but in simple ones their beauty is the light. Behold the sun, its beauty consists in possessing light; behold the blessed spirits, the beauty of whom is *light;* behold God, who, because He is most lucid, is beauty itself. The beauty of every creature is the more perfect the more closely it is assimilated to the beauty of God; and the body is beautiful in proportion to the beauty of the soul. . . . . Now fancy what must have been the beauty of the Virgin, who possessed such sanctity—sanctity that shone from all her features. Imagine how beautiful was Christ, who was God and man. . . . . But "you carried a tabernacle for your Moloch, and the image of your idols." You have dedicated my temple and my churches to your god Moloch. See how they act in Florence! When Florentine mothers have married their daughters, they deck them out for show till they look like nymphs; and they lead them forthwith to Santa Liberata [the cathedral]. These are your idols that you have placed in my temple. The images of your gods are the images and likenesses of the figures that you have caused to be painted in the churches; and the young men say to [of?] this and that maiden, "This is Magdalen; that beyond there is S. John;" because you paint figures in the church which resemble this woman or that [man?]. All this is sinful, and a contempt of God. You painters act wrongly, and if you knew the scandal that results as I know it, you would not paint such things. You introduce worldly vanities into the church. Do you believe that the blessed Virgin was dressed as you represent her? I tell you that she was modestly dressed, and so veiled that one could scarcely see her face; and S. Elizabeth was also simple and modest in her attire. You would do well if you would cancel these indecent pictures. You represent the Virgin Mary decked out like a harlot. Oh, how is God's worship debased!'[1]—*Sermon of Savonarola*, quoted in *Life, &c.* vol. i. pp. 415, 416.

What would not the friar have said had he seen the churches of Italy and Spain as they are at this day, with those wax figures of the blessed Virgin decked out with rouge, flaring silk, and tinsel? A *Mater coronata* staring boldly at the face of the worshipper like what we refrain from naming, or a *Mater dolor s*

[1] The truth of this description can be seen without going further than our National Gallery in Trafalgar-square. The following is taken from the Handbook of the National Gallery, on picture No. 28, Susanna and the Elders, by Ludovico Caracci:—'In this composition the intention is doubtful. The action of Susanna might have been that of modesty if accompanied by a suitable expression of terror and purity; but it is quite otherwise in consequence of the smirk of the mouth and the leer of the eyes. . . In this representation of Susanna, the modesty appears affected and pretended, and the expression is deficient in all the better part.'

up by them with the greatest enthusiasm; not only were they taught to frequent the sacraments, and attend regularly devotional exercises, to avoid theatres, masquerades, and public shows, but they were formed into a fraternity—a sort of Band of Hope—which comprised many of those of the noblest and highest families in Florence. These would march in procession through the streets, and rebuke other children who were too gaily dressed, or who were not sufficiently grave in their carriage; they would say, 'Christ, the King of our city, and the blessed Virgin Mary, 'its Queen, require of you to abandon these vanities, and come 'out from among the evil-minded, otherwise the judgment of 'sickness will fall upon you.'

'These little bands of "Christ's children, and disciples of Fra Girolamo," went from house to house, begging the masters and mistresses to give up any articles of vanity in their possession, pictures or ornaments, that were not calculated to excite pious sentiments, cards and dice, masques and mummeries of all kinds; cosmetics, false hair, books of amatory poetry, licentious publications, and works of art. The gracious, mild, and innocent manner in which such objects of vanity or licentiousness were sought, disarmed all feelings of irritation and anger, which otherwise might have been manifested by these proceedings.'—*Life, &c.*, vol. i. p. 362.

On Palm-Sunday, 1496, Fra Girolamo organized this fraternity into a grand procession on a scale of magnitude unparalleled before. Eight thousand of these children assembled at San Marco to hear Mass, and receive palms; they then proceeded to the Duomo to hear a sermon. In the afternoon they repaired again to San Marco; here they received a tabernacle containing a representation of our Lord, as He entered Jerusalem seated on an ass. Bearing this, they proceeded through the principal streets, crying, 'Osanna filio David!' All the various orders of friars attended, and likewise numbers of citizens of every rank, and of either sex, dressed in white with a red cross upon the shoulder. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed. On their reaching the cathedral, they commenced pouring in their offerings in profusion; gold, silver, jewels, bracelets, rings, flowed in apace. These were collected in vases and placed on the altar. From these offerings Savonarola founded four Monti della Pieta in the city of Florence.

Before Lent of the following year, a still stronger demonstration against the pomps and vanities of the world was made. A large stage was erected of the form of a pyramid, fitted up with shelves; on these shelves were deposited all the various collections of objects of vanity, or temptations to sin, that the children had collected — tapestries and pictures of nude or indelicate figures, cards, dice, &c., instruments of music, cosmetics and perfumes, books of an immoral tendency, masques, false hair, and theatrical dresses; to these were added images and ornaments in marble and ivory, which the severe judgment of Savo-

narola condemned as immoral, and consigned to destruction, though a merchant offered twenty thousand crowns to the Signoria for them. Then, amid the ringing of bells, the sound of music, and the shouts of the multitude, the pile was set on fire, and utterly consumed: 'and, in a few months,' remarks Burlamacchi, 'another spectacle was seen in the same square, of 'an *auto-da-fé* of a human being—of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, 'the author of the spectacle just described; and while he was 'hanging from the cross, and while his body was consuming, and 'when it was reduced to ashes, the multitude were shouting in 'exultation, and the enthusiasm of their savage joy was not less 'loud than the mirth and gladness of the children of Florence, 'when they were consuming the vanities and relinquished objects 'of a licentious character of the same people.'

We have yet to say a few words here of the claims made by Savonarola for Inspiration, or at least for Divine Revelation. At the present day, and in the sceptical temper of mind of this country, all such claims are, of course, disallowed; but in the fifteenth century, and in the Roman Church, it is otherwise; we need but call to mind the Holy Coat of Treves, and the apparition of La Salette, to show that even now the like belief prevails in that community. Let us remember, too, that Savonarola believed himself, and was believed by others, to have a great and divine mission to reform the Church; an undertaking which could not be accomplished without the special help of God. Suppose, then, a really devout man, strongly impressed with this idea, pondering day and night, in the silence of his cell, over the corruption of the Church, both as to its rulers and people; reading and studying the Holy Scriptures, especially those of the Old Testament, the histories, and the prophecies; firmly believing that 'whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning;' interpreting the addresses of God to Israel, as addresses to the Church in all ages; and as he saw the like sins in his own day, that the prophets were commissioned to reprove, so he conceived that he was commissioned to utter the like to the rulers and people of Florence and Italy—remember all this, and we can easily understand the inspiration of the friar of Florence. Then, too, there were the visions of the night; when repose came upon the mind of one who had passed the day in such meditations, and upon a body weakened with watchings and fastings, how the thoughts of the waking hours would form themselves into the images of the sleeping, and seem to the wondering mind as visions from heaven. Those who have read the pages of Wodrow's 'History of Scotland,'[1] or

[1] 'We learn from Wodrow, how Elizabeth Kennedy, sister to Hugh Kennedy, Provost of Ayr, being extremely ill of stone, declined submitting to a surgical

even Sir Walter Scott's and Lockhart's Novels, will be familiar with similar instances; visions, revelations, prophecies, divine impulses, are common enough there; and where is the religiou enthusiast who is free from them? and where is the people tha will not believe and trust in such? We are not saying this to excuse Savonarola, but merely to account for a phenomenon apparent throughout his history. There were, however, other causes which much assisted him to foretell the future, and predict things which really did happen. We find that he was in communication with the king of France and other potentates of Europe; he was then, doubtless, partially acquainted with the intentions of that monarch, whose invasion of Italy was the fulfilling of so many of his predictions, and which, had it been carried out as Savonarola expected, would have done much at least to initiate that reform which he so ardently desired. We are further informed,—it was one of the accusations at his trial,—that he used the secrets of the confessional for his own purposes: this is not unlikely, for the Dominicans were largely employed as confessors, and the Prior of San Marco was at the head of that body in Florence. It is said by Burchard, that 'he had a certain 'way of knowing the sins of men by means of six of his brethren 'of the same order, reputed learned and holy men, who resided 'in different towns, and some also in Florence, and who, when 'any grave matters were confessed to them, revealed the same, 'with the names and conditions of the persons confessing them, 'to Girolamo.' We can well understand how a sagacious man, with these helps, would be able to foretell many things that really happened according to his predictions. We are bound, however, to confess, that the above causes are inadequate to explain all the friar's prophecies; those we must leave in the mystery in which we find them.

Among such are the ecstasies and transportations of soul, also of the body, which are reported by eye-witnesses. On one occasion it is related that Savonarola, who was keeping the eve of Christmas in the church, remained in an ecstasy for five hours, during which time his countenance was resplendent, so as to lighten the church. Burlamacchi records that when Savonarola was in prison, being engaged in prayer, he was raised up in

operation; and how the calculus was miraculously dissolved at the intercession of a prayer-meeting assembled in her house. We read of corpses sitting up in bed, announcing to the terrified mourners the judgments of another world; of Mr. John Campbell, of Craigie, minister, who had an interview with the devil,—not, however, unprofitably, for he thereby escaped eating a poisoned hen for supper; of rats that were sent as a special warning to the Rev. W. David Williamson; of the ghost of a barber that appeared to the Rev. William Leslie; of a gifted horse in Annandale, which could cure the king's-evil; and of a thousand similar instances of ludicrous superstition.'—*Aytoun's Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, Appendix, p. 330.

the air, and remained suspended for some time: these two phenomena, especially the last, are related of many others, as those who are acquainted with the lives of mediæval saints will remember: they remain among those statements in history, of which the only explanation is the alternative between the real fact of the ecstasy, or the hallucination of the witnesses. The latter explanation is rendered probable, if we remember that there is such a thing as *esprit de corps*, which has a singular effect on the minds of those who possess it in a strong degree. At the end of the fifteenth century there was a deadly feud between the two rival orders of Franciscans and Dominicans; any member of either order felt himself bound in honour to assert the superiority of his own over the other: if one member of the Dominicans was found to possess miraculous gifts, it was a point of duty in the Franciscans to produce a like highly-favoured individual of their order; artifice and imposture were not thought unworthy of being used to keep up credit with the people; and, as we know that it is not difficult to believe what we wish to believe, it is quite possible that a certain hallucination enlightened the eyes and intellects of many of the credulous friars. Certainly, to say the least, some amount of suspicion does attach to miraculous gifts when claimed by either of these rival orders. We are nowhere told that Savonarola ever spoke of these transports, or urged them as proofs of his divine mission, though he openly affirmed the reality of his visions and revelations; these he believed in himself, and acted upon that belief, even when they related to his own death, for he more than once predicted that he should die by fire. It is more than likely, however, that many of the visions he relates in his sermons, he does not intend his hearers to understand them to have been revealed to him from heaven in any special manner, but that they occurred to him in his meditations; that they were creations of a mind enlightened by the Spirit of God, such as any one who studied God's word with earnestness of spirit, and prayer, might attain to. The following, though rather long, is a fine specimen of the friar's manner of teaching: it is taken from a sermon (15) on the psalm 'Quam bonus' (Psalm lxxiii.).

'Considering, most beloved in Jesus Christ, the felicity of the saints who have preceded us, and bewailing the sight of the dissipation of every Christian principle, and of men being led away from the old paths of the fathers, behold, there appeared before my eyes a beautiful woman of a venerable and gracious aspect; and I said unto her, "Who art thou, who thus unexpectedly appearest before me?" And she answered, "*Ego mater pulchræ dilectionis, timoris, agnitionis, et sanctæ spei.*" Then I took confidence, and said, "Tell me, O Madonna, incarnate wisdom, how comes it to pass that the Christian people no longer can endure the burden of the mild law of Christ, the light and easy yoke of charity and love, as the saints of old did?"

"Hear the reason," she replied; "*Quia puer est, et non habet vires:* the Christian people of to-day may be likened to a child, which hath not strength to bear without repining the smallest burden." "Then," said I, "how am I to do, that I may have sufficient force to bear it, and that it may seem light to me?" She answered, "I will teach you—*Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum, et ut sigillum super brachium tuum.* This will be the great strength of the people."

'And when she thus spoke to me, I saw suddenly approach me Death, armed with his scythe; and the sight of him caused me great terror. And, with daring boldness, he said, "I am stronger than that sign you were told to place on your heart, and as a seal on your arm; for no human being has been able to resist my power, or offer any resistance to it. With this scythe I have cut down all on earth who came before me, popes, emperors, and kings, and no one has overcome me, so be on your guard that you have not been deluded by mere words." I felt somewhat astounded, amazed as it were, at these words; but the lady, she the mother of Fair Love, said to me, "*Fortis est ut mors dilectio,*" and instantly Death departed. No sooner were these words spoken, than Satan, in form and stature of stupendous and appalling size and aspect, stood before me, and said, "I am the strongest of all powers; for of me it is written, *Non est in terra potestas, quæ ei comparetur.* So suffer not yourself to be deceived by others. I have caused many saints to fall, and among the rest, your first father Adam, who was more perfect and of greater virtue than all others." Speedily that lady, most worthy of veneration, encouragingly said to me, "Fear him not—*nam dura sicut infernus æmulatio.*"

'Then came a third apparition, a body of fire like unto a great furnace, and it appeared as if it was there to burn me, and I heard a great voice issue out of that furnace and fire, amidst the flames, saying, "*Ego fortissima, consumens omnia.* I am most potent, and I consume all things. I have burned cities and castles in great numbers; I have consumed multitudes of men, which if you only knew, you would be less confident in the power of this protectress." I stood rapt in wonder, and I said, "What does all this mean?" Then did the lady take me by the arm and by the hand, and, smiling, turned towards the fire, and said, "*Lampades Ejus ut lampades ignis atque flammarum.*"

'These words having been spoken, I perceived a great stir and a sound of rushing waters, as of a vast impetuous river when the streams come down in rapid torrents from the mountains, and I heard a voice from the midst of the waters, which said to me, "We have overwhelmed cities and brought down mountains, we have no dread of armies, and therefore you are deceived if you think that a woman's aid can serve to liberate you from our hands." "O Mother and Queen," I exclaimed, "answer for me!" and instantly, before she could respond, I heard a loud tumultuous noise, and great booming sounds, such as those which we hear when the sea is lashed by tempests; and then came forth a most terrible voice, and spoke thus to me: "I am the sea which has swallowed up numberless ships, and submerged innumerable people, and once overspread even the whole world, and no one can stand against the power of the Devil; and yet you confide in the vain words of a woman." Then encouragingly did this lady speak to me; she said: "*Aquæ multæ non potuerunt extinguere charitatem, neque flumina obruent illam.*" At these words I was much reassured.

'And then, behold, the world appeared before me with all precious and desirable things, and all the pleasures that could be imagined here below. In one place there seemed to me songs, and most sweet sounds of music; in another, children exquisitely beautiful; elsewhere, tables most sumptuously laid out with a variety of viands and wines; here, apartments magnificently adorned; there were seen royal sceptres, imperial crowns, and papal mitres.

At the sight of these things I felt myself somewhat encouraged, and drawn forcibly towards them; and chiefly when I heard a voice uttering these words, "*Hæc omnia tibi dabo si cadens adoraveris me;*" and another which said, "*Omnia traho ad me ipsum.*" This lady, the mother of Fair Love, fearing that I might yield to the temptation of such delights, said to me, "Be resolute, I have better things to offer you: *nam si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suæ per dilectionem quasi nihil despiciet eam.*"[1] Thus it is, my brethren, that this love and this charity, which I have to propose to you, are great gifts, and far more precious than all earthly and material goods, and nothing can prevail against them.'—*Life, &c.* pp. 333—336.

This beautiful allegory was, no doubt, the creation of Savonarola's own mind, and in his waking moments; and was not intended to be supposed that it was anything more; he opens his treatise, 'The Triumph of the Cross,' with an imaginary representation of the like sort. He imagines a chariot in which Christ is standing with all the marks of the Passion, His wounds, His crown of thorns; in His left hand He holds a cross, in His right the Holy Scriptures; at His feet a chalice and paten, with golden vases of water, oil, wine, balm, to represent the Sacraments of the Church; on a lower step sits the Blessed Virgin surrounded with vessels of silver and crystal containing the relics of the Saints and Martyrs; before the chariot, as if helping to draw it, are the Apostles and Evangelists of the New, and the Prophets and Patriarchs of the Old Covenant; on each side, the Martyrs and Doctors of the Church; behind, a long train of Saints of every age, and country, and people; above the whole, a large globe of brilliant light, with three faces, to represent the light of the Eternal Trinity illumining the Church. In front will be seen the host of the Church's enemies, heathen, heretics, and the powers of Satan and of the world, all yielding and giving way before the advance of Christ and His Church; while the wheels of the chariot grind to powder idols, and images of false gods and false religion. The idea that suggested this imagery is no doubt taken from those in the Apocalypse, especially where it is said, 'And they overcame by the blood of the Lamb and by 'the word of their testimony.'

We do find, however, that Savonarola laid claim to divine inspiration very similar to that with which the Prophets of the Old Testament were favoured. In 1495 he published a tract, entitled 'Compendio di Revelatione dello inutile servo di Jesu

[1] This sentence we have altered; for it contains, as usual, a misprint. As the sentence is a little obscure, we think some of our readers will not be sorry to have a paraphrase which a friend of ours wrote on it:—'Be firm—I, the mother of Fair Love, have better things to offer you; do not long for what you have not, however apparently beautiful it may appear; for if a man were to have given up, not merely additions to his wealth and fortune, but even all that he now actually possesses, for the sake of my daughter Love, he would even then despise all he had resigned, and regard it as nothing, since he had obtained her.'

Cristo, Frate Hieronymo da Ferrara dello ordine de Frati Predicatori,' in which the following passage occurs:—

'In the order of His wisdom infinite things are accomplished by mediate agents, and mediate things by the ministry of Christ. The angels being mediate agents between God and man, the prophetic illumination comes from God by means of angelic spirits, who not only illuminate the interior mind, but cause divers apparitions to appear to the phantasy. But they also speak inwardly to the prophets; and to them they also appear many times in human form, and announce future things to them, and admonish them of many things they have to do. And by the Divine light, the prophets clearly know those apparitions to be angelic, and that which is spoken to them to be true. In these three manners we have attained and know future things; some in one way, some in another. *Moreover in each of these modes I have attained to the knowledge of them, and always have been certified of the truth of the aforesaid light.*'—*Life, &c.* vol. i. p. 309.

Before concluding, we must make allusion to a comparison, which most English writers, and all German, make between Savonarola and Luther: the latter delight in telling us that Luther was born the same year (1483) that Savonarola commenced his preaching; and that the former on his way to Worms was shown a portrait of the latter, which acted as a stimulant to his energy. That Luther had read and admired the works of the other we know, since he published his Meditations on Psalms li. and xxxi.; that both were deeply impressed with the desire to reform the Church, we need not state; that this desire arose in both from a consciousness of the corruption that pervaded the whole body from the highest to the lowest, and that both set about to work a change, is also true: but here the connexion and the likeness ends. The two men were as opposite as the poles in mind, thought, disposition, as well as in the way that the work had to be done. The one irreverent, coarse, violent, sensual, unscrupulous; the other devout, consistent, chaste, ascetic. Luther gave a supper to his friends, passed the evening in mirth and jollity, and entered next morning into a monastery with his Virgil and Plautus under his arm; Savonarola, in humility and meekness, with only a desire to live a heavenly life, with his Bible and Prayer-book, asked humbly to be admitted among the lay brethren. Luther without scruple broke his vows, and then, apparently out of mere perversity, married a runaway nun; high principle, truth and holiness, formed no part of his character. No sin will separate you from God, but the sin of unbelief, *i. e.* non-assurance of salvation, was what he taught his followers; *peccavit fortiter* himself, he taught his disciples to do the same: the Word of God fared no better under his hands; the Epistle of S. James was an *Epistola straminea*, fit only to be thrown into the Elbe, because it did not square with his notions of justification by faith. Savonarola, on the contrary, was, as his enemies confessed, a 'true monk;'

unblemished in life and conversation; with the deepest reverence for Scripture, he sought out its meaning with prayer, fasting, and meditation; that he erred, we have pointed out, but his error was not of presumption, but from a mistaken notion of the perpetuity of the Old Testament system. Had he studied more carefully how the Apostles sought to make the Church exist in the world, but not to be of the world—how the power of the Church was to pervade everything, governments as well as private families, but not to be an earthly power like them—his reform would have been more complete. But not only this, the idea of the Church, and of its functions, was totally dissimilar in Luther and Savonarola. Savonarola wished to reform the existing Church, Luther to overthrow it, and build up one of his own on its ruins. The former fully acknowledged the power, place, and supremacy of the apostolic chair, and of the divine order of the priesthood; he believed and held all that we are accustomed to call Roman doctrine—all he wanted was to purify it. Luther, inventing the idea of a universal priesthood of all Christians, denied divine right in the Episcopate and Priesthood—not that he objected to either, if people chose to have them; nay, they might, if they wished, have gorgeous vestments, crucifixes, altars, liturgies, as well as bishops, but it was quite indifferent; hold his dogma of justification, and they might do as they pleased in other matters. Luther succeeded, and Savonarola failed; because one eminently adapted himself and his religion to the world, and to worldly men; the other uniformly opposed both. The one therefore died in worldly honours, the other as an apostle of Christ.

NOTICES.

'URSULA' (Longman), from the valued pen of the authoress of 'Amy Herbert,' as a tale of 'middle life,' aims at a peculiar usefulness. The task is one of such acknowledged difficulty that it is little to say the writer has hardly attained her highest mark in it. The plan of the story is that of 'The Experience of Life,' the heroine being her own historian; but the style, to be in keeping with the difference of rank, is plain, abrupt, and sometimes bald to a degree interfering with the reader's pleasure; while under the same idea of adopting the habit of thought of the less educated classes, there is a prolixity, which is to be regretted as needlessly wearying the attention and protracting the story. And yet with such large sacrifices to consistency we cannot feel satisfied that the authoress has any familiar acquaintance with the farming life she describes. There strikes us to be a want of keeping, interfering with a right comprehension of the heroine's trials; for we must understand a person's social standing to estimate her social difficulties. She seems always above the drudgery attached by the authoress to her position, keeping herself down to it by an effort of principle, which shows itself in an almost ostentatious humility of detail. She records, *àpropos* to nothing, that her idolized brother goes into the back-kitchen to wash his hands. She puts on her apron, and curtseys, and says 'Ma'am' to her bitterest enemy, between whom and herself there is a trial of strength through the two volumes. These facts hardly seem in harmony with the brother's occasional run with the hounds, with her command of a pony carriage, or with his apology to her for not acting as her escort when she takes a railway journey. A good deal which seems anomalous is felt more from the autobiographic form, which we suspect in this case to be a mistake. We ought to allow for the inherent defects of this mode of telling a story, but it is hard to do so at all times, or to receive the impression the author intends of a young person who retains such an accurate recollection of every time she was ever 'put upon,' of every slight or affront her relations and acquaintance ever inflicted. It is not enough for her to assure her readers that she did not regard these indignities or behaved well under them; it is against our notions of magnanimity that they should be noted down at all. Our criticism is with the plan of the story. That there are some well-drawn characters, amongst whom we would especially particularise 'Miss Milicent,' that there is much sound religious instruction and practical good sense, we need hardly assure our readers already familiar with this prolific writer's excellent series of works of fiction.

'The Day-Hours of the Church of England' (Masters) is a valuable addition to the many aids to devotion which are among the most precious signs of the deepening life of the present day. It is a work of a high order, and we shall hope to consider it more fully on some future occasion. It is an adaptation of the ancient services, on the same principle on which the English Book of Common Prayer was framed; the Psalms, Scripture portions, hymns and collects being harmonized to our use, and whatever was inconsistent with the doctrine of our Church eliminated. Not merely are there, as in the case of similar works lately published, Offices for the

Canonical Hours of every day, but also proper services for the seasons and holy days, with the many rich extracts and beautiful applications of Holy Scripture, suited to the changes of the Christian year, which is so marked and admirable a feature of the ancient Breviaries. With this completeness of aim the endeavour has been made, and, as far as the slight inspection that the brief interval since publication permits us to judge, made with considerable success, to simplify the rubrics and marks of reference. As the Preface anticipates, the work seems calculated to be of great value to the religious communities which of God's great mercy have of late years been raised up in our Church, and to those, we believe the many, who sympathise with them, living in their own homes, and, as circumstances permit, seeking to follow out the true traditionary system of catholic piety. We would specially direct attention to the Preface, which explains the objects and principles kept in view, including moreover an important catena of authorities for the use of the Hours in the Church of England. The following passage marks the spirit in which this work has been put forth; while earnestly pressing the value and efficacy of the use of the Hours, yet fully appreciating, without any invidious contrast, the piety which exhibits itself in other forms suited to the varying circumstances of individual calling or social claims. 'To those to whom in their 'special circumstances it is given to follow the full use of the Hours, it 'must be a cause of thankfulness and consolation—which many to whom 'such privilege is denied long to enjoy—to feel that they are thus fulfilling David's high aim, of praising God "seven times a day;" that if '"the just man falleth seven times a day," they are offering a sevenfold 'confession of sin; that they are filling up the full measure of the Lord's 'Prayer, which is composed of seven petitions; that in the sacred language 'of Israel, seven means "perfect," and so in seven days the work of 'creation was perfected; and so, too, the new creation growing out of the 'Incarnation and bloody Passion of Jesus Christ is perfected by the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, they who are precluded 'by circumstances or constraining duties from following such a rule of 'devotion, may be comforted in the thought, that through the grace of 'God it is given to those who seek to live in a spirit of prayer, and to 'offer all their acts of obedience as a living sacrifice, to be accepted as '"praying always," and "without ceasing;" and that, when the mind is 'so absorbed in care or earnest service, that a conscious offering of their 'work to God at all times is scarcely compatible with present infirmity, 'even then they may be sustained in the conviction, that there are cases 'where "to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of 'rams."'

Lady Wilkinson has, in her 'Weeds and Wild Flowers' (Van Voorst), produced an elegant volume, full of pleasant literature and exhaustive quotation from poetical and other sources, on the natural Flora of England. Botany, when pursued by a cultivated mind in this way, becomes a guide to very extensive reading, and we hardly know one who has done more to illustrate it than this accomplished writer. The moral reflections are occasionally tedious, but the spirit in which they are conceived is unexceptionable.

'Beamish's Christian Visitor's Companion' (Wertheim) is a monograph of sermons, or, as we once heard them called, sermonets, supposed to be addressed by a curate to the bed-ridden poor in their own houses. Subjoined to each address is a hymn and prayer. The execution is not equal to the intention.

We are glad to announce the Second Part, from the Burntisland Press, of the 'Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church,' which now appears under the sole management of Mr. G. W. Forbes. Profusely illustrated, with full liturgical learning, and of inestimable value to the student of ecclesiastical archæology, it is with mingled pride and humiliation that we welcome this publication: with pride, that a single clergyman should unaided pursue so vast a work; and with regret, that he should be left to his own resources for prosecuting a work which ought to be that of a University. It will be a disgrace to us should this labour of love fail for lack of literary encouragement.

Mr. Gresley's new volume of 'Sermons' (Masters) is eminently characteristic of the writer. Plain, straightforward, and manly, with an utter disregard of the ornaments of style, they simply address the English common sense and common fairness. The late scandalous, and in its results absurd and contemptible, excitement which has attended the teapot tempest at Boyn Hill, will have achieved one result if it calls attention to Mr. Gresley's work at that place. Probably few things have done more to shake public confidence in the infallibility of 'the leading journal,' than the political mistake—for in such a quarter principle is not to be looked for—of making a heroine of that chaste matron 'Nancy Arnold.'

'The Guide to the Church Services in London and its Suburbs' (Rivingtons) is, if we may so say, a sort of Ecclesiastical Bradshaw, giving with extreme fulness and accuracy the services at the various metropolitan churches. Modelled on the old 'Pietas Londinensis' of a century and a half ago, and comprising the substance of a similar hand-book published by Masters some years since, it has attained a completeness which leaves little to desire. It is regrettable to find that after all, with its population more than quadrupled, the present London does not yet attain the number of Church services which were celebrated in the beginning of the degenerate eighteenth century.

'The Mediæval Architecture of Chester' is a production which attests the literature and accomplishments of one of our Sosii, Mr. John Henry Parker, who combines what used to be the characteristic of a publisher in the days of the Stephenses. It is full both of technical learning and antiquarian research; and besides being a hand-book to the most interesting among our relics, this volume is a substantial contribution to Ecclesiology and Archæology.

If a school is an epitome of the world, school sermons ought to be capable of use to the whole Church. Such is eminently the case with 'Bishop Cotton's Marlborough Sermons' (Macmillan): though addressed to boys, and as we know with admirable effect in training character, they display a close and searching acquaintance with human nature. This is their excellence that they deal with the moral nature; and they teach their

hearers to understand themselves. They are casuistry, in the best sense of the word, in action. Abating for what we consider their defect, indistinct statements of doctrine, we know of few sermons their superior in teaching the use of self-knowledge and self-discipline; and we may look with the greatest interest to the good omens under which the Bishop of Calcutta's episcopate is begun.

Dr. Faber's translation—if it is Dr. Faber's—'Translation of the Life of S. Francis Xavier' (Jones), has of course its value. It is only his old Italian biography simply reproduced, without an attempt at any critical revision. In a characteristic preface, the Editor hints that the parallel to Xavier's labours is to be found in the work of Oratorians now going on among ourselves. We can only remark that we should not have discovered it in the effects which they have wrought on the social state of London. We all remember what Cardinal Wiseman chalked out as the vocation of his religionists when assuming the exclusive spiritual charge of the archiepiscopate of the City of Westminster. The great plan survives in the superb promise made after the return from the Flaminian-gate, in those copies of the pamphlet which still enrich the libraries of the curious. The Irish progress may be a triumph of the Cross, but it was not what we were promised.

We announce a simple yet most practical sermon, by Mr. Keble, preached at Sudbury on the interesting occasion of the anniversary of the emancipation of the parish church from the tyranny of pew-rents. Its title, 'Rich and Poor one in Christ' (Hayes).

Judging from the evidence afforded by the 'First Visitation Charge of Montagu Villiers, Lord Bishop of Carlisle,' the moral condition of Cumberland and Westmoreland is below that of any other diocese in England. It is hard to see the reason for this. Free from what is thought the pollution of crowded cities and stirring manufacturing towns, we should naturally expect to find the rural retired lake district also free from such special forms of vice as disgrace Manchester or Glasgow, and the chosen seat not only of Arcadian simplicity and content, but also of virtue. Whether the nearness to Scotland tends to deepen profligacy or no, certain it is, from the most unexceptionable evidence of its bishop, that in 'drunkenness and unchastity' this diocese has attained to 'an unenviable pre-eminence;' and, 'without any exception, the counties of Westmoreland 'and Cumberland exceed, in the number of illegitimate births, any county 'in England.' The right reverend prelate is unable to trace the evil to its root. He, indeed, tells us, that 'having most carefully read the writings of many of that party,' *i. e.* the Church party, 'and having observed their tendencies, and, I may say, their practical and actual results,' he feels not a little grateful, under God, to him who preceded him in the diocese, 'that no 'encouragement had been given in the diocese to the dissemination of 'views so diametrically opposed in spirit to the writings of the reformers 'and to the scriptures of truth.' He is also 'thankful that we appear to 'be clear of the filthiness of the Confessional, as well as free, in nearly 'every parish, from the more harmless puerilities connected with the service 'of the Church of Rome;' but in the midst of his gratulations, on the very same page that he announces that in Carlisle he is relieved from High

Churchmen, *surgit amari aliquid*, he is somewhat sorry to add that the result of all this freedom from that which is 'so near akin to the errors of Romanism,' is more of drunkenness and fornication than in any other diocese of England. With ordinary mortals one would have thought that the cause for regret and lamentation—the deep festering moral pollution—would have attenuated the note of triumph and vulgar party rejoicing. Some persons, and Bishop Villiers amongst the number, are, however, thankful for very small mercies; nay, so humble are they, that they raise their notes of joy over very positive wickedness. In this diocese no question on the seventh commandment has been asked by the lips of bishop, dean, late or present, nor of any of the mountain clergy: no indiscreet inquiries by the non-tractarian clergy about sins of the flesh, but in place thereof, open, unblushing, all but universal profligacy, 'more drunkenness, a greater number of illegitimate births.' Driven to account for this state of things, an Evangelical clergy, no Roman puerilites, no filthy questions, but only filthy living, he suggests and in the same breath withdraws the suggestion, that neglect of landlords and statute-hirings may have something to do with it; but as 'the landlords of the north are as zealous for 'the improvement and the comfort of their tenants as landlords in the 'south' (p. 17), and as statute-hirings exist in other dioceses as well as in Carlisle, it is difficult to understand the logic as we confess that we are sometimes puzzled at the grammar of this charge. Surely the extent of such evils as drunkenness and fornication, and the pre-eminence in wickedness to which Bishop Villiers assures us that the diocese of Carlisle has attained, should have made him suspect that there was some truth in his own statement, and that the absence of what he, borrowing a phrase from Mr. Baring, terms 'the filthiness of the Confessional,' and the exclusive prevalence of teaching, such as he deems Evangelical, may, after all, if not conduce to swell the amount, at any rate, not tend to stem the flood of drunkenness and debauchery.

Not that there was the least occasion for this exhibition which Bishop Villiers has made of himself. One who is usually bracketed with him, the Bishop of Norwich, has pursued a very different course. Dr. Pelham's views are well known, are held, we are sure, conscientiously, and are coupled with some ability, entire earnestness, and the manners and feelings of a gentleman. Where these are, a Bishop is saved from the mistakes which attach to a blundering partisanship. 'The Primary Charge of the Bishop of Norwich' (Rivingtons) is written in the most temperate and conciliatory spirit; it is entirely devoted to work, and there is not a single reference to the controversies of the day. Dr. Pelham feels that he is Bishop of a diocese, not the representative of a faction. No doubt he retains precisely the same views which he held in Marylebone; but he does not make his throne the place for enforcing them with an authority as unjust as its policy is short-sighted.

And so on another side, the 'Bishop of Salisbury's Charge' (Rivingtons) is of the same plain practical character, warmed as it could not but be by the affectionate, anxious, loving, and most paternal mind and manners of the respected author. Bishop Hamilton could not but speak strongly on the Divorce Bill; and we cannot forget that had the Bishops as a body

done their duty to the Church in this matter, we had been spared an evil of which, large as are the immediate consequences, they are as nothing to the remote evils attached to it.

'The People in Church' (Bell & Daldy) is the title, and not a very fortunate one, of a complete and formal treatise on the Choral Service of the Church, by Mr. Pittman, Chapel Master of Lincoln's Inn. The author of course has the advantage of writing after the labours of others into the history and construction of the Prayer-book; and though this may detract from the originality of his investigations, yet the spirit and reverential feeling which it displays are Mr. Pittman's own. The few last pages do as much credit to the writer as a man of sound feeling, as the more technical portion of the volume does to his professional attainments.

'A Letter to the Bishop of London on Confession and Absolution, with special reference to the case of the Rev. Alfred Poole, by the Hon. and Rev. R. Liddell' (Hayes), is the authentic account of a case on which we do not trust ourselves to speak. The result of the 'Boyn Hill inquiry,' however, confirms a sentence of Mr. Liddell's, which we believe to contain the exact truth:—

'For my part, I have strong conviction, that truth will always bear 'sifting; and I have no doubt that God will, in His great mercy, bring out 'the true doctrine of our Church upon this controverted point, by the instrumentality *of its very adversaries*. Satan is very crafty—but he 'generally overreaches himself.

'The doctrine of the two blessed Sacraments of Christ our Lord, has, 'each in its turn, been vehemently assailed of late years. And what is the 'result? They are both far better understood and more deeply reverenced 'by the mass of English Churchmen than they were before.'

As we have already committed a slight breach of promise by departing from the brevity with which we pledged ourselves to treat of events in Scotland, we shall be excused for not noticing every pamphlet that has appeared. Three are now before us, two of which are not important enough to demand reply, or provoke the only kind of criticism which would be their due; we shall therefore leave them unnamed. But there is a third of very different character, the terse, vigorous, and masterly publication from the pen of the Rev. Canon Humble, of S. Ninian's, Perth, on the recent 'Episcopal Decisions' (Edinburgh: Lendrum). It is a searching criticism of the late Episcopal Synods and of the Synods of Aberdeen, as tested by Catholic and Scottish precedents. Any of our readers who have felt the slightest interest in the article on Scotland in our present number, may feel assured that a study of Mr. Humble's pamphlet is much needed, if they would attain to anything like a complete view of the case in all its bearings. Not only does the respected author approach the subject from a different (and that a very momentous) point of view, but he has likewise filled up several important *lacunæ* in our own critique. We believe that the bold freedom of speech here exercised will in reality (however unpalatable in some quarters) prove of essential service to the cause of moderation and equity.

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